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THE ROADS IN THE LIM RIVER VALLEY IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE*

Abstract: The paper deals with the study of roads in the region of Lim river valley ranging from late antiquity to the beginning of the Ottoman period. In late antiquity, the Lim valley did not have a primary hub for the transportation of people and goods. This changed in the Middle Ages when the Lim valley became a transit point through which roads and merchants from Primorje (Dubrovnik and Kotor) passed through to the centers of the Serbian medieval state (Ras and Novo Brdo). In this paper the continuity and discontinuity of this movement through the Lim river valley will be discussed.

Keywords: Middle Ages, Roads, Lim river valley, late antiquity, Dubrovnik, Ras.

In late antiquity and the early Byzantine period, the Lim river valley was an important mining area. As a result of mining, two of the most important late-Roman settlements developed there: one in Kolovrat mountains near Prijepolje and the *municipium* in Komini near Pljevlja.¹ The most important road in this period connected those two settlements via Jabuka. The road that went through the Lim river valley to the Drina River valley was also important because the center of this area was located in Domavia (now Srebrenica). Transportation in late antiquity mostly followed the Lim River and down the Drina toward the economic and administrative centers of the time. These were roads that the Romans built according to certain regulations and of a certain width, with bridges on the rivers, and they were wide enough for carriages.

After the migration and collapse of the Roman and then Byzantine rulers, new entities and new economic and administrative centers were created in this region. The old

* This paper is the result of work on the project Settlements and Population in the Late Middle Ages, no. 1077010.

¹ For more details see: Mirković 1975: 95–108; Cermanović Kuzmanović 1980: 43–52; Cermanović Kuzmanović 1981: 75–79; Cermanović Kuzmanović 1989: 5–13; Loma 2005: 9–21.

Roman roads became neglected, often because they no longer led anywhere or were only partially incorporated into separate sections of new roads.²

Dubrovnik's emergence as a trading republic made it a center for intermediary trade, and it became a locus for trade coming in from the hinterlands in Serbia and Bosnia. For this reason, the roads extended toward the Adriatic coast and Dubrovnik. The Lim river valley began to gain importance due to its location on the caravan route connecting Dubrovnik with the new state (Ras) other economic centers (Novo Brdo). Previously, there had been no roads through this area due to the nature of the soil and because the Romans had no need for them here. However, all trade with the Littoral was done by caravan, so caravan routes emerged, which enabled the transportation of people, goods, and animals. The earliest information about this trade is in connected to the mine and the market in Brskovo on the right bank of the Tara River. As it declined and other centers emerged, the focus for caravan trade began shifting to the Lim river valley, and Prijepolje became a new trading center.³

There were two main routes leading from Dubrovnik to Polimlje. The first went from Trebinje to Bileće, Gacko, Tjentište and Foča. From there it led to Pljevlja along the Čehotina River. Then it either went to Prijepolje, or from Foča down the Drina River to the mouth of the Lim River, and on to St. Nicholas in Banja Pribojska.⁴ Travel writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mentioned three waystations between Foča and Pljevlja: Brahu, which was located somewhere west of Čajnič on the Mt. Kovač; Uništa, located on the right bank of the Tara River; and Vikoč, located on the left bank of the Čehotina River.⁵ This road was connected to another road that went below Gradina on Podstjenica (perhaps the fortress of Koznik), and came from Bukovica and went to Vrela, Pužići, Strahov Do, and Kamenica. The Koznik River flows below Gradina and then into the Čehotina River about two kilometers away. There are still fifty meters of preserved cobblestones in the section leading toward Gradina.⁶ The road from Foča to the mouth of the Lim River went to Severin on the left bank of Lim. There are remnants of the old road leading from Rudo to Severin via Crkvina in Luka.⁷ The route from Banja Pribojska led to the Mažići monastery and to the town of Kovin on the left bank of the Lim and on the same side as Prijepolje.⁸ On the way to Priboj, the route crossed the Lim River at Severin, where it split, with one branch heading through Poblacé to Pljevlja, with the other being the previously mentioned route heading through Priboj and Kovin to Prijepolje.⁹

The second road to Polimlje went through Jesera to Trebinje, then Onogošt (Niksic), and then to the river estuary area of Piva across the Lukovica mountain. The road then went to today's Šavnik, where there is a stone bridge known in Serbian as the *Latinska Čuprija*

² Dinić 1978: 305.

³ *Ibid.* 308.

⁴ Škrivanić 1974: 43, 48; Dinić 1978: 311.

⁵ Mišić 2010: 21.

⁶ I performed a field study of this location on May 25, 2000.

⁷ A field study of the road was conducted on August 30, 2014.

⁸ Mišić 2010: 21.

⁹ Tomović and Pušica 2009: 74.

(the Latin Bridge).¹⁰ The road went further on to the area of the Drobniak (Lake), then across the Tara River, where it split into several branches that reached the Lim River. The most important one of these went through Pljevlja. It once led from Onogošt through Župa, Morača, and Kolašin to upper Lim valley.¹¹ The road from Pljevlja to Prijepolje, whose remains are visible in several places, went through the village of Otilović, to the Ivovik mountain and through the village of Kozica to Prijepolje.¹² From Pljevlja to Prijepolje also went through Kamena Gora. Both roads existed in Roman times and connected the commune in Komini with the Roman settlement on Kolovrat.¹³ The road across Jabuka was shorter but impassable in the winter months. It once split in two directions at Maoč, with one road heading across Kamena Gora to the valley of Lim and to Prijepolje. From Maoč it also led one way across Kovren and Pavina fields to the upper Lim river valley. The second road went to Ras, and then from Banja to the villages of Kratovo, Rutoši, Mangura, Nova Varoš and further on to Sjenica (Senice). There are remains of old cobblestones on this road.¹⁴

Within the Lim river valley, the roads connected to marketplaces and caravanserais, and then continued from there to the interior of the Serbian state and its political and economic centers. One of the caravan and trade destinations in the Lim river valley was the monastery of St. Nicholas in Banja Pribojska. From there, the old caravan route, which survived in many places until 1938, went to Dobrun and further on to Užice.¹⁵

Prijepolje was the largest marketplace in the Lim river valley and a caravanserai. It was reached by roads from Pljevlja and Banja Pribojska. The main road from Prijepolje (formerly the Mileševa monastery) led to Senice and Ras. From Prijepolje it followed the Mileševka River, then went to the village of Kaćevo and Mount Gvozd. The remains of the old medieval road have been preserved from the Beg's Bridge in the village of Hisardžik, then over the mountain and past Kaćevo, where it was about 6 km long.¹⁶ The road continued past the northern slopes of Jadovnik to Dobra Voda, where it turned east between Gornji Goračić and Donji Goračić, then to Gonje before descending into the Uvac river valley. It went further toward Radišić Hill with its medieval church, then east of Sjenica. The road continued eastward through the villages of Dubnica, Razdaginja, Vrsjenica, Dragojlović, Gradac, Smiljevci, Raspoganca, and Brnjica to the Šarsko Karst, and then descended to where the Ljudska River rises and continued to Ras (Novi Pazar).¹⁷ It once went from Prijepolje to Milošev Do, where there was a caravanserai during the Ottoman period.¹⁸

From Prijepolje it was possible follow the Lim River to Brodarevo, which was just a caravanserai, primarily because there was a suitable place there to cross the Lim. There were several roads from Brodarevo to Senice. The first went from Brodarevo through the

¹⁰ Škrivanić 1974: 66.

¹¹ Dinić 1978: 311.

¹² Tomović and Pušica 2009: 75.

¹³ Bojanovski 1987: 109, 151.

¹⁴ Škrivanić 1974: 125; Knežević 1979: 42–58; Ćuk 1997: 9.

¹⁵ Tomović and Pušica 2009: 86. A field survey to identify remnants of the road was carried out in September 2014.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 77. I carried out a field survey of the road on September 15, 2009. For more on Prijepolje as caravanserais, and other caravanserais in the Lim river valley, see: Ćuk 1997: 7–24.

¹⁷ A field survey of the villages and the road was carried out and recorded during 2009 and 2010.

¹⁸ Mišić 2010: 24.

village of Grobnica to Klisur and Šanac, between Gornji and Donji Stranjan, to Korita, through Jadovnik and Katunić (1733 m) to the village of Gonje, where it joined up with the road from Prijepolje and continued to Senice or Ras.¹⁹ The other route led past the Davidovica monastery to the villages of Mrčkovina and Šćepanica, through Crni Vrh to Duboki Potok. The road continued to Koprivna, located below Javor, then descended to the village of Sidula and connected with the road to Gonje. From Brodarevo, merchants also crossed the Mrkovska River, Milaković, and Tičje Polje to Ozren, and through Caričino and Trijebin to Senice (Sjenica).²⁰ From Trijebin on the Pešter plateau, the road at one time went to Bubanje and Goševo and further to the Kumanica monastery. It was the shortest route connecting Senice, Bijelo Polje, and Ras. So far, no traces of the old road have been found along this route.²¹

Merchants from Dubrovnik traveled less often to upper Polimlje than to the lower and middle Polimlje. It was of interest for merchants from Kotoran and for those who left the coast of Zeta and its interior. It once led from Primorje to present-day Podgorica, and from there to the medieval town of Medun. The road continued across the pass between the Kolštica and Krisitori mountains to Katun and Lake Rikavac, then Skrobotnica and the Vrmoška River valley, past the village of Grnčari to Gusinje and further on to Plav. It then went from Plav to Budimlja (Berane) and through Bihor to Sjenica and Ras (Novi Pazar).²² That road then separated from the Lim valley and led to the village of Lagatori in lower Bihor, and then further on to the villages of Trnavica and Savin Bor. The road below the Krstač mountain went further to Đerekari (Lower and Upper) and lower Pešter, from there it went to Duga Poljana and to Ras. There are still some remnants of this road at Djerkare.²³

There was also an old road of minor importance connecting the Bistrica valley and the region around Bijelo Polje with the Podvrh monastery, which was connected through the mountain pass with Petrovo selo (Osmanbegovo selo) in the Bihor region, and then it went on to the Pešter plateau and Ras. Except for this route, there was no way to reach the Pešter plateau from right bank of Bistrica via the medieval village of Mojstir because the Čalovića canyon through which Bistrica flows is impassable.²⁴ In this direction is the interesting village of Donji Djerekare which, as we have seen, was located on the route from the Lim river valley to Ras. It is located in the south of the lower Pešter plateau, and from there, an interesting local road leads over the Žegnica hills and Gusti Viganj, which then leads to Paučine.²⁵ This is a route that leads to a local mining area that was active during the early Byzantine Empire and where there are visible remains of old mining (toponymy, old mining shafts).

¹⁹ A field survey of the villages of Gonje and Katunić was performed on September 15, 2009. See: Tomović and Pušica 2009: 90.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 90. A field study of the road leading to Tičje Polje was performed in September 1999.

²¹ The reconnaissance of the road leading to village of Goševo and the village itself had been performed on 19th September 2009.

²² Škrivanić 1974: 67.

²³ A field survey of the road and the village of Đerekari of was performed, and of the medieval church on Crkvište archeological site was performed on September 1, 2008.

²⁴ A field study of the road and the monastery of Podvrh was conducted on September 3, 2008.

²⁵ A field study of the road was conducted on September 10, 2006.

From the Lim river valley (from the *župa* of Lim) the road once went to what is now the village of Crniš, above which are the remains of a fortification in the site of Gradac located on a rocky hill. Well-preserved remains of a road paved with river stones are still visible within a modern driveway. This was the old road to Azane, Lozna and Savin Bor in Bihor, and further on to Pešter. There was also a local road passing through this fortress to Goduša and then to Korita.²⁶

From Plav, along the road through the Lim river valley, one road diverted over the Čakor mountain. The road went from Plav to the right bank of the Lim from Čeligrad and came to Murine, where a customs house was located in the modern period. From there it followed the Lim to Velika, then headed to Čakor and further on to Peć and Dečani.²⁷ That direction connected the upper Lim river valley with Metohija. It was a horse trail (for leading a loaded horse or horseback riding) that mostly followed the route of an old Roman macadam road, which was still well-preserved and visible in the nineteenth century.²⁸ One branch of the road went past Chakor from the village of Desni Metoh, then into the valley of the Bjeluha river and from there to the Peć road, or directly to Dečani. From Plav to Peć, it also went from Bevcina and along Mount Košuta to Savin Senokos near Peć, which is mentioned in the Chrisobule of Dečani.²⁹

Medieval roads in the Lim river valley connected the Adriatic coast (primarily Dubrovnik and the coast of Zeta) with Ras (Novi Pazar) and Metohija, which were the centers of the medieval Serbian state. By the time medieval commerce emerged, the ancient Roman roads had deteriorated due to neglect, so that they were only partially used, and only in those segments where they coincided with medieval trade routes. Medieval roads were often just rocky paths that could only be used by people and animals, since the commerce in the Balkans was carried out by caravans. As the material remains on the ground in Lim valley testify, most of these roads were cobbled, at least when leading up to the fortresses and marketplaces. In some places, material from ancient Roman roads was used for these.

When considering late antique and medieval routes in Polimlje, different contexts must be taken into account. In antiquity, the Lim river valley had no special significance for Rome. So at that time, these were the local roads connecting the region with the neighboring areas. The hub for transportation networks at that time was in central Podrinje. In the medieval Serbian state (from the early twelfth century onward) the Lim river valley was one of the most important regions where the estates of the ruling dynasty were located. As part of caravan trade, the Lim river valley was an important transit center between the Serbian Littoral, Dubrovnik, and the central parts of the Serbian state. Most caravan trade (except Prizren) directed toward the Adriatic communes ran through this region. Medieval roads were important and numerous because they led to many marketplaces and caravanserais in the Lim river valley, and from there to Serbia.

²⁶ A field survey of the road was performed on September 4, 2008.

²⁷ A field survey of the road was performed June 11, 2005.

²⁸ Mijatović 1868: 269–270.

²⁹ Milojević 1880: 58; Škrivanić 1974: 68.

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**ПУТЕВИ У ПОЛИМЉУ
У ПОЗНОЈ АНТИЦИ И СРЕДЊЕМ ВЕКУ –
КОНТИНУИТЕТ И ПРОМЕНЕ**

Резиме

Средњовековни путеви у Полимљу повезивали су Јадранско приморје, пре свега Дубровник и Зетско приморје, са центрима средњовековне српске државе, са Расом (Нови Пазар) и Метохијом. Стари римски путеви су, до времена развоја средњовековне трговине, били запуштени и пропали, тако да су само делимично искоришћавани и то само у оним сегментима где су се поклапали са средњовековним правцима трговине. Средњовековни путеви су често били само камените стазе којима су могли да се крећу човек и товарна животиња, јер је балканска трговина била караванска. Како сведоче материјални остаци на терену у Полимљу, већина ових путева је била калдрмисана, бар на прилазима тврђавама и трговима. Понегде се за ово користио материјал са старих римских путева. Мора се имати у виду и чињеница да је део ових путева свакако калдрмисан тек у турско доба, али се та разлика на терену неда утврдити у већини случајева.

Када се говори о позноантичким и средњовековним путевима у Полимљу мора се имати на уму да се ту ради о различитим контексима. У антици Полимље ни по чему нема посебан значај за Рим. Њиме тада иду локални путеви који га повезују сасуседним областима. Центар ка коме се гравитира у то време налази се у средњем Подрињу. У доба средњовековне српске државе (од почетка 12. века) Полимље је једна од најважнијих области где су баштине владарске династије. Полимље у караванској трговини представља важан транзитни центар између српског Приморја, Дубровника и централних делова српске државе. Највећи део караванске трговине (ако се изузме Призрен), усмерен ка јадранским комунама, води преко Полимља. Зато су средњовековни полимски путеви важни и бројни јер воде до многобројних полимских тргова и караванских станица, а од њих воде даље у Србију.

Кључне речи: средњи век, путеви, Полимље, касна антика, Дубровник, Рас.

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**NATURAL CONDITIONS AS A FACTOR
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES ON OPPOSITE SIDES
OF THE DANUBE RIVER: A CASE STUDY OF KOVIN AND
SMEDEREVO FROM THE 14th TO THE 18th CENTURY**

Abstract: This paper analyzes the impact of the natural environment as a condition for the emergence and development of Kovin and Smederevo, two nearby cities on opposite banks of the Danube, during a period ranging from the Middle Ages, when both cities underwent intensive development, until the eighteenth century, when the process of land reclamation began on their locations. In the past, the terrain, climate, hydrography, fertility, and natural resources were highly significant for the formation and development of cities, both for their strategic positions and for supplying cities with basic needs, either through direct production or trade. Thus, it is important to analyze and explain these factors that make up the basic prerequisites for the location of a settlement, and to look at the possibilities and obstacles for a city or town along the lower course of the Danube, especially because the conditions differed on the left and right banks in this particular area.

Keywords: Kovin, Smederevo, Danube River, urbanization, natural conditions.

1. Introduction

An understanding of historical processes and phenomena is often incomplete if research into them does not include the area or terrain where historical events took place. Human life has always been dependent on the conditions, influences, and possibilities of nature, so knowledge of physical geography is needed to understand the

environment and how it influences humans and their culture. In this respect, the process of urbanization should also be considered.¹

Terrain, climate, hydrography, and the qualities of soil, along with plant and animal life are important factors in the human geography of physical or natural species. In addition to natural factors of human geography, there are also social factors, which are primarily historical, economic and commercial, and cultural. It is important to emphasize the interplay and conditions of all factors, both natural and social. In order to monitor the various phenomena and processes, one must properly measure and determine the relationship, share, and character of both factors, without attaching more significance to natural conditions than they truly have, while also not discounting their influence and the influences of historical processes.² This paper, however, will only address natural conditions as one of, but not necessarily the most important, factors in the emergence and development of Smederevo and Kovin. Nevertheless, their economic (and primarily mercantile), administrative, and military functions should also be borne in mind.³

Throughout history, people have always found favorable locations for establishing settlements. Even after an area is completely abandoned, these settlements have always attracted new settlers to settle in old places. Since ancient times, people have always grouped together at particularly attractive points. They first form a small core around which other human layers multiply. Through hard work and dedication, these settlements are then perfected and become more valuable geographic locations that attract others to settle there. The geographic elements of a living space—the nature of the soil, temperature, altitude, and the interplay of hydrography and plant growth—determine how the settlement is organized. Just like other living beings, humans also have a need to expand by negotiating a space. Humans settle in a particular space that provides certain advantages in comparison to others, but if the space itself has some drawbacks, they will endeavor to correct, change, and adapt them to their needs.⁴ Vidal de La Blache defined this relationship as, “Nature prepares the ground, and man organizes it according to his needs and wishes.”⁵

Therefore, when identifying the conditions that determine the position of a town or city, it is necessary to understand the terrain, climate, connections, fertility of the land, economic opportunities, and the historical development of the entire area and beyond.⁶ Kovin and Smederevo emerged and developed under completely different historical circumstances. Here, however, we will only look at the aforementioned natural factors as they relate to the emergence and development of these two nearby towns on opposite sides of the Danube during a period spanning between the Middle Ages, when both cities underwent intense development, and the eighteenth century, when a process of land reclamation began.

¹ Vasin 2019: 45–46

² Cvijić 1922: 11–12; Radovanović 1959: 14–25; Čubrilović 1983: 2. Grčić 2004: 31–33; Grčić 2015: 178–180

³ For more on various factors in the development of Smederevo and Kovin and how they interacted with one another, see: Vasić: 2023.

⁴ Vasin 2019: 46–47

⁵ Vidal de la Blache 1898: 107.

⁶ Cvijić 1922: 234–245; Stanković 1939: 13–14; Radovanović 1959: 258–260; Grčić 2004: 45–47.

2. Hydrography and Terrain

The hydrographic characteristics examined here resulted from the course of the Danube and by that of its tributaries in this area. It is important to emphasize that, in the past, rivers were not regulated as they are now, and there are certain differences that must be considered. As an element necessary for daily life, water has always drawn humans to settle near it, but its ill nature as seen in flooding has also repelled them. Even today, most settlements are found near water sources, which in the past was even more necessary. In the past, however, much more frequently than now, there was a greater danger of uncontrollable flooding after many attempts to regulate waterways. It was therefore necessary to find terrain that was appropriate for building a settlement that was close enough to the water, but also somewhat protected when the rivers rose.⁷

In the area addressed here, the Danube is located in a section of the Pannonian plain, more specifically in the Serbian part of Banat starting from the mouth of the Sava and extending down to the Ram narrows.⁸ At this section of the river, the left bank is lower than the right. On the right bank, there are places with higher and lower terraces on the hillsides leading down to the Danube, and on the left are the alluvial plane and higher and lower Danube terraces.⁹ Therefore, the land along the left bank is more vulnerable to flooding when the river rises. On the right bank of the Danube, this sector can be vulnerable to flooding directly below Veliko Selo, between Ritopek and Grocka, slightly further downstream from Grocka, the area around Smederevo, and the land between the mouth of the Mlava and the Ram narrows.¹⁰

The alluvial plains are the lowest land in this area, ranging between 80 and 66 meters above sea level. Due to frequent flooding, these areas were not appropriate for settlement. The Danube's alluvial plain is rather wide. Before it was regulated, the Danube flooded the alluvial plane and part of the right terrace every spring, leaving devastation in its wake. This is why there are many small watercourses and marshes around Kovin. In the lowest part of the alluvial plane, there are marshes and wetlands. Their surfaces vary depending on the amount of rainfall and the height of the ground and surface water.¹¹

Here the central stretch of the Danube is a low-lying river. The width at this stretch varies, but averages around 600 meters, but by Smederevo and Kovin it is 1200 meters wide and can rise by up to two kilometers. There are many small islands along this stretch, including Big Smederevo Island and Little Smederevo Island on the stretch between Kovin and Smederevo.¹² Navigation of this sector of the Danube can be hampered by low water

⁷ Vasin 2019: 47–48

⁸ Dukić 1983: 15–16, 26–30; Gavrilović, Dukić 2014: 21–26.

⁹ Đurđević 1960: 67–69.

¹⁰ Over the last 150 years, the city of Smederevo was flooded or threatened by rising water around seventy times. (Opština Smederevo: 91); In the year 1154–1155, John Kinnamos noted that the Danube flooded after heavy rains. (VIINJ 4: 51); Bertrand de la Broquière wrote that during his time in Belgrade in 1433, the Danube rose higher than people could ever remember it had in the past. He said it had grown to ten Latin miles wide (around fifteen kilometers) and had exceeded its normal high point by six feet (around two meters). Because of the high water, he was unable to travel to Buda. (Brokijer 1950: 147).

¹¹ Györfy 1987: 305–113; Ivánfi 1872: 153.

¹² Dukić 1983: 30–34; Great Smederevo Island is about one kilometer wide and six kilometers long. Little Island

levels in the shallows and in winter by ice, and it can sometimes freeze completely.¹³ *Košava** can also have a negative impact on navigability. Between Kladovo and Belgrade, a strong *košava* can create high waves that prevent ships from sailing or push ships up against the rocky banks.¹⁴

The most important tributaries in this sector that are relevant here, and the courses of which have an effect on the area around Kovin and Smederevo, are the Timiș and Karaš, and on the right the Great Morava and the Jezava.¹⁵

The Timiș rises in modern-day Romania from the eastern slope of the Semenik massif, and flows into the Danube near Pančevo. Due to the low terrain and a small drop in the river flow, the river runoff/drainage is slow and often empties out. Regulation of its course began in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ The Karaš has a rather wide alluvial plain in which many highly branched meanders form. During snow melts and the rainy season, the Karaš floods everything around it, including the entire plain, which essentially becomes a slow-draining lake. The water is slow to drain because it must pass over sandbars, circulate through long meanders due to a very small drop at the sharp curves, and is often slowed by sand deposits formed by the wind. Major flooding can also occur when the Danube is high and when ice sheets from the Karaš cannot flow into it and accumulate at their confluence. During a particular season, the Karaš gushes out and floods the surrounding area and then recedes, only to swell again a few days later. When the river returns to its basin, a large surface area remains under water, so the land can only be farmed in the late spring. Some of the lower terrain remains under water all year round.¹⁷ Ever since the early eighteenth century, and up until today, considerable efforts have been made to drain this area and cultivate it. The Timiș cuts through a valley in loess terrace all the way to the Danube marshes, and in the past regularly flooded the surrounding area. It was later regulated so

is about two hundred meters wide and one and a half kilometers long. When the river rises, the islands are partially or completely submerged. (*Opština Smederevo*: 68).

¹³ We know the Danube froze over in 1048. (VIINJ 3: 163); There was also ice in the Danube near Kovin in 1431 (Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 88). It was also frozen over in 1463 (J. Panonius, *Smrt majke Barbare*, stihovi 35–36, str. 12) There was ice again in 1476 (Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 388). King Matthias and his army were on their way to Wallachia but were unable to reach it due to high water and ice on the Danube. He had to resort to pulling up his ships and dragging them overland to the Sava River, which, according to a witness, Bishop Gabriel of Eger, rarely or never froze. (Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 388; Kisić, Vasić: 81–95). King Matthias would later note that he was unable to conquer Smederevo after Šabac because the Danube was too low. (Fraknói: 354–355; Kisić, Vasić: 93–95). Evliya Çelebi noted that, during winter, the Danube would freeze, when the ice was ten spans (around 75 centimeters) thick, certain duties were not charged, which was favorable for merchants. The impression from his account is that this was not an unusual occurrence. (Evljija Čelebi 1979: 93); Quiclet also mentioned ice on the Danube in a similar context. (Samardžić 1961: 194.);

* The Serbian name for a strong southeasterly wind that often blows in this part of the Lower Danube —Trans.

¹⁴ Đurđević 1960: 67–69; Gavrilović, Đukić 2014: 33–38.

¹⁵ Đukić 1983: 24, 29, 38.

¹⁶ Gavrilović, Đukić 2014: 65–66.

¹⁷ Milovan 1958: 8–15. Theophylact Simocatta mentioned the wetlands in this region in his description of the campaign Priscus launched from Viminacium against the barbarians. In one of them, the Roman army subdued the enemy and drove them into a marsh, where many drowned, including sons of the khagan. *VIINJ* 1: 123; Broquière also mentioned the marshlands in Banat. (Brokijer 1950: 147) Antun Vrančić wrote that the marshland near Titel completely flooded whenever the Tisa and Danube overflowed their banks. (Matković 1884: 17–18).

that now it floods much less often. A description from January 1768 states that across the Timiș there were reed marshes and bogs, and there were a lot of reeds and marshes between the floodplains and the Danube around Kovin on the left and right.¹⁸

There is an aquifer near Kovin at a shallow depth of around one to three meters. It is fed by water from the Danube, atmospheric precipitation, and influx from higher loess areas. This water is very important for crops that have been adapted to make use of them, yet a high-level aquifer can have a negative effect on developing crops. Likewise, high groundwater can make land cultivation and travel difficult.¹⁹ According to information from the urbarium of Kovin from 1771, the total flood and marshlands covering the field bordering Gaj and Ostrovo, the banks of the Danube, the stretch along the Dunavica and Ponjavica, and the marsh called Crna Bara amounted to wetlands covering 21 percent of the entire area. A significant part of the area was covered by the Crna Bara marsh. This marsh had its own water source and never dried up.²⁰ In a description of the area where a German colonizing regiment was located in April 1768, Anton Kocian, a business inspector, said that it was flat terrain, and a third of it was a stretch of marsh overgrown with reeds along the Danube, with a depth of up to four klaftera (7.56 meters).²¹

The Great Morava is formed by the merging of the South and West Morava rivers at Stalać. The town of Kulič was built at this confluence. In the past, it was about 60 meters longer because many meanders were cut when it was regulated and shortened. Very often in the past—almost every year—it spilled over and destroyed everything in its path, which resulted in the land constantly flooding and becoming marshy, and the river changing course.²² The Jezava is a distributary of the Great Morava and emerges two kilometers downstream from the mouth of the Jasenica. In 1897, it was separated from the Great Morava by an embankment. Water only flows through its upper course during the spring and late summer. In the past, the Jezava flowed into the Danube, and the Smederevo fortress was built at its mouth. After heavy rains and when the Danube was high it overflowed its banks and flooded into the wider area around its mouth. It was eventually diverted and now flows into the Morava.²³

In the Lower Danube region around Smederevo, there is primarily gently rolling terrain with wide hillsides and shallow valleys. Along the stretch from Grocka to Kulič, the Danube valley is asymmetric. The right bank is hilly and highly exposed to the sun's rays. Throughout the day, there is nothing hindering insolation. For this reason, this part of the area has been inhabited since the earliest periods. In Roman times, this was a golden riverbank full of vineyards. Godomin field is generally a very fertile plain, although the success of the harvest is subject to the whims of the river. The terrain tends to become marshy. During the despot Stefan's reign, there was a kind of "mud" in Godomin that was referred to as *Mrtva Morava* or Dead Morava.²⁴ Antun Vrančić wrote that the plain near

¹⁸ Ilić 2014:144; Ilić Mandić 2020: 211.

¹⁹ Tomić 1981: 23–27.

²⁰ Ilić 2012: 199–229.

²¹ Ilić Mandić 2020: 188.

²² Morava 2006: 115–116; Gavrilović, Dukić 2014: 67–74; Simonović 1990: 184; Mišić 2007: 18.

²³ *Opština Smederevo* 1992: 74–75; Gavrilović, Dukić 2014: 73.

²⁴ *Opština Smederevo* 1992: 31; Mihaljević 1976: 105

Smederevo was so low, that if the Danube rose even a little, it would immediately become flooded.²⁵ Evliya Çelebi claimed that the land in Smederevo was marshy.²⁶ Quiclet said that on the road from Kolar to Hasan-pašina Palanka in the summer of 1658, he crossed through long marshes and the road had been particularly muddy. Interestingly, he claimed they had traveled at night because it was unbearably hot during the day, which meant these marshes did not dry out, even in summer.²⁷

3. Suitability of the Terrain

Each kind of terrain has certain advantages and disadvantages. It is just a matter of what is considered crucial at the time a settlement is conceived in order for it to be established at a particular spot. As has been described, the area here is flat and rather marshy and prone to flooding; but often only one small advantage to an area can be decisive and overrule a number of disadvantages.²⁸

Cities were often built at the confluence of two rivers or on their components, primarily because it was easier to defend, but also to take advantage of the benefits of two rivers. Smederevo emerged at the mouth of the Jezava where it empties into the Danube. It is located on a gently rolling lowland area on the southern rim of the Pannonian Basin, where it meets the Banat plain, Pomoravlje, and the Šumadija hills. This is highly fertile land suitable for cultivation. A favorable geographic position at the meeting point of different natural and geographic formations, along with lowlands with valleys, plentiful water, and agricultural land provided the necessary conditions for the development of settlements. The location on the banks of the Danube that had important areas with small gradients in the surrounding area basically ensured that the terrain would not be a limitation to exploiting the land. The entire region had a favorable climate with plenty of water resources.²⁹

As was mentioned previously, here the left bank of the Danube is somewhat lower than the right bank, which means the left side is more vulnerable to flooding if the rivers rose. Settlements that emerged on higher and better drained Kovin developed where the loess terrace and the Danube's lower alluvial plain meet, on a protruding, triangle-shaped loess marsh that ends with a sharp high point on the bank of the Danube. Medieval Kovin was located at the very tip of this triangle. It was thus built on higher and drier land which, in the past, provided security from flooding and high groundwater. The alluvial plain is at its narrowest here due to this protruding loess marsh, which is a highly significant factor for river crossings. This means that Kovin is located at the most favorable spot in all of southern Banat for crossing the Danube.³⁰

Kovin is surrounded on the east and west by the Danube's low alluvial plain and its now long-abandoned distributary. At the north, it is open toward the expansive loess terrace. Kovin is thus naturally protected by steep slopes to the south, west, and east, and only

²⁵ Matković 1884: 20

²⁶ Evlija Çelebi 1979: 313

²⁷ Samardžić 1961: 195

²⁸ Febvre 1966: 345

²⁹ *Opština Smederevo* 1992: 31–44, 208.

³⁰ Tomić 1981: 27–32; Ivánfi 1872: 173–174.

needed additional defense to the north. The loess terrace near Kovin is rugged, which can certainly be attributed to the Danube. There are many elongated depressions within it, which can offer some protection to a settlement when filled with water. Sandstone on the north side, which was uninhabited in the past, can also provide a sort of protection. This location where two geomorphological features (the somewhat drier loess terrace and the wetter alluvial plain) meet enables the population to exploit both of these. The alluvial plain is very humid and contains wetlands, marshy terrain, and moist pastures. In the past, it flooded when the Danube was high, after which lush, marshy vegetation would grow. Another morphological unit on which Kovin is located is a loess terrace with excellent fertile soil, but it is rather dry due to deep the phreatic zone and low precipitation.³¹

4. Plant and Animal Life

In the past, the tree canopy was much denser than it is today. Priscus noted that, while on the way to the Danube, a delegation sent to Atilla's court by Emperor Theodosius II found itself in a densely forested area and had descended into a completely forested plain.³² In a much later period, Evliya Çelebi and Quiclet also mentioned forests.³³ Broquière, on the other hand, mentioned that on the way to Belgrade and Szeged through Banat, he never saw a single tree apart from two small forests surrounded by a river.³⁴

On his way to Constantinople, the well-known French poet Lamartine wrote that he had passed through an ocean of Serbian forests and did not emerge from the shade of trees for three days. Adam Weingarten, an Austrian staff captain who published a historical and geographical description of Serbia in 1820, wrote that Serbia was an almost uninterrupted forest.³⁵

In the late nineteenth century, the plain between Veliko Selo and Vinča was covered in willow trees, and there used to be oak trees laden with acorns used in pig breeding. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the hillsides between Belgrade and Smederovo were completely forested, mostly with oak trees. These forests were mentioned by numerous travel writers. They were mentioned by Broquière, who said that he crossed through many large forests on his way to Belgrade.³⁶ Antun Vrančić wrote that the area around Smederevo was wooded.³⁷ Stephan Gerlach, on his way to Smederevo from Belgrade, and again from Kolar to Smederevo, mentioned that there were forests of oak.³⁸ Hans Dernschwam also said that the areas north of Jagodina and around Begrade were forested.³⁹ In 1621, an anonymous travel writer noted that, on the road from Belgrade to Hasan-pašina Palanka via Kolari, he continually traveled through forests. Pouillet wrote similarly in 1658.⁴⁰ In this climate, the

³¹ Tomić 1981: 8–13, 117–118, 56–57, 66–86; Bukurov 1970: 20–21; Krstić 2006: 28–30.

³² *VIIINJ* 1: 13

³³ Evlija Çelebi 1979: 518, 521, 522; Samardžić 1961: 192

³⁴ Brokijer 1950: 147

³⁵ Stojanović 1997: 65

³⁶ Brokijer 1950: 131.

³⁷ Matković 1884: 22.

³⁸ Matković 1893: 53–55.

³⁹ Vlajinac 1927: 97, 99.

⁴⁰ Samardžić 1961: 169, 212.

forests are filled with several species of oaks.⁴¹ A variety of game animals are found in these forests, including deer and roe-deer, wild boar, hares, pheasants, gray partridges, common quail, European turtle doves, wolves, foxes, European wildcats, weasels, European badgers, Eurasian goshawks, sparrowhawks, eagles, and falcons.

The natural conditions around Kovin and Smederevo are very favorable for fishing. The Danube, along with many distributaries, meaders, oxbow lakes, and ponds provide ideal conditions for catching fish, but they are also inhabited by varieties of birds such as mallards and graylag geese. The Danube and its tributaries were teeming with fish. In the mid-nineteenth century, before rivers were artificially restocked, there were around sixty-six varieties of fish in Serbian rivers. The most commonly fished were Eurasian carp, crucian carp, blue bream, wels catfish, ziege, weatherfish, European perch, pike, freshwater bream, and common rudd, while barbel, zander, trout, ide, and redfish were less common. Beluga and sturgeon that had come all the way from the Black Sea could also be found in the Danube even in Belgrade.⁴² Manuel Holobolos wrote that the Danube had more of a kind of fish he referred to as a “fresh river pig” than any other river. It is not clear, however, which fish this was.⁴³ Theodore Metochites wrote of a Danube fish that was large and oily, and was highly prized in Constantinople, where it was difficult to find.⁴⁴ In the *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, an anonymous author claimed that the Danube and its tributaries were filled with an abundance of fish, and he made specific mention of beluga, sturgeon, pike, and barbel.⁴⁵ Constantine of Kostenets also wrote that there were many fish in Serbia.⁴⁶ Fishing on the Danube was certainly prevalent in the later period.⁴⁷ During the Ottoman period, taxes on fishing were collected at Golubac, Kulič, and Ram. Half of the sanjak-bey of Smederevo’s income came from fishing on the Morava, and he possessed fishponds on the Sava and the Danube.⁴⁸ An anonymous travel writer noted extraordinarily large carp and commented that all the fish in Belgrade were excellent and fatty because the riverbed had two feet of silt. Similar observations were made by Hans Dernschwam, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Quietlet, and Louis Gedoyn.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Karić 1887: 70.

⁴² Pančić 1860: 61–159; In a typicon from the Studenica monastery, it is instructed that people to be sent to the banks of the Danube and the Zeta to gather fish before the Feast of Saint Simeon. (Ćorović 1928: 125).

⁴³ *VIIINJ* 6: 581.

⁴⁴ *VIIINJ* 6: 114.

⁴⁵ Živković, Petrović, Uzelac 2013: 137–138.

⁴⁶ Konstantin Filozof 1936: 50.

⁴⁷ Zirojević 1994: 111–120; Zirojević 2011: 13–31; Fish are most easily caught in eddies. The most well-known is the Gospodin vir on the Danube, which *knez* Lazar granted to the Ravanica monastery. He also granted hunting grounds on the Danube to the Gornjak monastery. (Mladenović 2003: 32, 35, 58, 61; Miklosich 1858: 194; Škrivanić 1970: 249–250; Novaković 2005: 771; Nikolić 1973: 152); Krstić 2006: 131–142; In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Germany and northern Italy often procured live or semi-wild livestock from Poland, Hungary, and the Balkans. The people of the Balkans were often mentioned in sources in Venice as butchers and livestock traders (most often from Dalmatia). Later, until the eighteenth century, pike and very large hake from the Sava and Danube rivers were highly praised. (Brodell 2007: 180).

⁴⁸ Bojanić, 1974: 21, 23, 51; Šabanović 1964: 26; Hrabak 1960: 59–65

⁴⁹ Vlajinac 1927: 100; Samardžić 1961: 164–165, 186, 194, 183.

5. Climate

Climate has a significant effect on water surfaces, distribution of plant and animal life (specifically on the growth of crops and forests), and thus on humankind. This is particularly relevant because, in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, most of the population was engaged in agriculture and the remainder was also largely dependent on food production. Temperatures in central Europe were slightly higher between 900 and 1300. Evidence for this is that the level of forest cover increased from one hundred to two hundred meters above sea level. Tilling the land and cultivating crops became possible at higher latitudes and elevations than in the past. What has been called the Medieval Climate Optimum favored biological growth throughout the entire West. At higher latitudes, weather conditions began to worsen as early as the thirteenth century, and this deterioration ushered in an era often referred to as the Little Ice Age. This worsening extended throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the northern hemispheres cooled. The Little Ice Age began slowly and imperceptibly, beginning with occasional harsh winters. Worsening weather followed in the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with wet, cool summers and long, cold winters. This lasted from approximately 1400 to 1850, with the coldest periods around 1550 and between 1700 and 1850, when there was a series of cold winters.⁵⁰

There has so far been no research on the climate in this part of the Danube region in the Middle Ages. Various descriptions of the weather found in chronicles, biographies, travel writings, and other sources contribute to our understanding of this period. An anonymous travel writer wrote that in 1621, the air in Belgrade was mild and the seasons were rather pleasant.⁵¹ Louis Gedoy wrote that in 1624, it had been extremely cold with lots of snow, and because of this he had to postpone his journey from Sarajevo to Belgrade. At that time, the Drina was half frozen and the Morava had frozen over completely. After he arrived in Belgrade, he wrote that it had snowed for four days straight, and no one had ever experienced such a harsh winter for over a hundred years.⁵² Evliya Çelebi mentioned in several places that the climate around Smederevo and Belgrade was very pleasant. He said that in Smederevo specifically, the winters were very pleasant and mild, and that in July, the air in the city was unusually hot, which he attributed to the high walls, and that in the town outside the walls the climate was pleasant.⁵³ He also noted that when he traveled from Budapest to Belgrade in November and December of 1663, so much snow fell in Osijek that thousands of tents were completely covered, but then the next day it was warmer and the sun was shining, and after that such heavy rains fell that there were no tents left standing. At the same time, tremendously strong winds began blowing, but the next day it was cooler.⁵⁴ He said the climate in Banat, however, was good, and the climate in the area east of Smederevo was lovely and pleasant.⁵⁵

The temperate continental climate offers ideal conditions for settling down and building settlements. Throughout this region, the level of insolation is relatively equal, and

⁵⁰ Brodel 2007: 33–35; Delort, Wolter 2002: 106–107; Hoffmann 2014: 318–329.

⁵¹ Samardžić 1961: 164.

⁵² Samardžić 1961: 176–178, 181, 183, 184; See also Note 13.

⁵³ Evlija Čelebi 1979: 70, 313

⁵⁴ Evlija Čelebi 1979: 376

⁵⁵ Evlija Čelebi 1979: 543, 547–548

although the amount of sediment is low, it is approximately evenly distributed throughout the entire year, making this area suitable for agriculture. Wind is frequent but not strong.⁵⁶ All this indicates that, despite certain periods when conditions were somewhat harsher, the climate in this part of the Lower Danube did not adversely affect the formation of settlements nor hinder their development. Also indicative of this is the number of vineyards in the area (which will be discussed later), which require a warmer climate and longer summers.

6. Soil Fertility

Arable land played an important role in this period when agriculture was the most important part of the economy and in what the majority of the population was engaged. It was reached by clearing groves and virgin soil, which, after being tilled, were turned into fields suitable for growing grain or for planting vineyards and orchards. Up until the sixteenth century, cities and towns were still inseparable from their agrarian surroundings, so it is necessary to consider the city's surroundings from this viewpoint.⁵⁷

In the mid-twelfth century, John Kinnamos wrote that the south of Banat was full of people and all sorts of goods.⁵⁸ The travel writer Muhammad al-Idrisi wrote that Kovin and Bač were beautiful, well-built, wealthy, bustling cities with many estates.⁵⁹ Constantine of Kostenets wrote that Serbia was fertile, had an abundance of everything, and there were many vineyards.⁶⁰ Broquière wrote that, on his journey to Belgrade, he saw large valleys, many villages, good foodstuffs, and especially good wine.⁶¹ The villages along the Danube, and in Braničevo and Pek, which Prince Lazar had granted to Ravanica, had many vineyards.⁶² Vineyards and other riches on the Rudište estates, which belonged to Belgrade, were also mentioned.⁶³ The ban of Belgrade also had vineyards.⁶⁴

In accounts of travel writers from a somewhat later period, there are references to the fertility of this part of the Lower Danube. Hans Derschwam wrote in 1553–1555 that a beautiful, fertile plain extended around Smederevo, and that around the town there were extraordinarily large vineyards. There were also vineyards along the Danube in the direction of Belgrade, and he wrote that Smederevo could not be seen until they had passed the vineyards. He also remarked that there appeared to have been vineyards in the areas south of the city. For this reason, wine in Smederevo and Belgrade had once been good and cheap, but he claimed that it was not as good as it had been because few people were left in the area, and the Ottoman taxes had become too high, meaning that vineyards could not be maintained as they had been in the past.⁶⁵ Antun Vrančić said of the area south of Smederevo that it was a spacious, beautiful,

⁵⁶ Bukurov 1983: 114; Dinić 1988: 17–23; *Opština Smederevo* 1992: 65

⁵⁷ Blagojević 1973: 79–98; Albert of Aachen wrote that in 1096, the crusaders stole livestock grazing in fields around Belgrade from the local residents. (Kalić 1967: 61, nap 114).

⁵⁸ *VIIINJ* 4: 43–44, 118–119, 126

⁵⁹ Szende 2011: 184–187; Stojkovski 2009: 63–64.

⁶⁰ Konstantin Filozof 1936: 50; Štetić 2021: 188–204.

⁶¹ Brokijer 1950: 131

⁶² Mladenović 2003: 53–54, 93–94.

⁶³ Teleki 1853: 519–521.

⁶⁴ Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 344.

⁶⁵ Vlajinac 1927: 61, 96, 98–101

and fertile land with many orchards and vineyards.⁶⁶ In 1564, an imperial courier named Jakov Becek wrote that Serbia was a desolate place and the people impoverished, but that it produced a great deal of grain and wine, which showed how fertile the land was.⁶⁷ Stephan Gerlach also made note of the vineyards in Smederevo and the cheap wine.⁶⁸ In the Morava valley near Smederevo the beautiful fields of grain were noted in 1578.⁶⁹ Evliya Çelebi mentioned several times that the area between Belgrade and Smederevo was very fertile and had many gardens and vineyards. He said of Smederevo that there was no end to all the gardens and vineyards.⁷⁰ Çelebi also mentioned vineyards in Banat in the area around Vršac.⁷¹ He also mentioned those east of Smederevo near Kulič, Hram, and Golubac.⁷² Vineyards were often mentioned in the cadasters compiled during Ottoman rule. During this time, wine was imported to Smederevo, but those living in Smederevo had their own vineyards.⁷³

During a period of scarcity after 1555, the City of Dubrovnik sought supplies from the deeper within the Balkan peninsula in Belgrade, Smederevo, and other areas. In years of famine and scarcity, and as a consequence of navigational difficulties caused by military conflict at sea, only small quantities of wheat were imported from around Belgrade and Smederevo. There is information from the year 1564–1565 and after the harvest of 1565 about Dubrovnik's efforts to obtain permissions to import grain from Belgrade, interest in prices, and the orders themselves.⁷⁴ People in these parts were also engaged in beekeeping. In 1428, King Sigismund freed the citizens of Kovin from all taxes except for those on wax production.⁷⁵ The Archdiocese of Kalocsa-Bacs was granted tithes on grain, food, bees, and wine from Belgrade estates.⁷⁶ Immediately after the fall of Belgrade, the conqueror began taxing the hives of Christians.⁷⁷ During the Ottoman period, wax in particular was exported from areas around Belgrade and Smederevo. Honey was taxed on ferries at Belgrade, Smederevo, Golubac, and Ram.⁷⁸

According to travel writers, the wider area around Smederevo, Kovin, Southern Hungary, and northern Serbia was quite fertile. They were impressed by the forests, vineyards, gardens, and plowed fields, which they mentioned in their writings.⁷⁹

7. Use of Natural Resources

As was mentioned in the section about the terrain, Smederevo and Kovin's surroundings are low-lying and rather marshy. Today lowlands are associated with fertile

⁶⁶ Matković 1884: 20–22

⁶⁷ Matković 1887: 86; We know of a mixture of wheat and barley grown near Belgrade that was obtained by mixing the seeds together when they were sown. (Blagojević 1973: 100–101).

⁶⁸ Matković 1893: 53.

⁶⁹ Matković 1893: 51–53.

⁷⁰ Evlija Çelebi 1979: 69–70, 91, 94, 314, 330, 378.

⁷¹ Evlija Çelebi 1979: 543.

⁷² Evlija Çelebi 1979: 547–548, 551, 552.

⁷³ Šabanović 1964: 26, 144, 148–156; Bojanić 1974: 16–18, 21.

⁷⁴ Hrabak 1971: 247, 291, 336–337, 379, 446; Hrabak 1957: 59–68.

⁷⁵ Kisić, Vasić 2021: 7–23.

⁷⁶ Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 306–307.

⁷⁷ Šabanović 1964: 26, 140.

⁷⁸ Bojanić 1974: 21–22, 35; Hrabak 1985: 87, 96.

⁷⁹ For more detail, see: Krstić 2020: 295–338.

terrain, but in the past before land development began, it could have been the complete opposite. At that time, the lowlands mostly collected water. Because this water is stagnant, it becomes surrounded by reeds and cattails, and during the summer months noxious fumes are emitted. These waters are also conducive to mosquitoes, which can spread serious diseases. Although wetlands were first cultivated in the Middle Ages, it was not common practice until the sixteenth century, and people mostly found arable land through clearing forests or virgin soil. In the past, wetlands generally took up much more space than they do today⁸⁰ and were considered to be unhealthy. Stagnant water, high humidity, mud, and mosquitoes facilitated the spread of infectious diseases— especially malaria, which is transmitted by mosquitoes.⁸¹ Contemporaries considered these environments to be unfavorable for human habitation. Hans Dernschwam said that Smederevo was an unhealthy settlement because the walled city was susceptible to flooding, and the lower town was a true lake of mud where stinking puddles of mud were accumulated in the largest streets.⁸² The poor quality of the water was often mentioned in reports by civil servants when they visited the colonized settlements of German regiments. In April 1768, a commerce inspector named Kocian recorded that, among other things, the well water was very salty, which made it mostly unusable for cooking or drinking, and the inhabitants were forced to take water from the Timiș and Ponjava rivers, and even from the Danube. Kocian believed the air in this region was poor due to evaporation from the marshes and bad water, and that it was no surprise that foreigners who came there fell ill, while the old and sick mostly perished.⁸³

However, because wetlands are part of the human environment, people must find some way to wrestle with them and learn how to take advantage of some of the benefits they offer. Marshy and muddy terrain can make access to the city quite difficult, which can serve as a kind of natural defense and a hindrance to besieging the city. In the eighteenth century, Inspector Kocian divided marshy terrain into three categories: completely unusable; partially usable for fishing or gathering reeds; and terrain occasionally useful for gathering additional hay during dry periods. This area was marshy before a drought but then dry was used for hayfields and livestock grazing.⁸⁴ According to a 1771 urbarium from Kovin, some parts of the wetlands were completely unusable due to dampness and plant cover. However, the largest part of the floodplain in the area was meadowland on both sides of the Ponjavica River, which could be used for harvesting hay in the dry season. Considering the general lack of trees in Banat, the marshy terrain along the Danube due to a large number of trees such as willow, alder, and oak.⁸⁵ Broquière wrote that in Banat, straw and reeds were used for kindling because wood was scarce.⁸⁶ Reeds could also be used for thatching roofs. Information from the medieval period indicates that there were fishponds in the vicinity of Kovin.⁸⁷ The Danube and its many distributaries, meanders, and oxbow lakes provide ideal

⁸⁰ Chaunu 1977: 224–226; Brodel 2001: 59–73.

⁸¹ For malaria in this context, see: Hoffmann 2014: 300–303.

⁸² Vlainac 1927: 61; Krstić 2009: 55–56.

⁸³ Ilić Mandić 2020: 197–198.

⁸⁴ Ilić Mandić 2020: 186–187.

⁸⁵ Ilić 2012: 199–229.

⁸⁶ Brokijer 1950: 147.

⁸⁷ Magdics 1888: 5.

conditions for fishing. It would be reasonable to assume that the ponds located near these cities were used for this purpose.

In the past, forests have played an important role in everyday life, primarily because they were a source of wood that had a variety of uses. Timber was a basic material for construction and was additionally used for firewood and for making various tools, weapons, and other necessities. Momčilo Spremić poetically observed that the Middle Ages were in fact an age of wood hidden behind a false image of stone. This is only because city walls and the houses of noblemen and the wealthy were built of stone. The homes of the rest of the population were mostly made of wood. Even parts of large and important fortifications had wooden elements. Forests were also highly important for hunting since they were a natural habitat for all sorts of game animals. These included varieties of deer, wild boar, hares, pheasants, gray partridges, common quail, European turtle doves, wolves, foxes, European wildcats, weasels, European badgers, Eurasian goshawks, sparrowhawks, eagles, and falcons. During the Middle Ages there were also beavers in this area of Serbia, and there were known to be two varieties of wild cattle: aurochs and the European bison. Pigs were able to feed on acorns in the forests of oak and beech. Various types of fruit suitable for human consumption could also be found in the forests. These could include wild walnuts and chestnuts, quince, and a variety of berries.⁸⁸ During times of war, the forest could provide shelter, and enemy advances could be stopped by felling trees.⁸⁹ Forests are also excellent at cleaning the air. This is especially important in wetland areas where the air quality was poor. Similarly, forests also provide protection from strong winds, including the *košava*. Forests can also partially protect against flooding because they use up large amounts of water and can to some extent retain water. In the summer months, they reduce temperatures and prevent the ground from getting too cold in the winter.⁹⁰

8. Roads

One of the rather important advantages of the terrain is for aligning roads. River currents, valleys, and gorges have been used for this purpose. If the need was great enough, roads were built over difficult terrain.⁹¹

There are two types of communication: river and land transport. First and foremost, rivers can be used as travel routes for transporting people and goods, but there was also a need to cross from one side to the other, either for crossing from one place to another on opposite banks of the river or continuing an overland route that often followed along river valleys.⁹²

Regarding transport, rivers do two things: They essentially cut off or disrupt transport over dry land and create a variety of problems for crossing from one bank to the other. They also connect distant places and enable easier transportation of people and goods. In the Middle Ages, bridges were only built over smaller rivers, so rafts were mostly used

⁸⁸ Spremić 1994: 720; Chaunu 1977: 264–265; Le Goff 2010: 251–252; Brodel 2010: 110–113; Mrgić 2013: 73–80; Mrgić 2010: 87–97; Mišić 2012: 95–102,

⁸⁹ Orbin 2006: 36–37; Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 266.

⁹⁰ Pančić 1998: 49–52.

⁹¹ Febvre 1966: 317–319, 330; Porčić 2004: 183–218

⁹² Febvre 1966: 317–318, 323–324; Vasić, Božanić 2021: 86–87

for crossings. There were no bridges spanning this particular section of the Danube during the Middle Ages, so rafts were used for crossing, although there had been bridges in some places during the Roman era.⁹³ There were several elements that influenced raft, which were mostly related to geography. Fords are mostly found where land routes intersected, and they were very often aligned with rivers valleys, so many of them were located near river mouths. Also, some natural conditions had to be dealt with that were related to the conditions of the terrain itself and the possibilities for crossing at a particular place.

As was already mentioned, it was important that the alluvial plane to be as narrow as possible, so that even when the river is high or when it overflows its banks, the ability to cross is not jeopardized. These natural conditions led to a ford near Kovin.⁹⁴ Evidence of its importance is that it was often used when large numbers of troops, horses, and equipment needed to be moved to the other side of the river, and that many military campaigns passed through Kovin. When King Louis I launched a campaign against Bulgaria in 1365, he crossed the Danube at Kovin. The raft was also used for military purposes many times during the reign of King Sigismund. In early November 1389, he penetrated Serbia, most likely through Srem and Mačva, since he had been in Mohács just prior to this.⁹⁵ When the campaign ended, the king returned to his own lands through Kovin before taking another short journey to the Lomnica River and then returning to Kovin.⁹⁶ In September 1390, the ban of Severin, Miklós Perényi, announced from Kovin his intent to attack Serbia, which he did.⁹⁷ The last campaign against Serbia was led by King Sigismund in the summer of 1392. The Ottomans were stationed on the right bank of the Danube across from Kovin, but they withdrew ahead of the king's army. The king's army stayed in the area around Braničevo and pushed their way to the town of Ždrelo on the Mlava River, and then returned to Hungary via Kovin.⁹⁸ An army led by Pippo Spano and sent by the despot Stefan Lazarević in 1409 as part of his fight against his brother Vuk, also traveled through Kovin.⁹⁹ When King Sigismund tried to retake Golubac in 1428, he remained for some time in the southern parts due to the Ottoman threat. He stayed in Kovin and was in Belgrade by the beginning of November.¹⁰⁰

In early 1431, rumors were circulating that the sultan was preparing a hundred large vessels for an attack on Hungary. In response, Franko Talovac, the captain of Belgrade, ordered the lords of Kovin to occupy the Danube with infantry and cavalry. And in early 1432, it was said that the Ottomans might strike at the southern reaches of Hungary. For this reason, Franko Talovac ordered the vice-ispán of Kovin to go down to Kovin with an army, and when word came that Belgrade might also be a target, nobles from the county of Kovin were told to come to Belgrade within two days.¹⁰¹

⁹³ Trajan's Bridge near Pontes, east of where Kladovo is now. (*VINJ* 1: 69).

⁹⁴ Rokai 1983: 139–140; Szende 2011: 162.

⁹⁵ Mályusz 1951: 142, 146; Fejér 1834a: 515–516; Fejér 1834b: 442; Rokai 1983: 160;

⁹⁶ Mályusz 1951: 147, 150

⁹⁷ Pesty 1878: 12; Mályusz 1951: 185;

⁹⁸ Mályusz 1951: 281; Fejér 1834b: 48, 419–420; Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 32–33.

⁹⁹ *Történelmi Tár* 1884: 226.

¹⁰⁰ Kammerer 1895: 356; Nagy, Véghely, Nagy 1886: 459–459; Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 88.

¹⁰¹ Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 90–93. Iorga II 1915: 291–292.

During skirmishes near Kovin in 1437, the Hungarian troops were supposed return to their lands, but they were attacked by the army of Ali Bey from Vidin, who wanted to cut off their retreat. Nevertheless, the Hungarians won a decisive victory at Godomin field near Smederevo.¹⁰² During one of the incursions, they ransacked Kovin, and the inhabitants fled or partly relocated to the island of Csepel, south of Budapest.¹⁰³ When Hunyadi moved against the Ottomans in 1448, he sent arms to Belgrade, and gathered an army in Kovin, where he crossed the Danube in September and set up camp at the mouth of the Morava.¹⁰⁴

In 1450, Hunyadi and his army went down to Belgrade and Kovin with the intention of attacking Serbia, but this never happened.¹⁰⁵ When he failed to conquer Smederevo, in early August 1454, the sultan withdrew at the news of Hunyadi gathering his forces near Kovin and Belgrade.¹⁰⁶ Hunyadi had gathered his army and his fleet when he needed to defend Belgrade from an Ottoman assault in 1456.¹⁰⁷

Upon hearing that Golubac had fallen to the Ottomans in 1458, Matthias ordered Szilágyi to come to Kovin with his army. When Mahmud Pasha learned of this, he left supplies at Golubac and he and his army withdrew.¹⁰⁸ In December 1458, King Matthias convened a diet in Szeged, where it was decided that all inhabitants of the kingdom had to participate in the defense of Belgrade and other cities along the Sava and the Danube. All of these decisions were meant to shore up the defenses along the southern border. Not long after, the Ottomans took Kovin and razed it.¹⁰⁹ Afterward, Michael Szilágyi rebuilt it and supplied it with necessities. The Ottoman progression in this region was not easy to stop, so in 1478, the Hungarian diet voted to rebuild the fortresses at Kovin, Hram, and Požeženo. This was carried out over the following years, but these measures failed to stop the Ottoman advance. Attacks by *akıncıs** were a regular occurrence, and things became particularly chaotic after the Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526. Banat finally fell to the Ottomans in the year 1551–1552, but it is certain that parts of this region, and especially those along the Danube, had fallen to them even earlier. Crossings at Kovin became less frequent when the Ottomans took Belgrade in 1521.

River traffic on the Danube in this region was of twofold significance. First and foremost, it was important for local travel by connecting places on opposite banks of the river; and second, it was significant for long-distance travel to places lying further along the river. It is clear from what has been covered so far that the two sides of the Danube have different geographic, and therefore commercial, characteristics. For this reason, there are crops that are much more likely to thrive in moist soil on the lower left side. This is particularly significant for farming and breeding livestock. On the left side, the cliffs and hillsides are more suitable for crops that thrive in drier soil, and especially for wine and fruit

¹⁰² Rokai 1969: 107.

¹⁰³ Magdics 1888: 21–25; Kisić, Vasin 2020: 35–44.

¹⁰⁴ Teleki 1852: 74–75.

¹⁰⁵ Spremić 1994: 380–381.

¹⁰⁶ Teleki 1853: 430–431; Thallóczy, Áldásy 1907: 185–186; Kammerer 1899: 464.

¹⁰⁷ Iorga IV 1915: 160; Teleki 1853: 526–527; Teleki 1852: 403.

¹⁰⁸ Nagy, Nyáry 1875: 35.

¹⁰⁹ Kammerer 1907: 111.

* Ottoman Raiders—Trans.

growing. Thus, the left and right sides have varying commercial and geographic features, which resulted in a need for transport links. Long-distance travel was also highly important for connecting settlements up and down the river, and especially for connecting very remote places.¹¹⁰ Therefore, rivers were a sort of compliment to overland roads, and were sometimes even more important. River transport was cheaper and easier, and on the river, there was less chance of being attacked by bandits. The Danube was used extensively for both military and commercial transport. In the Roman era and during the Middle Ages, the Morava River was navigable not as winding as it is today. We know the Ottomans kept vessels at Stalać on the Morava.¹¹¹ The Tisa, Timiș, and Begej were also suitable for river travel.¹¹²

The most well-known land route was the Belgrade–Constantinople route, which was the successor to the old Roman *Via militaris*.¹¹³ The marked medieval route went from Belgrade to Grocka, then followed the Danube to Smederevo and continued on to Braničevo. From Braničevo, the road left the Danube and turned south toward Ravno, Ražanj, and Bovan, continued down to Niš, and then headed toward Sofija and further on to Constantinople. At Niš the road split into three, with one branch leading to the Timok Valley and Vidin; the second to the Toplica valley, Kosovo polje and the Adriatic; and the third toward Skopje and Thessaloniki.¹¹⁴ However, in the mid-fifteenth century, the Great Road was partially altered so that at Ravno it crossed the Morava at the left bank and continued through Batočina, Kolar, and Grocka toward Belgrade.¹¹⁵ Many roads from various regions connected to this road, and of one the most significant connections was with Buda, Timișoara, and Szeged.¹¹⁶

The old Roman road, the *Via militaris*, therefore went from Belgrade to Viminacium, where it branched off to the south. However, from Viminacium, after Braničevo, the old Roman road used in the Middle Ages continued along the Danube toward Hram, Golubac, Višesava, and further on to Vidin.¹¹⁷ In the Ottoman period, there was also a road connecting Ram on the Danube with Timișoara via Vršac.¹¹⁸ Because it was located on the old Great Road on the way from Belgrade to Braničevo, Smederevo had well-developed connections, as did nearby Kovin. From Smederevo, there was a road that led through the Jezava and Great Morava valleys to Batočina, where it connected to the left route of the Great Road.¹¹⁹

9. Conclusion

Kovin and Smederevo, two nearby cities on the banks of the Danube, emerged and developed under completely different historical circumstances, but in many ways experienced similar natural conditions. They shared the same stretch of the Danube and

¹¹⁰ Milojević 1960: 50–51.

¹¹¹ Brokijer 1950: 129.

¹¹² Zirojević 1987: 126–127; Erdeljanović, Nikolić 1899: 184–186; Kalić 1983: 109–126; Hrabak 1978: 15–38; Mišić 2007: 155–156; According to Priscus, the Tisa and Timiș were also navigable. (*VIIINJ I*: 14).

¹¹³ Jireček 1959: 75–120; Mirković 2003; Petrović 2015: 299–317.

¹¹⁴ Škrivanić 1974: 82–98; Jireček 1959: 121–149.

¹¹⁵ Jireček 1959: 150–162; Erdeljanović, Nikolić 1899: 186–210; Škrivanić 1974: 82–83; Zirojević 1970: 24.

¹¹⁶ Zirojević 1976: 4–5; Erdeljanović, Nikolić 1899: 180–183; Zirojević 1987: 119–122; Brokijer 1950: 146–147.

¹¹⁷ Škrivanić 1974: 115–117; Petrović 2015: 247–298.

¹¹⁸ Krstić 2019: 24–24, 100; Zirojević 1987: 121.

¹¹⁹ Škrivanić 1974: 93; Erdeljanović, Nikolić 1899: 103–106; Zirojević 1970: 27–29.

made use of the river's vast resources for transportation, natural defenses, water sources, and its plant and animal life. There was fertile soil on both sides of the river. Its distributaries in this region enabled the formation of fishponds. The Danube's narrow alluvial plain near Kovin and the two river islands in this area made crossing the Danube easier. The two cities also shared the same climate. However, in this section of the river, the left bank of the Danube is lower than the right, leaving the area around Kovin more exposed to flooding than Smederevo. Likewise, the Danube basin near Smederevo is more heavily forested and has access to more resources provided by the forest.

Until the eighteenth century, the towns of Kovin and Smederevo each had a particular geographical position that provided some advantages. Smederevo was built at the confluence of the Jezava and the Danube. In the Middle Ages, this was a highly strategic position. Kovin was built primarily on elevated land above the river at a location highly favorable for river crossings, and on land that was partially drier than the land around it. There are also two river islands on this stretch of the river. They had an important role in transportation because crossing such a wide river as the Danube was quite dangerous. The river islands served as intermediaries and eased the crossing. This was an important factor for trading hubs such as Kovin and Smederevo.

Geographic position is an important aspect in the history of cities that, to a certain extent, influences their emergence and development. Thus, the effect of natural conditions has become one of the important factors in the long-term formation of cities, and they have made a particular contribution to their development and survival.

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**ПРИРОДНИ УСЛОВИ КАО ФАКТОР РАЗВОЈА ГРАДОВА
НА СУПРОТНИМ ОБАЛАМА ДУНАВА. СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА
СМЕДЕРЕВА И КОВИНА ОД 14. ДО 18. ВЕКА**

Резиме

При анализи процеса урбанизације важно је у истраживање не укључи и простор односно терен на коме су настајали и развијали се градови. Човек у свом материјалном животу је одувек био у зависности од услова, утицаја и могућности природе, тако да је познавање физичке географије потребно ради утврђивања природних услова и утицаја на живот човека и његову културу. Ковин и Смедерево два оближња града на супротним обалама Дунава настали су и развијали се у потпуно различитим историјским околностима, али су у многоме имали сличне природне услове. Делили су исти водоток Дунава и користили се богатим ресурсима ове реке и као речне комуникације, природне одбране, извора воде и животињског и биљног света. Плодност земљишта је такође била обезбеђена на обе стране реке. Његови рукавци на овом подручју омогућавали су формирање рибњака. Сужена алувијалан раван Дунава код Ковина и постојање две аде на овом подручју омогућавали су лакши прелазак преко Дунава. Такође клима је у оба града била истоветна. Са друге стране, чињеница да је лева обала Дунава на том потезу нижа од десне, подручје Ковина је било угроженије од поплава него Смедеревско. Исто тако, смедеревско подунавље је имало више шумског покривача и самим тим више ресурса које је шума давала. Градови Ковин и Смедерево у периоду од средњег до 18. века су сваки за себе је имали одређен географски положај који му је давао нека преимућства. Смедерево је сазидано на ушћу двеју река. Такав положај је у средњем веку био од изузетног стратешког значаја. И Ковин је првобитно био саграђен на узвишењу изнад реке, на потезу који је био изузетно повољан за прелаз преко реке, а на нешто оцедитијем земљишту од околине. Такође на овом потезу постојале су две аде. Оне су поред стратешке имале и важну саобраћајну улогу. Прелаз тако широких река као што је Дунав је увек био опасан и аде су имале улогу посредника мада су биле често изложене поплавама. То је био важан чинилац за трговачка места какви су били Ковин и Смедерево. Утицаји природних услова чинили су један од важних фактора дугог трајања формирања градова, њиховог економског развитка и опстанка.

Кључне речи: Ковин, Смедерево, река Дунав, урбанизација, природни услови.

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**GRDAN'S UPRISING IN THE PLANS AND ARCHIVES
OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE***

Abstract: This study of the uprising of the voivode Grdan (1596–1597) was conducted within a wider context of the Apostolic See and Pope Clement VIII's plans for missionary work by Franciscan Observants and Jesuits in the regions ruled by the Ottomans that was intended to strength Catholic congregations. In the years preceding the Long War (1593–1606), a belief emerged that the Ottoman Empire had weakened enough to easily collapse in the face of an attack by united Christian states backed by major uprisings among the Christians under their rule. The Apostolic See believed this would pave the way for mass conversion of Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Such beliefs were promoted by various adventurers and self-proclaimed servants of several royal courts. This paper is primarily based on the correspondence of Clement VIII and Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini with Patriarch Jovan II Kantul and Archbishop Toma Ursini, as well as on statements by Lazzaro Soranzo in his work *L'Ottomanno*. The paper will also pinpoint more precisely voivode Grdan's uprising in comparison to what historiography has told us. Also, the names of some leaders of the people that supported him will be identified.

Keywords: Apostolic See, Clement III, Patriarch Jovan II, Metropolitan Visarion, Grdan, church union, church missions.

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The Long War (1593–1606) between Austria and the Ottoman Empire influenced, among other things, the destiny of the Serbian people under Ottoman, Habsburg, and Venetian rule. The Serbian troops in service to the parties at war participated in battles fought in an area extending from the region of Senjska krajina and Dalmatia to upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Wallachia. In the sixteenth century, the great Serbian families with claims based on old rules and medieval traditions, along with the legitimacy resulting from them to represent the Serbian question in international politics, had for the most part been toppled. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Serbs again emerged as an important factor in the struggle against the Ottomans. However, a lack of centralized rule and strong individuals who could establish themselves as leaders among people along with military leaders able to stand out in the eyes of general population, was sorely felt at the first such attempt, which was the 1594 Serbian uprising in Banat. Even the actions taken by leaders who had already proven themselves with their military skills, such as Deli Marko, Starina Novak, and others, remained localized and received no substantial support from other Serbs or Church prelates. Aid and support from foreign rulers or prominent individuals was even less likely to be forthcoming.¹ Voivode Grdan, who was primarily the head of the Nikšić tribe, was one of the rare, if not the first, *narodni prvak* (local leader) mentioned in international correspondence as being a representative of the Serbian people after the Branković family in Srem, the Crnojević family, and other Serbian ruling families lost power. He was supported by the patriarch of Peć, Jovan II Kantul (1592–1613). During a period of two decades in the late sixteenth and early the seventeenth century, the name of Voivode Grdan was mentioned in Rome, Prague, Naples, Turin, Madrid, and Milan. The seasoned Kantul was fully aware that the European rulers would prefer the Serbian uprising to be led by a voivode and a man of the people, rather than a Church dignitary such as himself.²

After the War of Cyprus (1570–1573) and the start of the Long Turkish War, the Apostolic See took a keen interest in the Christians, and primarily the Catholics, under Ottoman rule, but they also kept a close eye on the Orthodox world in general, and this revived plans to establish a union between the Roman and the Eastern churches. In addition to their concern for the souls of the Christian faithful, the Curia also pointed to a need to form a strong anti-Ottoman coalition that would bring together all the important European courts and rulers.³ Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) entrusted his secretary Tolomeo Galli and Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro with the first missions to the Balkans and Hungary. The first missionaries were the Bishop Pietro Cedolini of Hvar, Bonifazio Drakoliza, and Aleksandar Komulović. They had established contacts with many Catholic congregations in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. They all indicated that, in time, they would need to adapt their missionary work to the difficult circumstances they witnessed in the field.⁴

During this period, there is also a report sent by a civilian, a knight from Bar (Antivari), Marco Samuel, to Gregory XIII in 1583. Marco Samuel described in detail the region around Lake Shkodër and the location of the town of Shkodër between the lake and

¹ *Istorija srpskog naroda* III-1 2000³: 214–335; Jačov 2001: 57–98.

² Tomić 1903: 72–74; *Istorija srpskog naroda* III-1 2000³: 322–323.

³ About Uniate policy of the Apostolic See after the Council of Florence general ref. to Halecki 1958.

⁴ Molnár 2019: 33. For more on Aleksandar Kumulović, see: Rački, Pierling 1882: 83–124; Trstenjak 1989: 44–86.

the Bojana River. This was a region filled with lakes, fertile fields, deep forests, and extremely high mountains in the shape of half-moons (“*detto catena mundi*”) that extended to the town of Krujë. He mentioned the fortifications of Podgorica, Žabljak, Drivasto, Lezhë and Krujë. There were various Christian congregations that had become quite militant as a result of constant Ottoman attacks and especially during the *devshirme*. They had no leader, but they had placed all their hopes in God that one day they could come together under a banner bearing a cross. Among them, about 40,000 good fighters could be recruited. Samuel emphasized that Shkodër, which was a sixteen-day journey from Constantinople across “two” Serbias (“*Misie*”), Bulgaria, and Thrace, was key to Ottoman power in leader” were to be made leader of the rebellious Christians, the “*perfidia mahometana*” would be destroyed within fifteen days. Samuel suggested this could be King Phillip II of Spain, whose galleys were anchored in Genoa, Naples, and in Sicily. The plan would also include Archduke Carl of Austria, who would approach Albania through Ancona or Hungary via Croatia and Bosnia. Finally, Samuel warned the pope of the danger posed by the Venetians who, admittedly, could be useful, but not at a time when they were at peace with the Ottomans, even if the whole endeavor was to be carried out across “their sea.”⁵

At this time, the missions were managed by the Roman Inquisition, which had been renamed and expanded in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) as the *Congregatio Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis seu Congregatio Sancti Officii*. Missionaries were given directions from the Apostolic See, but the *facultas apostolica* were assigned to them by the *Congregatio Sancti Officii*, who supervised the liturgical, dogmatic, organizational and other challenges confronting the missionaries.⁶ The plans for comprehensive, well-organized, and skillfully led missionary work were developed by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, a learned legal expert with knowledge of the Curia’s judicial matters, who was later elected Pope Clement VIII on January 30, 1592. The new pope was already acquainted with the Austrian archdukes Ferdinand, Mathias, and Ernest. The defeat of Hasan-pasha Predojević at Sisak at the start of the war between the Austrian and the Ottoman Empires in 1593 had fortified his idea that the goal of destroying the Ottomans could easily be attained, so long as the Christian rulers were united, which was why he pressed them to provide the Habsburgs with military and financial assistance. The bishop of Hvar, Pietro Cedolini, a Dalmatian knowledgeable in the workings of the Ottoman Empire, assured Clement VIII that an alliance of Christian rulers could not only halt Mehmed III’s advance on Vienna but could also bring about the collapse of Ottoman rule in Europe. Bishop Cedolini articulated his ideas in a speech (*oratio*) on January 28, 1593. Interestingly, he tried to persuade the pope to approach the tsar in Moscow and work toward an alliance between Russia and Poland in the struggle against the Ottomans. Furthermore, Cedolini had previously traveled to Constantinople on several occasions, during which he had met with western diplomats.⁷

The best account of Clement VIII’s personality was most likely provided by the Venetian ambassador Dolfino, who said that the pope wanted “to know everything, read

⁵ Marco Samuel wrote his report in Rome, where he found refuge with his wife, four children and other family members. Horvat 1909: 10–13.

⁶ Molnár 2019: 31–32.

⁷ Tomić 1903: 12–13, 15–16.

everything and arrange everything.” And indeed, he mostly personally answered his correspondence, compiled documents and made decisions. He entrusted important tasks to his two nephews, the cardinals Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini. Generally speaking, the pontificate of Clement VIII brought many benefits to the papal state, but the pope achieved the least success in politics due to his obsession with destroying the Ottoman Empire, which he believed would result in the conversion of large numbers of both Orthodox Christians and Muslims and unification with the Eastern churches.⁸ For the most part, Western rulers mostly did not share his enthusiasm about fighting the Ottomans: Henry IV followed France’s traditionally amicable policy toward Turkey; Spain was busy with events in the Netherlands; the Polish king Sigismund III feared animosity between the Habsburgs and Moscow; the Venetians did not wish to take on new battles and endanger their lands and commercial routes; and Rudolf II’s intentions were unclear due to his unstable character.⁹

Clement VIII continued Pope Sixtus V’s policy regarding missionary work among the Christians. The first *missionaries* were the Benedictines sent to Albania and South Hungary in 1587, 1589, 1592, and 1598. Abbot Antonio Velislavi, vicar for the chapter of the Diocese of Shkodrë (Scutari), wrote a report on September 27, 1606, about his work. The Curia depended on reports from Bosnian Franciscan observants. Petar Zlojutrić, a former Bosnian provincial minister, sent the first Franciscan mission to Bulgaria in 1595, although the *Congregatio Sancti Officii* did not issue the *facultas apostolica* until the following year. A series of Franciscan missions followed, so Clement VIII named Zlojutrić bishop of Sofia in 1601 under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Bar (Antivari). Jesuits were dispatched to Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Belgrade. In May 1660, Bishop Girolamo Bucchia of Kotor laid out a plan to establish a seat for Jesuit missions in Kotor, which would be entrusted with converting the Balkan Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Between 1599 and 1605, the first Congregation in charge of the propagation of faith, was founded by Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro.¹⁰ It is, therefore, no wonder that the Apostolic See maintained a strong interest in the conditions among the Serbs, and especially in the rebel movements around Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor.

The first known mention of Grdan’s uprising in documents from the Apostolic See was in a letter sent from Dubrovnik by a Franciscan named Toma Ursini to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini on September 2, 1597. In the letter, Fra Toma wrote that he had traveled to Rome and waited eight days for an audience with the Pope. Finally, he was received by Cinzio Aldobrandini, who explained that there was nothing more to be done since “that duke” had made peace with the Ottomans. Toma was considerably discouraged by this reply, concluding that “our lord the Pope and his imperial highness” had thus betrayed the promise given to rebels to help them in any way possible, as was evident from letters sent to the bishop and the “leaders of the duchy” (*conti del ducato*.) Letters in hand, the bishop and his party showed them to the duke, after which, the duke and his rebels rose against “the

⁸ At the council in Brest-Litovsk in 1596, Ruthenian bishops under the rule of Polish-Lithuanian union confirmed their earlier decision to split from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and unite with the Church of Rome, Rački, Pierling 1882: 88; Welykyj, Athanasius 1970: 67–75; Gudziak 1998: 209–244.

⁹ About Clement VIII v. Borromeo 2000. About papal policy toward the Ottomans, especially at the start of the Long War, v. Jačov 2001: 57–64.

¹⁰ Molnár 2019: 33–37.

enemies of Christ,” ready to give up their lives and their properties. The voivode and his soldiers were still willing to carry out God’s will, but they needed help from the Pope and from Cinzio Aldobrandini himself. Since the reply he received was contrary to what had been promised earlier, Fra Toma returned to Dubrovnik devastated, very much disheartened, and at a loss as to how to “tell the bishop and so many Serbs” why there had been a change of plans, and why, even though they had submitted to the pope and the emperor, they had been deceived and placed in mortal danger.

The letter goes on to say that earlier, the bishop had sent a merchant named Nikola, “an exquisite man,” as an emissary to the Pope to personally notify the Pope about the rebel forces’ troubles and their further plans. Clement VIII received Nikola on June 22 of that year. The Pope’s obvious reservations and Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini’s reluctance to receive him convinced Nikola that he had spent a great deal of money for nothing. Fra Toma told the cardinal that he had made a mistake by not heeding Nikola, since he had a proposal for how redirect their effort in favor of the “*repubblica christiana*,” with very little cost to the Church. Fra Thomas expected Rome to permit him to visit Emperor Rudolf II, since he had believed that Rudolf had forgotten his written promise to the bishop. Fra Thomas written this letter to be a letter of commendation for two Serbian monks who were on their way to Rome. He begged Cinzio Aldobrandini to listen to them, enable them an audience with Clement VIII, and influence the Pope to give them due attention, as they only wished to humbly submit to him and receive what had been promised earlier, not only in words but also in deeds.¹¹ By then, the monks had probably already arrived in Dubrovnik.¹²

Without a doubt, the *voieuodda* and *vescouo* who had been mentioned several times, were in fact the voivode Grdan and Visarion, the Metropolitan of Herzegovina. When war broke out between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, the Serbian people saw an opportunity to improve their standing and were supported by their spiritual leaders: Patriarch Jovan II; Ruvim I, the metropolitan of Cetinje; Visarion, the metropolitan of Herzegovina; and Bishop Teodor Tivodorović of Vršac. The Habsburgs had incited Metropolitan Ruvim to encourage the people to rise up through Franjo Brtučević, a Knight Hospitaller,¹³ while Clement VIII searched for allies in Patriarch Jovan and Metropolitan Visarion.¹⁴ Prelates and tribal leaders from east Herzegovina met in 1596 at Trebinje Monastery. Dominik Andrijašević had brought them the letters from Rome, so they concluded that help from the Pope was not to be relied on. They contacted Rudolf II on April 24, also through Dominik Andrijašević, whom they endorsed as their sole emissary.¹⁵

According to a note written in Latin in *Branković letopis* (the Branković Chronicle) in Bosnia, “*in Miksiche et Onogosti*,” Voivode Grdan rose up against the Turks. A bey was dispatched to the region, who then attacked the rebels with all his might. A battle was fought

¹¹ Horvat 1909: 55–56.

¹² Stanojević 1970: 120.

¹³ Franjo Brtučević was born in Hvar, and he was taken into the service by Austrian court as an exile from the Venetian territories, Tomić 1903: 26–27.

¹⁴ Tomić 1903: 19–20, 60–62; Radonić 2017: 13–16; Stanojević 1970: 120–121; *Istorija srpskog naroda* III-1, 322–326; Mikavica, Vasin, Ninković 2013: 34–35.

¹⁵ Dominik Andrijašević was a Franciscan Observant, who was born in Herzegovina and resided in Dubrovnik, Vinaver 1959: 365–383.

at “*Gacskopolye*” on January 10, 1597. Grdan fled the battlefield, and those of his soldiers who were unable to retreat were cut down. After that, Kadum Ahmet-pasha made peace with Grdan.¹⁶ Today, historiography holds that the Bjelopavlići, Drobnjaci, Nikšići, Pivljani, Piperi, Kuči, and Klimenti tribes rose up under the leadership of Voivode Grdan in 1597, but the fighting soon died down after the defeat near Gacko.¹⁷ These were the same events that Fra Toma Ursini described in his letter on September 2, 1597.

Fra Toma Ursini, a Franciscan Observant born in Popovo polje, was close to the rebels in Herzegovina, and might have easily been related to some of them or connected as a family friend or godfather. Thus it is no wonder that his letter to Cardinal Aldobrandini was full of strong emotion, and particularly concern over the fate of the rebels. According to his own admission, at the time he wrote this, he was sixty-four years old, and he “had spent” his youth preaching and administering holy sacraments to those living among the “Turks, heretics, schismatics, and Serbs.”¹⁸ Rome appreciated his missionary work, so much so that Clement VIII named him archbishop of Bar (Antivari)¹⁹ on February 17, 1599, and then named him as administrator of the bishoprics in Budva and Koron on September 27 of that same year.²⁰ Fra Toma pointed out that the Ursinis were not only the rulers of Popovo polje but also nobility from the town Krujë, which they had also ruled after the disappearance of Kastrioti family.²¹ Toma himself may have invented these family legends, but they obviously inspired him to fight the Ottomans.

An interesting piece of evidence of Grdan’s uprising comes from the pen of Lazzaro Soranzo. In his *L’Ottomanno*, he claims the Serbs, a people living from the Albanian mountains to the Danube, aspired most of all to free themselves from Turkish rule. According to him, the tribes living in Dardania, which was not far from these mountains, were able to make a move. These included the Piperi, Kuči, Klimenti, Bjelopavlići and other tribes from the land of “*Plaua*.” Among them were many Albanians who lived “*alla Romana*,” which probably meant they adhered to the Roman rites and Latin culture. These people were by nature extremely harsh and brutal. Not long before, they had tried to free themselves from the Ottoman tyranny, since they believed that Mehmed had been defeated and killed at the siege of Egar in Hungary. They rose up under the leadership of Duke Grdan, and after they had slaughtered a great number of Turks in their own lands, they tried to march onward, but when they realized things were not as they had believed, they retreated to their mountains.²² This detailed information about a popular uprising against the Turks was transcribed in thousands of copies and was read with enthusiasm all across Europe.

Clement VIII was determined to disseminate all the knowledge he had acquired, so the University of Rome brought in esteemed professors of botany, physiology, medicine, and

* now known as Gatačko polje—Trans.

¹⁶ Stojanović 1927: 302 (№ 1280).

¹⁷ Vinaver 1953: 49–55; Stanojević 1970: 118–120; *Istorija Crne Gore* III-1 1975, 73–88; Mikavica, Vasin, Ninković 2013: 35.

¹⁸ Horvat 1909: 55.

¹⁹ Gauchat 1935: 86.

²⁰ AAV, Sec. Brev. 287, f. 241r–242r.

²¹ For more on Toma Ursini, see: Farlati 1817: 107–109.

²² Soranzo 1599: 166–167.

philosophy. He instigated a reform of the liturgical books and promulgated a revision of the Sixtine Vulgate. He also held that the struggle against the Ottomans must also be fought with such inspiring writings. Thus a number of *avvisi*, or handwritten newsletters, were circulated under his auspices between 1594 and 1601. These argued for the necessity of rallying the Christian states to fight against the Ottomans. One of the writers of these was Lazzaro Soranzo, and he dedicated his work to Clement VIII. *L'Ottomanno* was written in Italian and Latin and tells of the efforts of Christians—the rebels of Senj, Serbs, Albanians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, and others—to rid themselves of the Turkish yolk. The Venetian Republic was mentioned in very bleak terms for its attempts to hinder the Christian's efforts so that it could remain on friendly terms with the Turks. Soranzo was condemned by the Venetian Republic to permanent exile, and a bounty was placed on his head. The work was published in Ferrara between 1598 and 1599. This was mostly symbolic, since it was Clement VIII who had brought the city under the wing of the papal state.²³

The most information related to Grdan's uprising has been preserved in letter, unnoticed until now, implicitly mentions Fra Toma Ursini. The letter was written in Serbian, and probably compiled in the late summer of 1597, and brought to Rome by two monks from Mileševa, Damjan and Pavle, and most definitely with the blessings of Patriarch Jovan and Metropolitan Visarion. The original letter is kept in the *Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*, in the *Fondo Borghese, Serie I-V*, which contains documents from the reigns of Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592–1605) and Paul V Borghese (1605–1621). This collection includes the two popes' official correspondence with cardinals, legates, and prelates of the Roman Church, and also with foreign rulers and diplomats. The letter had been translated into Italian.²⁴ The fact that all anthroponyms and toponyms were transcribed with great precision indicates that the translator must have been someone whose mother tongue was one of the South Slavic languages. At that time, there were a number of clergymen and missionaries of South Slavic origin working at the Curia.²⁵ Perhaps Damjan and Pavle brought the translation to Rome along with the original. If this was the case, the translator could have easily been Fra Thomas Ursini himself, who had recommended the monks to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.

This letter is interesting for multiple reasons. It contains a what it refers to as a “short chronicle” of medieval Serbian rulers with an abundance of interesting details. Regarding this moment in history, the letter first offers a well-developed plan on how to liberate “all the Serbian lands” from the Turks. A “nobleman” to be sent by pope with an army to attack Novi, and those armies would be met by Grdan from the mainland. The Novi defenses were weak, which meant the town could easily fall to rebel forces. From Novi, they would move on to Onogošt, where this “nobleman” would be joined by the heads of other tribes, as well as of “all Montenegro and the Dukadjin lands.” In Onogošt, they would decide how to proceed. The letter then continued by listing all of the tribes and their leaders: Rade Vukašinović of the Zupci, voivode Grdan of the Riđani and Nikšići, Ivan voivode Petrović of the Banjani, Miloš Vitković from Trebinje, Milko Vučetić from Rudine, Đuro Tomašević

²³ Tomić 1903: 64–66; Borromeo 2000.

²⁴ AAV, Fondo Borghese, Serie I, 913, 484r–485v; Horvat 1909: 57–58.

²⁵ Jačov 1987: 259–262, 262–265; Molnár 2019: 33.

from Gacko, vojvode Raosav of Piva, Ivan Kaluđerović of the Drobunjaci, vojvode Radoica of Morača. In Plana, the leader of the Kolašinovići and Nikšići was Prince Radič. Further on, places were listed: Nikoljac, Vraneši, Mileševa, Komarani, and in the valleys: Senice, Ras, and Novi Pazar, where there were many silver mines. Further down from Novi Pazar, the district of Ibar was mentioned, which also had many mines, and then Toplica where there were “many mines.” After Novi Pazar, the letter names Kosovo, Novo Brdo, Trepča, and Janjevo, with gold and silver mines. Next were lands that extended to Skoplje, Ovče Polje, and Morava,²⁶ after which were Samokov and Sofia, where there were “great monasteries holy relics contained therein.” Beyond Novi Pazar there were the “Albanian lands” of Bradulovci, Korita, Gornji and Donji Has, Šavice, Peć, Hvosno, Dečani, Plav, and Prizren. Between Bosnia and Novi Pazar, there were Stari Vlah and Studenica, with the main leaders, the vojvodes Rajko and Vukašin, who “these lands obeyed.” Further on, there was Morava.²⁷ Further down from Trebinje, there were districts of Popovo, Donji Vlasi, Drina, Banija and in “Donji Vlasi” the “heads of Hrabreni.”

According to the author of the letter, around a hundred thousand seasoned warriors could be gathered. First, mines would have to be conquered to ensure the financing for the war. The monks Damjan and Pavle did not miss the opportunity to mention that the Turks, having taken the bones of Saint Sava from Mileševa, had brought the wrath of God down upon them, they had grown very agitated, and had subsequently suffered defeat to the Christians. In retribution, they had attacked churches and monks, accusing them of praying to God for the death of all Turks. Gripped by fear, they would say, “The empire is no longer ours.” Damjan and Pavle, as co-signatories of the letter, informed the pope that all “godly men and all people, great and small,” prayed that pope would send them his champion who would become the lord of their lands. He would have to be “a good Christian” who would love the Church and embrace all Christians. In return, they committed to becoming subjects of “Mother Church” and beseeched the pope to let them mention his name in the liturgies, just as they always had done with the first popes and all the saints, and they also wished for “the names of our bishops to be listed in the great Church of Rome.”²⁸

It is clear from this paraphrased section that the authors of the letter had a firm grasp of geography, demographic and economic circumstances, and of the mood of the people in the Serbian lands. Since this letter was written immediately after Grdan’s uprising was suppressed at the start of 1597, it is valuable evidence that the Serbian people had not given up the fight and were just biding their time. Toward the end of 1597, when the letter was compiled, the Serbs were ready to rise again and were hoping for greater support from the pope and his allies. It mentions thirteen local leaders, heads of clans and tribes, princes, and dukes.

It has been established that in late medieval Herzegovina, the heads (*knezovi* and *primićuri*) of the Vlachs were held in high esteem and some of them managed to gain further prominence. In the first centuries of Ottoman rule in these regions, the status the Vlachs received had significantly contributed to a larger degree of independence within the internal organization of local communities, which also made it possible for the tribal leaders to form

²⁶ It is an obvious reference to Južna Morava and the upper Velika Morava.

²⁷ Referring to Zapadna Morava.

²⁸ AAV, Fondo Borghese, Serie I, 913, ff. 157r–157v.

their own social class. The Vlach leaders started being referred to as voivodes as early as the end of the fifteenth century.²⁹ In all probability, this meaning of this title was connected to military leadership, with some changes, for a very long period of time. In addition to Grdan, four more local leaders were listed with the title of voivode.

Based on this letter, it is possible to determine which settlements participated in Grdan's uprising. First, it lists the leaders from the Herzegovinian settlements of Dračevica, Zupci, Banjani, Trebinje, Rudine, Gacko, and Popovo polje. Drobnjaci, Pivljani, and Morača, Plana and Kolašinović lands, Stari Vlah and the areas deeper within the Serbian principalities were most likely also caught up in the uprising. These were the lands of Stara Herzegovina and partly Brda.³⁰ According to the letter, the battles could have easily spread to other Serbian lands from Bosnia to Prizren, Ovče polje, Skoplje, Sofia, Samokov, the Great and West Morava river valleys. What is most striking from this is that these mostly areas that had been part of the Nemanjić state. The letter is infused with the idea of a unified medieval state and an aspiration to revive the medieval Kingdom of Serbia. They were just waiting for definitive military aid from Rome or Prague, as well as someone worthy of leading the liberation forces, who would then become the lord of these lands by being crowned in some of the archbishoprics, such as Ras, Žiča, or Peć, where the coronations of Serbian kings were once held, as documents from the old rulers documents had always described.³¹ The letter concluded with the statement, "And all these lands were once under Roman rule," as an attempt to make it clear to the pope and the Apostolic See that they had a moral obligation toward the Serbs and the Serbian people dating back centuries, and that those obligations should be given precedence over the ongoing negotiations about unification.³²

It also appears that, in Rome, Damjan and Pavle were granted an audience and Clement VIII himself read the Italian translation of the letter. In a letter to Patriarch Jovan dated April 10, 1598, the pope stated that he had received two monks sent as the patriarch's emissaries with much affection. The pope urged the patriarch to unite with the Church of Rome, which presided over all the churches, as their mother and teacher, outside of which there was no salvation, for it was the only one safeguarding the integrity of the teachings of salvation, the splendor of the divine cult, the correct, and the purity of the Apostolic tradition. The patriarch was meant to follow the example of his predecessors who, according to previous popes of Rome, had expressed their humility and deep respect. In addition to invoking divine assistance, patience, and spiritual acts, as were the obligations of each Christian, the pope only promised the patriarch that he would seek support from "the Catholic rulers, our sons." Although he was well aware of the patriarch's hardships, the pope mentioned no specific forms of aid at all. He ordered him to heed his monks, who were to report in more detail about the conversations held in Rome, and bestowed upon him and all the clergy and the people his fatherly love and the papal blessing.³³ It would appear that Damjan and Pavle returned directly

²⁹ Mišić 1996: 172–186.

³⁰ For the old historiographic view, see note 17 of this paper.

³¹ Kalić 1997: 77–87.

³² Issues concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the regions inhabited by Serbs before a Serbian autocephalous archbishopric was established are beyond scope of this work. For this, see: Kalić 1979: 27–53; Živković 2004; Komatina 2016.

³³ Theiner 1875: 90–91.

to the patriarch from Rome, carrying this letter and verbal messages. Voivode Grdan was mentioned nowhere in the pope's letter nor was there anything about assistance for the rebels. Still, for security reasons, such information could have been included in the verbal messages the Serbian monks relayed to the patriarch. The fact that the pope sent an answer to the patriarch was a clear indication that he was certainly one of, if not the most important, organizer of the uprisings in Herzegovina and surrounding lands.

A year later, on April 24, 1599, the pope sent a letter to Patriarch Jovan and Metropolitan Visarion informing them that he received the monk Damjan, who had delivered their letters. Another emissary was sent to Rome with Damjan, but he fell ill during the journey and failed to reach his destination. This was most likely the same monk Pavle as before. Clement VIII granted Damjan an audience, listened to him benevolently and read the letters Damjan presented to him. This time, there was no mention of the pope putting any effort into sending aid to Patriarch Jovan, Metropolitan Visarion, and their people. Moreover, the letter contained numerous references to the primate of the Church of Rome as "leader, mother, and teacher, beyond which there was no salvation to be found." The pope expressed his readiness to accept the Serbian hierarchs as "our brethren and our helpers in Christ," and invited them to accept the Catholic faith illuminated by the light of Christ, and renounce all their schismatic transgressions. The pope sent them with instructions to confess their faith as prescribed by the Apostolic See, and claimed there were no reasons, including the envy of their enemies, that would prevent them from unification with the Church of Rome.³⁴

In all probability, Damjan took these instructions to Patriarch Jovan. Clement VIII contacted the Archbishop Toma Ursini of Bar on October 1, 1600, and reminded him that he had recently granted him a pallium and the full spiritual authority that came with it. He wished to inform him that, as *Servianae provinciae es primas*, their bishops had sent monks as emissaries to Rome multiple times, and that he had received them each time with good will and listened to them. From their letters and messages, he had been given the impression they were willing to accept union with the Church of Rome. For this reason, the pope expected Toma Ursini to continue negotiations with the "bishops and archbishops" of Serbia, and to convince them that accepting union with the Catholic Church would bring them salvation. The pope's reasoning was exclusively spiritual.³⁵ The explanation for this was that Toma Ursini had, from the very start, been the primary mediator in the negotiations between Clement VIII, Patriarch Jovan, and Metropolitan Visarion.

In the spring and early summer of 1601, Damjan visited Rome once again, this time bearing letters of unknown content. According to Clement VIII's reply on July 3, 1601, it followed that Damjan had been granted greater authority from the patriarch regarding the acceptance of unification with Rome. To this effect, he had rejected heresy in his own name and in the name of the patriarch, and he had sworn on the Gospels to accept the true faith. He also confirmed and guaranteed with his own signature that what had been promised would be implemented. This act was witnessed by Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, who acted as an interpreter and who was known as a protector of the "Greek nation."³⁶ The monk Damjan,

³⁴ *Ibid.* 92–93.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 94–95.

³⁶ Radonić 2017: 14–15. As far as we know, the letter from July 3, 1601 has not been published, so we have

who was mentioned in papal letters from the end of the sixteen century was in fact Damjan Ljubibratić, the primary mediator in the negotiations between the Serbian Church and the civil leaders with the Apostolic See and the courts in Gratz, Naples, Madrid, Turin, and Milan. The Ljubibratić family was an old noble family from Trebinje, and Damjan was definitely a well-informed communicator who could give a true rendering of the rebel mood in Herzegovina.³⁷

Grdan's uprising should not be seen as an isolated incident. The Catholic Albanians stated on June 1, 1593, that they could mobilize about 40,000 warriors from their ranks. They were ready to make a move at the pope's signal, and hoped that Orthodox Albanians and other Christians would join them. They expected the pope to send them the Habsburg Emperor, the Polish king or *quello di Moschovia*, after which they would direct their army toward Constantinople. Along with a letter, they sent a leader to Rome to inform the pope in more detail about the circumstances. The letter was sealed with a stamp bearing a princely crown and an inscription reading *Sigillum regni Macedoniae et Albaniae*.³⁸ In early 1595, one of the most active agents in the negotiations between the Albanians and the Apostolic See was a knight of Saint Mark, Tommaso Pelessa,³⁹ born in Lezhë, who arrived in Rome via Budva and Venice. Lodovico Taverna, the bishop of Lodi and the papal nuncio in Venice was also involved, as he used to report to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini regularly about the mood of the Venetian rulers. At night, he would secretly meet in with Pelessa Venice. On September 30, 1595, Taverna wrote to Aldobrandini that Lunardo Donato, a Venetian emissary traveling to Constantinople, had discovered during his stay in Dubrovnik that an uprising was being planned in Albania, of which he immediately notified his brother Nicolo, a member of the Council of Ten. The bishop of Korčula was accused of having revealed these strictly guarded secrets to Donato.⁴⁰ There were plans for the Albanians in Apulia to join the uprising, as they could easily cross the sea. Wasting no time, the rebels would arrive in Serbian lands (*Seruię sopradette*).⁴¹ In summer 1596, the people of Chimara rose up with an idea of liberating not only their city but also to take Shkodër and Ulcinj. They enjoyed the assistance and support of Archbishop Atanasije of Ohrid who had traveled for their benefit to Naples and Rome. The *Chimarioti* uprising was soon extinguished.⁴² At this stage of the rebels' attempts, Grdan's followers and those from the Albanian lands probably did not cooperate much. However, at a later period, their joint interests and anti-Ottoman sentiment connected them more closely. At the start of the seventeenth century, in their letters to the pope and the courts of Europe, and even in folk and church gatherings, the heads of Albanian tribes appeared regularly next to the Serbian leaders.⁴³

This all shows that the movement of Patriarch Jovan, Grdan, and other tribal leaders from Herzegovina and Brda was accompanied by serious diplomatic correspondence with

referred to its content based on Jovan Radonić's publication.

³⁷ Tomić 1903: 60–63, 87–88, 99–101; Vinaver 1953: 55–66; Vinaver 1959: 365–383; Srpski biografski rečnik 5: 697–698 (Nataša T. Perović)

³⁸ Horvat 1909: 13–14.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 17, 18–19, 23–25, 26, 27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 27.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 27–31.

⁴² *Ibid.* 38–39; Tomić 1903: 27–35.

⁴³ Tomić 1901: 28–42; Id. 1903: 120–139.

the Apostolic See. Although characterized in historiography as an uprising, the military scope of the revolt remained modest. The Grdan's uprising was well considered and evaluated—there was no point raising a large armed rebellion with no military aid from the West, not even during the Long Turkish War. It is interesting to note that the Serbian patriarch and the tribal leaders had expected more help from Pope Clement VIII than from the Austrian court and other anti-Ottoman rulers.

After 1601, relations between the Apostolic See and Patriarch Jovan were interrupted. Based everything presented here, a conclusion can be drawn that both sides delayed executing what had been negotiated. Clement VIII was not in a position to send military and financial support, while the Serbian clergy headed by Patriarch Jovan did not see their promise of union with the Church of Rome as something obligatory.⁴⁴ Circumstances soon changed. First, Pope Clement VIII died on March 3, 1605,⁴⁵ and then on November 11, 1606, Austria and the Ottoman Empire signed a peace treaty for a period of twenty years.⁴⁶ The Serbian church and secular leaders turned to the Spanish king Phillip III and his allies in Italy, including the viceroy of Naples, Duke Carl Emmanuel I of Savoy, and even Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga of Mantua and the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo II Medici.⁴⁷ The Albanians also turned to the Spanish. The best evidence for the fruitlessness of these efforts can be found in a letter from Archbishop Minuccio Minucci of Zadar, dated May 8, 1602 and addressed to Cinzio Aldobrandini: The rebels may have turned to the Spanish for help, but their spirit lay, as ever, with the Venetians as their masters of old, with whom they still maintained a robust trade.⁴⁸

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⁴⁴ Radonić 2017: 13

⁴⁵ Borromeo 2000.

⁴⁶ *Istorija srpskog naroda* III-1 2000³: 275–276.

⁴⁷ *Istorija srpskog naroda* III-1 2000³: 326–335; Mikavica, Vasin, Ninković 2013: 36.

⁴⁸ Horvat 1909: 84.

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УСТАНАК ВОЈВОДЕ ГРДАНА У ПЛАНОВИМА И СПИСИМА АПОСТОЛСКЕ СТОЛИЦЕ

Резиме

У раду говоримо о устанку војводе Грдана (1596–1597) у контексту планова и извесних акција Апостолске столице. У годинама које су претходиле избијању Другог рата (1593–1606) у Европи су се шириле гласине о томе да је Османска империја толико слаба да би је њени властити поданици хришћани могли срушити ако би се масовно подигли на устанак уз војну и материјалну помоћ и моралну подршку хришћанских држава окупљених у коалицију са циљем да се Османлије заувек протерају из Европе. Један од највећих заговорника тих идеја био је папа Климент VIII (1592–1605), који је у слому османске владавине видео шансу за проверавање великог броја не само православних хришћана већ и муслимана. Пред почетак рата мисије фрањеваца опсерваната и језуита деловале су у многим деловима Османског царства, пре свега међу католичким заједницама. Они су курију редовно извештавали о приликама на терену чиме су подстицали нереалне планове. Грданов устанак био је један у низу покрета са којим се у Риму у прво време рачунало. Излагање се темељи на кореспонденцији Климента VIII и кардинала Чинција Алдобрандинија са пећким патријархом Јованом II Кантулом и барским надбискупом Томом Урсиним. У обзир су узети и подаци које доноси Лазар Соранцо у делу *L'Ottomanno*. Ипак, најзначајнији извор чини малопознато писмо које су пред крај 1597. године у Рим донела двојица милешевских калуђера, Дамјан Љубибратић и Павле. Захваљујући вестима папских извора допуњена су постојећа знања о устанку Срба у Херцеговини и деловима Црне Горе. Пре свега, установљено је да су после пораза устаника у јануару 1597. код Гацка, планови о подизању новог устанка уз помоћ папе и његових савезника и даље постојали. Поред Грдана, поменуто је још 13 народних првака, кнезова и војвода. Реч је о старешинама херцеговачких области: Драчевица, Зупци, Бањани, Требиње, Рудине, Гацко, Попово поље. Устанак је неспорно захватио и Дробњаке, Пивљане, Морачу, Плану и Колашиновиће, Стари Влах, али и простор дубље ка унутрашњости. Према наводима поменутог писма, борбе би се лако могле проширити и на остале српске земље, од Босне до Призрена, Овчег Поља, Скопља, Софије, Самокова, Велике и Западне Мораве. Пада у очи да су то углавном територије које су чиниле државу Немањића, што сведочи да је постојало живо сећање на некадашње државно јединство, а осећа се и тежња ка обнови српског краљевства. Чекало се само да из Рима и Прага стигне конкретна војна помоћ и личност достојна да се стави не само на чело ослободилачког покрета, већ и да постане *господин овој земљи*, тј. да буде крунисан у некој од архиепископских цркава које су према *списима старих владара* биле крунидбена места српских краљева – Расу, Жичи или Пећи. Услов који је Апостолска столица

непрекидно постављала био је да патријарх Јован II заједно са свештенством и народом прихвати црквену унију. Неколико година трајало је одмеравање снага. У том раздобљу Климент VIII није упутио никакву конкретну помоћ устаницима, док патријарх Јован није показао истинску спремност да приступи канонском јединству са римском црквом. Српски устаници су се временом окренули шпанском краљу и његовим вазалима и савезницима у Италији. Напоследку, смрћу главних актера – Климента VIII (1605), војводе Грдана (1612) и патријарха Јована (1614) – ови планови постали су беспредметни.

Кључне речи: Апостолска столица, Климент VIII, патријарх Јован II, владика Висарион, војвода Грдан, црквена унија, црквене мисије.

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**BETWEEN THE BALKANS AND HUNGARY:
BAČ AS THE SECOND SEAT OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF
KALOCSA-BAČ UNDER OTTOMAN RULE
DURING THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES**

Abstract: After the campaign of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1526, the medieval Kingdom of Hungary effectively ceased to exist. Ferdinand of Habsburg and John Szapolyai fought for supremacy in Hungary and a series of Habsburg-Ottoman wars began, which would last, with minor and major interruptions, for almost 150 years. In this article, I will introduce to Serbian historiography how the fortress of Bač (which was owned by the archbishops of Kalocsa) and the town of Bač, as the second centre of the archdiocese, came under the rule of the Ottomans. The second aim is to present how the archbishops of Kalocsa dealt with the Catholics in Bač and its surroundings during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Last, we will present and summarize our research into how the archbishops of Kalocsa taxed the former archbishop's estates in Bačka. I will also touch on the beginnings of missionary work in Bač, which was organized in Rome by the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith.

Keywords: Bač, fortress of Bač, Archdiocese of Kalocsa-Bač, archbishops of Kalocsa, Ottoman Empire, Catholics in Ottoman Bačka, Catholic taxation in Ottoman Bačka, church history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

1. The Bač Fortress falls to the Ottomans

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Ottoman pressure increased on the defensive lines of the Kingdom of Hungary.^{1,2} In 1526, after the successful conquest of Belgrade and the surrounding fortresses,³ Suleiman the Magnificent decided to strike a final blow against Hungary. Despite repeated and unheeded warnings from Pavle Tomori, the archbishop of Kalocsa and Bač, to King Louis II (1516–1526) that the sultan had left Istanbul in March 1526, Hungarian troops were slow to muster.⁴ On July 15, 1526, Grand Vizier Ibrahim launched a siege of Petrovaradin. Archbishop Tomori had effectively prepared the fortress's defenses. The defenders fought to the last man, but the fortress nevertheless fell on July 27. Tomori withdrew to Bač to defend the county of Bačka if the Ottoman army decided to cross over to the left bank of the Danube.⁵ When King Ludwig II arrived in Tolna, he sent Đorđe Paližna to Tomori with orders to lead his army to Mohács.⁶ The archbishop and his army crossed the Danube at Kolut and set off for Mohács, where he fought and died in the fatal battle on August 29.⁷

After the Battle of Mohács, Suleiman entered the medieval capital of Hungary unopposed on September 9, 1592.⁸ On September 25, he put Buda and Pest to the torch. He then divided his army into two parts, and both headed south. After taking Baja, Suleiman's army continued on toward Bač. According to the accounts of contemporary Ottoman historians, the inhabitants of Bač offered strong resistance, but the city and the fortress nevertheless fell to the conquerors. During the siege, the Christian population sought asylum in "that church",⁹ which, according to the Ottoman historian Celälzâde Muştafâ, "was a great

¹ The defensive line is especially significant for the late medieval history of Hungary (from the early fifteenth century on). It comprised a line of fortresses meant to provide defense against the Ottomans. After the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, which ended disastrously for the Crusader army, King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) opted for defensive tactics. Using the great Ottoman defeat at Ankara in 1402, he began building a defensive line made up of a series of fortresses. The first line of defense ran from Severin and Orșova, through Belgrade, Šabac, Srebrenik, Banja Luka, Jajce, and Knin, and ended at Klis. On the emergence and construction of the Kingdom of Hungary's defensive line, see: Engel, Kristó, Kubinyi 2005: 154–158; Szakály 1990: 56–59, 108–113; Hermann 2017: 243–244, 271–283.

² The second defensive line, which emerged during the period between the end of King Sigismund's reign and the end of Matthias Corvinus's reign, extended from Timișoara, Lugoj, and Caransebeș, through Srem and Dubica, Krupa, and Otočca, and ended at Senj. The fortress at Bač was also considered an integral part of a second defensive line. A source from 1522 states that the archbishop of Bač's fortress was considered the border fortress for the Archdiocese of Kalocsa: *castra finitima archiepiscopatus Colocensis*. DL 37162; Udvardy 1991: 424; Pfeiffer 2019: 362; Hermann 2017: 396.

³ For more on Suleiman's 1521 campaign against Hungary, see: Hermann 2017: 353–356; Szakály 1990: 110–111; Engel, Kristó, Kubinyi 2005: 370; Pálosfalvi 2018: 372–392; Elezović 1956: 30–37; Kalić 1967: 239–268; *Ibidem* 1995: 82–84; Popović 2006: 20–21.

⁴ Hermann 2017: 356–360; Udvardy 1991: 446–456.

⁵ Udvardy 1991: 452.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ Szakály 1990: 114.

⁹ Up until a few years ago, the prevailing opinion was that Celälzâde Muştafâ was referring to the Franciscan church in Bač. However, new archaeological excavations that uncovered the archbishop's palace in Bač (Stanojević 2019: 197–218) confirmed there had to have been a lower town that was entered through the tower

fortress.”¹⁰ The Christians in the church fought long and hard, with many rifles and much gunpowder, but the Ottomans kept firing their cannons until the church was destroyed and its defenders killed. The Ottoman army seized a great deal of plunder, and many people were carried off as slaves.¹¹ The Ottoman chronicler Kemalpaşazâde wrote about the siege and the seizure and pillaging of the town and fortress and claimed that Suleiman had taken the fortress without much resistance because the fortress captain¹² had surrendered to the sultan.¹³

The Ottomans left Hungary in early October. Interestingly, they did not leave behind garrisons at any of fortresses in the defensive line, such as, for example, Slankamen, Zemun, Bač, Osijek, Vukovar, or Erdut. Even more interestingly, the Hungarian army returned, but only to Bač, leaving the other fortresses empty until the spring of 1527.¹⁴

John Szapolyai was chosen as king (1526–1540) at the Hungarian Diet at Székesfehérvár, and was soon crowned.¹⁵ One by one, the nobles knelt before him. Among them was also Radič Božić, leader of the Serbs in Bačka and of the Šajkaši. Thanks to Szapolyai, Jovan Nenad¹⁶ occupied the county of Bačka, which had become desolate and sparsely populated in the wake of the Ottoman army’s withdrawal in 1526.¹⁷ Historians assume that, around this time, Jovan Nenad also held the fortress in Bač, although there is no confirmation of this in the sources.¹⁸

Soon after John Szapolyai was elected, a part of the Hungarian nobility from the western part of the country chose Ferdinand Habsburg (1526–1564) as king of Hungary.¹⁹ Despite King John Szapolyai’s attempts to reach an agreement, Ferdinand I chose to go to war and launched an offensive against Szapolyai in 1527 that drove him out of Hungary (Szapolyai withdrew first to Transylvania and then later to Poland), after which he was crowned king of Hungary on November 3, 1527. The Serbian leaders (Pavle Bakić, Radič Božić, and Jovan Nenad and his followers) then switched their allegiance to King Ferdinand I.²⁰ Jovan Dolić, the castellan of the Bačka fortress and a supporter of Jovan Nenad, did the

gate (Stanojev 2019: 163–164), which would strongly suggest that he may have been thinking of the church of the archdiocese, which, in my opinion, would have been in the lower town of late medieval Bač. This has not yet been supported by archaeological findings, but we know there was a cathedral in the Middle Ages (Pfeiffer 2020: 173–243), and cathedrals only existed in medieval Hungary in the seats of bishoprics or archdioceses, so logically there would have been a church of the archdiocese, which could have been “as large as a fortress,” as the Ottoman chronicler described it. After all, the cathedral ruin in Bač, of which one half was demolished and the other used by the Ottoman army, along with the Kalocsa archbishop’s former residence of the in Bač, which the Ottomans held and which was falling into disrepair, was described by Matija Benlić, the bishop of Belgrade in a report from 1653. (Zach 1986: 16; Borsá, Tóth 1989: 107).

¹⁰ Thúry 1896: 170–171.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Most likely the Bač castellan or the Bačka vice-zupan.

¹³ Thúry 1893: 272–273; Pfeiffer 2017: 90.

¹⁴ Barta 1983: 19–20.

¹⁵ R. Várkonyi 1987: 159.

¹⁶ For sources and literature regarding Jovan Nenad and his movement in southern Hungary, see Boris Stojkovski’s latest monograph: Stojkovski: 2018.

¹⁷ R. Várkonyi 1987: 172.

¹⁸ Györe, Pfeiffer 2019: 294.

¹⁹ Rokai, Dere, Pal, Kasaš 2002: 190.

²⁰ R. Várkonyi 1987: 180.

same.²¹ This was mentioned in a letter from Johann Habardanec dated May 26, 1527: "...and Jovan, the castellan of Bač...Castellan Jovan will truly hold fast to our kingdom."²²

It can be ascertained, based on this source, that Christians were in possession of the Bač fortress in the summer of 1527. The Bač fortress was particularly important to King Ferdinand because it defended the road between Petrovaradin and Pest. There is evidence based on letters from the years 1528–1529 that Ferdinand and his supporters controlled the fortress and its surroundings.²³

In the first letter, dated March 31, 1528, the treasurer Nikola Gerendi and other advisers from the Hungarian Chamber of Accounts complained to King Ferdinand I about insufficient funds, badly provisioned border fortresses, late payments for the Šajkaši, and Ottoman raiding parties that had penetrated as far as Szeged. They also pushed for a captain of Bač to be named.²⁴ The second letter, dated April 29, 1528, informed King Ferdinand that the financial situation was troubling, there were no funds available to pay the Šajkaši, and that a captain for Bač needed to be appointed.²⁵ The third letter is dated July 6, 1528, in which the despot Stjepan Berislavić informed the palatine Stephen Báthory that the sultan's army was gathering in Srem, and only László Morea and Palatine Báthory's troops could stand against them, although they would not be nearly enough for a proper defense. Berislavić also mentioned the fortresses at Bač, Félégyháza, and Zata. He said they were under his control but would be in considerable danger if they did not receive aid and reinforcements from King Ferdinand. If they came under threat, he would have to either surrender, return them to the king, or leave them empty.²⁶ In a fourth letter, dated July 17, 1528, Palatine Báthory said that he had sent 1,000 mounted cavalry and 500 Šajkaši on the river Tisza who were ready to fight against the Ottomans. The letter also stated that Berislavić had asked King Ferdinand to take over the fortresses of Bač, Félégyháza and Zata because he had no funds to maintain them. The despot asked the king to provide money to pay those living on the southern borders or else he would have to abandon those fortresses.²⁷

The next turning point for the Bač fortress occurred in 1529, most likely associated with Ottoman border troops' preparations before Suleiman's attack on Vienna in 1529. Letters from early 1529 tell of the fortress's fate. A letter from the Tamás Szalaházy, bishop of Eger, to King Ferdinand, dated January 23, 1529, conveys that the Serbian despot had handed over the fortresses at Bač and Félégyháza to the Ottomans.²⁸ In the letter, the bishop claims he received this information from Pavle Bakić.²⁹ We also know from Ferdinand's answer, dated February 1, 1529, which informed Palatine Báthory that Bač and Félégyháza had been lost.³⁰ That same day, King Ferdinand sent a letter to the Hungarian Chamber of

²¹ Stojkovski 2018: 123, 133, 203; Krstić 2014: 58.

²² Stojkovski 2007: 157; Id. 2018. 126.

²³ Györe, Pfeiffer 2019: 294–295.

²⁴ HHStA,AA, Fasc. 8. Konv. A. 93–94.

²⁵ HHStA,AA, Fasc. 8. Konv. A. 131–132.

²⁶ HHStA,AA, Fasc. 8. Konv. B.15.

²⁷ HHStA,UA, AA, Fasc. 8. Konv.B. 49–51.

²⁸ Pfeiffer 2017: 92.

²⁹ Gévay 1840: 58.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 42.

Accounts also confirming the loss of these fortresses. Then he asked the Chamber and his subjects organize a more effective defense because he was preparing for war with the Ottomans.³¹

There is also an intelligence report from April 30, 1529, in which the fortresses under Ottoman control were listed, along with the number of troops at each one. This report, however, does not mention Bač, which is interesting because the fortresses at Ilok, Petrovaradin, Titel, and others were mentioned as being under Ottoman control.³² Since it is known that the Ottomans had taken possession of Bač by January 1529 at the latest, this raises a question about whether the person who wrote the report lacked information or if there was another reason for its omission.³³ It is possible to assume that this was related to the Makó agreement, signed on October 12, 1528, in which King John Szapolyai and the sultan Suleiman had agreed to turn over the fortresses to King John Szapolyai as Suleiman's vassal.³⁴ There seems to be a slight chance that this took place before the treaty was signed, and that the fortress had been passed to the eastern Hungarian king sometime between when it was seized and the following spring, and perhaps as early as April 1529. The fortress was once again under Christian control, which would be the reason why the scouts did not mention Bač as one of the Ottoman fortresses.³⁵

What we do know for certain is that on November 4, 1529, while on his way back to Istanbul after the siege of Vienna failed, Suleiman the Magnificent found himself in front of the Bač fortress. This information can be found in a collection of letters about the sultan's military campaigns.^{36,37} The diary does not mention the siege against Vienna, or that the sultan had ordered the formation of an Ottoman garrison at the fortress.³⁸

If Bač was in Christian hands in the 1530s, then it can be assumed, based on the 1536 travel writings of the great humanist and archbishop of Kalocsa, Nicolaus Olahus, who claimed, among other things, that Bač was the second seat of the Archbishopric of Kalocsa, and the area around the city was teeming with fish, the horses were excellent, and the local population drank wine from Srem.³⁹ This would suggest that the area was under Christian control. At the very least, however, this information raises some doubts: it includes towns, grain, and consumption of wine from Srem,⁴⁰ and it gives the impression that the author was

³¹ *Ibid.* 62–63.

³² Laszowski 1914: 151–153.

³³ These reporters were people from Dubrovnik who sent important information to the Hungarian Chamber of Accounts regarding the number of garrisons stationed at the Ottoman fortresses located between Ilok and Nicopolos. The report contains not only the number of Ottoman troops in the occupied fortresses, but also the types of Ottoman troops and the names of the fortress captians. For more detailed information, see: Laszowski 1914: 151–153.

³⁴ Vass 1979: 9.

³⁵ Györe, Pfeiffer 2019: 297–298.

³⁶ Collections of letters were regularly kept about the campaigns of the Ottoman sultans (Thúry 1893: 277; Katona 1976: 157). This is also known from the Letters of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) from 1529.

³⁷ Thúry 1893: 345; Szentkláray 1885: 119; Reiszig 1909: 96; Csorba 1972: 188; Šmit 2008: 308; Zirojević 2008: 147; Đekić 2014: 856.

³⁸ Györe, Pfeiffer 2019: 298.

³⁹ Szamota 1891: 536.

⁴⁰ Here, however, it should be pointed out that, according to more recent research, wine production in Srem did not stop after Ottoman rule was established, but whether the inhabitants of Bač and its surroundings consumed

describing Bačka as it was in the late fifteenth century. Contrary to Archbishop Olahus, writers from both sides usually described Bačka after the Battle of Mohács as a devastated and impoverished region crisscrossed by various armies. It seems Nicolaus Olahus had taken a description of Bač and its surroundings from another work (travel writings or a report) written at an earlier time. István Fodor, the author of a monograph about Archbishop Olahus,⁴¹ takes a similar view, as does Ferenc Szakály, who noted that Olahus often took information from before 1526, when Hungary was controlled by the Jagiellonian dynasty.⁴² Was Bač under Christian control in the 1530s? Based on these two sources, this cannot be determined. However, there are strong indications supporting this supposition, which indicates the need for further research—especially of Ottoman historical records—in order to directly confirm it. The available sources indirectly indicate that, during the years after Hungary broke into three parts in 1541, the fortress in Bač was in Christian hands and under the rule of King Ferdinand I.⁴³

As part of this hypothesis, more recent Hungarian historiography mentions two possible dates: 1541 and 1542–43. The well-known Ottoman scholar Előd Vass holds that the final Ottoman occupation of Bač occurred during Suleiman's great campaign of 1541. According to his interpretation, in August 1541, Suleiman secured control over significant military routes between Osijek and Buda and between Petrovaradin and Pest. According to Vass, at this time, Ottoman garrisons were stationed at Bač, Sombor, Baja, and Kalocsa.⁴⁴

On the other hand, based on a particularly important document, Ferenc Szakály places Bač's final fall to the Ottomans in 1542. The historical source Szakály points to is dated October 6, 1552, and it likely discusses the period when Szeged and Bač fell.⁴⁵ This source is interesting because it suggests that the Bač fortress was still under Christian control in the fall of 1542, and that Szeged and Bač were controlled by Ferdinand I; but this assumes that, at some point, the fortress had passed from Szapolyai's supporters to Ferdinand I and his subjects. Two nobles, Baltazár Bornemissza and Urbán Batthyány were tasked with defending the fortress from the Ottomans.⁴⁶

Additional sources, these now Ottoman, also seem to suggest that Bornemissza and Batthyány had failed to complete their mission,⁴⁷ or at least not with any lasting effect, and—given there is a census from the following year with the first list of the Ottoman army in Bač—that sometime after Ferdinand's letter appeared, Bač had, for the last time, come under Suleiman's firm control. The well-known Ottoman scholar and expert researcher of Ottoman military organization in Hungary, Klára Hegyi, holds that this list is a record of the Ottoman garrison, changes in the number of soldiers at the Bač fortress, and represents the

wine from Srem is a question that requires further investigation. For more detail regarding wine and viticulture in Srem during the period of Ottoman rule, see: Vlašić 2020: 163–183.

⁴¹ Fodor 1990: 56–96.

⁴² Szakály 1995: 458.

⁴³ *Ibidem* 298–299.

⁴⁴ Vass 1979: 9.

⁴⁵ MNL, OL, MKr, B. r. orig. W 15721; Szakály 1995: 467.

⁴⁶ Györe, Pfeiffer 2019: 299–300.

⁴⁷ Baltazár Bornemissza and Urbán Batthyány were nobles in service to Emperor Ferdinand, according to a source dated October 6, 1542. (MNL, OL, MKr, B. r. orig. W 15721; Szakály 1995: 467).

state of affairs between September 30 and October 27, 1543. According Hegyi, an imam and 103 soldiers are listed, of which 72 reported for muster and collected their wages.⁴⁸ Information from this list shows that the Bač garrison had only been recently assembled.⁴⁹

As a result of, among other things, new historical sources, we know that the Bač fortress had several owners (King Jovan I, Jovan Dolić, Stjepan Berislavić, King Ferdinand, the Ottomans), and that it was held by the Ottomans at least three times. An important difference during the period preceding the Battle of Mohács is that the Bač fortress was not under the control of the Kalocsa-Bač Archbishopric, as it had been before 1526.⁵⁰ The archbishops of Kalocsa-Bač never reacquired the rights to the fortress. However, they retained ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the town of Bač after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699.⁵¹

2. An issue for Catholic survival in Ottoman Hungary

An issue for Catholic survival was that the Porte generally had little tolerance for religious communities whose religious centers were located outside the empire, which was certainly the case for the Catholic faith.⁵² Because it was centered in Rome, only an agreement between the pope and the sultan could regulate the Catholics' position within the Ottoman Empire, which never happened.⁵³ Unlike Catholicism, the Orthodox and Armenian churches and the Jewish faith were legally recognized within the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴ The Catholic faith and the Catholic community were not recognized until the nineteenth century during the period of reform known as the *Tanzimat* (1839–1876), when the Catholic millet was created.⁵⁵ Until then, unlike the Orthodox Christians, the Catholics had no ecclesiastical hierarchy confirmed by *berath* from the sultan with precise jurisdictional rights and tax obligations. Life for the Catholics was further complicated by laws enacted by the Hungarian Court Chancellery that Hungarian inhabitants in Ottoman-controlled territories were expected to abide by and which prohibited them from surrendering towns, exporting or trading in military goods (gunpowder and arms).⁵⁶ Pressure from the Hungarian authorities in Hungary from the mid-sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth fostered strong opposition against the Ottomans among the Hungarian population. As can be seen from several examples (Kecskemét, Ráckeve, Makó, Jászberény, Tolna, and even the seat of the sancak of Szeged), the population's passive opposition (for example, interfering with the Ottoman administrative officials' attempts to convert Christians to Islam) provoked a strong reaction from the Ottomans. There is even an example from Tolna in which the

⁴⁸ Hegyi 2002: 202.

⁴⁹ ÖNB Mxt 550, 68–70; Hegyi 2007: 929–930; Velics 1886: 22; Šmit 1939: 393–394; Vujović 2016: 85.

⁵⁰ Engel 1996: 270; Csánki 1894: 135; Hermann 2017: 396.

⁵¹ Györe, Pfeiffer 2019: 296.

⁵² Frazee 1983: 31–45, 88–126.

⁵³ Molnár 2002: 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ The following laws prohibited relations with the Ottomans: Article 16 from the law of 1613 (Márkus 1900: 105.); 20th article of the Law of 1622 (Márkus 1900: 195); Article 11 of the law of 1635 (Márkus 1900: 315.). On the Hungarian resistance against the Ottoman government and its administrative system, see: Szakály 1985: 52–62; Hegyi 1995: 24–26.

Ottomans presented the Christian population with the choice of conversion or death.⁵⁷ To appease the local population as much as they could, over time, the Ottoman authorities permitted church bells to be rung in villages that were exclusively Christian, and even allowed new churches to be built.⁵⁸

The constant wars of the sixteenth century, which were largely fought in the central parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, along with the expansion of the Reformation, effectively destroyed the Catholic Church in southern Hungary, both financially and spiritually. The Kingdom of Hungary could theoretically have compensated for these losses, but there the emphasis was on fighting the spread of Protestant teachings, so missions were secondary if not tertiary goals. Catholicism did not disappear from the southern regions due to the Franciscan monasteries (Jászberény, Gyöngyös, Szeged), the remains of the secular clergy, and the South Slavic Catholic missionaries (who came from Dubrovnik or were Bosnian Franciscans), who moved into vacant areas, including Bačka, during the migrations of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁹

Historiography had previously held that, in the decades after the defeat at Mohács, Catholics had all but disappeared from the southern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, and that the Protestants had prevailed over the Catholics.⁶⁰ If this is correct, it raises questions about how and to what extent the Catholic Church survived in occupied Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Pecs remained as the most important Catholic stronghold.⁶¹ In this town and in its wider surroundings (the former county of Baranya), Protestants and Catholics fought fiercely with each other.⁶² The next large Catholic center was in the county of Somogy, where the Jesuits successfully remained active during the seventeenth century.⁶³

Catholics in the central part of Hungary managed to survive. This was due to the Franciscans in Jászberény, Gyöngyös, and Szeged, who carried out pastoral and spiritual duties within their surroundings beyond the monastery walls. The same was true for Kecskemét, where Catholics, in a 1564 agreement with Protestants, maintained the Church, and from 1638 the Jesuits (and the Franciscans from 1644) enabled the Catholics in the town and its surroundings to persevere. There were similar successes in the Diocese of Vác. According to a report from 1675, the bishop of Vác, György Pongrácz, maintained Catholics as the primary group in his diocese, which was located in the northwestern part of southern Transdanubia.⁶⁴

As for the rural population, they were quite flexible in their view of Protestantism and Catholicism. Why did this trend emerge? For the villages in Ottoman Hungary, it was

⁵⁷ For more on these kinds of situations, see: Fodor, Dávid 2002: 271–277.

⁵⁸ Szakály 1998: 232–250, 223–231; Molnár 1998: 245.

⁵⁹ Molnár 2002: 101.

⁶⁰ This paper will not deal with the spread of the Reformation in southern Hungary in detail. The most important literature connected to includes: Földvály 1898.; Földvály 1940.; Bartha 1965–1973.; Szakály 1995 a.; Idem 1987.; Unghváry 1994.

⁶¹ Molnár 2022: 64.

⁶² Molnár 1999: 195, 234–238.

⁶³ Karácsonyi, Kollányi, Lukcsics 1912: 544.

⁶⁴ Szakály 1983: 648–655; Szántó 1972: 49–58; Hornyik 1861: 112–121, 124–138.

most important to remain within a Christian faith, and they did not differentiate much between the Protestant and Catholic confessions. This tolerance could be attributed to the small number of priests, and since these settlements strictly adhered to religious customs, theological differences meant little to them: it made no difference if the gospel was preached by a Protestant or Catholic. Of course, this was not the case in the towns, where merchants and craftsmen were more educated than the rural population and were more well-disposed to Catholic priests who, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were Franciscans or Jesuits.⁶⁵

Here we must also ask the question of what position the Ottomans took regarding the Protestants. Did they tend to favor them or the Catholics? This issue is quite complex. It would appear from the literature that they favored the Protestants at the beginning of the Hungarian conquest, or at least they did not prevent the spread of the new faith because they believed it would be easier to expand in a Christian land. In the first few decades after the Battle of Mohács, they primarily favored the Protestants in court proceedings.⁶⁶ According to Catholic historians, the Ottomans favored the Protestant faith and assisted in its expansion for political reasons (they were enemies of the Habsburg Empire and it divided the Hungarians).⁶⁷ On the Catholic side, only József Balogh dealt with this topic in more detail. He claimed the Ottomans tolerated both confessions for pragmatic reasons; but this, of course, did not mean there was recognition of either. For religious reasons, they certainly did not support Protestantism, so when they favored Protestantism, it was based on a policy of “divide and conquer.”⁶⁸

Protestant historians more or less share the opinion of their Catholic counterparts, but they draw even fewer parallels between the spread of the Reformation and Ottoman rule. They view this Protestant “favoritism” as part of an anti-Habsburg policy and a desire to keep the population within the conquered lands by preventing them from abandoning them through migration.⁶⁹ The Ottomans permitted the profession of faith demanded by this population. When they saw the new faith was gaining popularity and could help retain the population in the newly conquered lands, they did not oppose it; indeed they permitted the Hungarians to choose the new confession or to remain within the Catholic faith.⁷⁰ However, it is clear from the literature that the number of Catholics among the Hungarians was in a steady decline, and that this trend was more pronounced in Ottoman Hungary than in the lands within the kingdom.⁷¹ Szakály holds a similar opinion. Using Turkish defters, he confirmed that 60 to 70 percent of the Catholic clergy was destroyed during the Ottoman conquest, and throughout the 1630s and 1640s, those still left were reduced by another 30

⁶⁵ Molnár 2002: 107.

⁶⁶ According to Hungarian historiography, sources dated during the period 1541–1552 support the assertion regarding aid for and favoritism of Protestants over Catholics. This is discussed in a letter from Batizi András, Gyulai Torda Zsigmond, Fehértói János, Széki Szigeti Imre, Sztárai Mihály: *Földvár* 1940: 153–192; Szakály 1985: 447–455.

⁶⁷ König 1931: 125–126; Hermann 1973: 227.

⁶⁸ Balog 1939: 29–35.

⁶⁹ Zoványi 1922: 210–217; Bucsay 1985: 44.

⁷⁰ Csohányi 1973: 896–898.

⁷¹ Salamon 1885: 311.

percent. He concluded that this Ottoman inclination toward Protestantism was only relevant between 1541 and 1552 because they saw the new teachings as a tool for consolidating their power over the Hungarian lands (as was also the case with the Orthodox Church). After 1552, however, this positive inclination toward the Protestants almost completely disappeared, and they began using conflicts and disputes between Catholics and Protestants to their advantage.⁷²

3. The effect of migration on changing ethnic structures in southern Hungary under Ottoman rule

From the sixteenth century onwards, South Slav migration was a contributing factor in the reduction of Catholics within the Ottoman-controlled areas of Hungary. These migrations had begun in the fifteenth century, but during the Ottoman conquest and certainly after the Long Turkish War (1591–1606), they became increasingly significant. During the fifteenth century at the earliest, the area between the Sava and the Drava rivers, which included the region of medieval Srem around Vukovar and Požega, became increasingly Slavic.⁷³ Of course, Orthodox Serbs settled first in eastern Srem west of the Voćin–Cernik line in increasingly larger numbers, while Catholic Bosnians moved into western Srem between the Požega–Velika line in the medieval county of Vukovar and within the Valpovo–Osijek–Našice triangle. Notably, there were also settlements in Slavonia that were majority Protestant. Protestants could be found in cities as well as in villages and small towns, and Croatian Protestants lived south of the Drava in the lands around Valpovo, Osijek, and Vukovar.⁷⁴

By the mid-sixteenth century, Serbs had become the majority in Banat; in the area between the Mureş, Tisza, and Danube rivers; and in Bačka.⁷⁵ A smaller number of migrants were soldiers attached to units of irregulars from the Ottoman army (*martolos*)⁷⁶ or Vlachs from Transylvania. They had privileges regarding tax payments, but in return they had to serve in the army, often in border fortresses. As the borders shifted in the sixteenth century, they slowly moved into parts of Ottoman Hungary.⁷⁷ Another group of South Slavic origin moved into abandoned and unsettled areas in Hungary, and they were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, but they were also a significant presence in the cities, where they were craftsmen and merchants.⁷⁸

The historiography generally referred to the South Slav settlers as *Rac*, which had been used as a name for the Serbian population since the late Middle Ages. However, one must consider the nuances among the South Slavic peoples in southern Hungary, who belonged to various ethnic groups that differed primarily according to religion.⁷⁹ Over time, research has shown they need to be differentiated from one another. Here I refer specifically

⁷² Szakály 1984: 51–59.

⁷³ Engel 2000: 267–321.

⁷⁴ Buturac 1970: 25–56.

⁷⁵ Szakály 1991: 21–25; Rácz 1995: 119, 112–124.

⁷⁶ Pavlović 2017: 386.

⁷⁷ Fenyvesi 1985: 199–218; Hegyi 1995: 100–109; Idem 1998: 229–256.

⁷⁸ Hegyi 1995: 197–198.

⁷⁹ Dávid 1997: 169; Miskei 1998: 109–110.

to the Catholic South Slavs (Šokci, Bunjevci, Bosnians and Croats), large numbers of whom settled in southern Hungary during this period. Their numbers cannot be compared with the number of Serbs (especially after the Great Migration of 1690), but they are certainly worth noting.⁸⁰ This population would have also included merchants from Dubrovnik, who were active in larger cities where they had their own shops and colonies (Budim, Pest, Timișoara, Pecs, Székesfehérvár, Osijek, and Požega).⁸¹ Here, it is particularly relevant that these Catholics also settled in Bačka, where they were referred to as Šokci and Bunjevci.

According to missionary reports, in the mid-seventeenth century, there were Catholics living in Bač, Baja, Bajmok, Đurđin, Breg, Bukin (today Mladenovo), Gara, Santovo, Jánoshalma, Kolut, Mélykút, and Sombor.⁸² However, it is not possible to make reliably estimate the total number of Catholics in Ottoman Hungary in the seventeenth century. In the mid-seventeenth century, when Matija Benlić, the bishop of Belgrade, conducted canonical visitations, the number of Catholics was estimated at around 170,000, of which 50,000 lived in Slavonia, 52,000 in Transdanubia, 9,000 in Bačka, 11,000 in Banat, 2,000 between Buda and Esztergom, and 30,000 in the dioceses of Vác and Egar.⁸³ Of course, these are only estimates and are by no means accurate censuses of Catholics in Ottoman Hungary. However, it would not be incorrect to say that the Catholic population within the Ottoman Empire was primarily located in these areas.

4. Taxation in Bač and the surrounding area by the archbishops of Kalocsa during Ottoman rule in Christian sources

The title of Archbishop of Bačka during this period was only a formality, and there were eighteen archbishops between 1526 and 1683. In the late sixteenth century and for most of the seventeenth, many were given this title toward the end of their careers because, in practice, the title of archbishop meant this person was an ecclesiastic trusted by the Vienne court and had served faithfully within the Catholic church for years, and were thus worthy of the title Archbishop of Kalocsa-Bač.⁸⁴ In the rest of this article, I will consider the sources compiled by Christians containing information about how the archbishops went about taxing the diocese during Ottoman rule. I will also look at whether they “gave consideration to the spiritual survival of the Catholic faithful” or if they only used “their ecclesiastical estates” to collect taxes.

The earliest source suggesting the archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács collected taxes is from 1623. Archbishop Bálint Lépes (1619–1623)⁸⁵ entrusted the administration and taxation of the diocese’s estates to János Kutassy, a cavalry lieutenant from Komárom. He was responsible for disciplining unruly serfs and protecting them from harassment.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Unyi 1947.; Vanyó 1973: 88–97. However, Borsa and Tóth’s opinion that Catholic South Slavs were Serbs should also be mentioned: Borsa, Tóth 1989: 88.

⁸¹ Molnár 2002: 106.

⁸² Molnár 2000: 117–140; Idem 2002: 106; Pfeiffer 2019: 455–476.

⁸³ Borsa, Tóth 1989: 141–142.

⁸⁴ Tóth 2014: 31.

⁸⁵ For more detail on this, see: Katona 2003: 57–60; Tóth 2014: 37.

⁸⁶ MNL, OL, E 41 1623 Nr. 79; Molnár 2004: 69.

Archbishop János Telegdy (1623–1647)⁸⁷ continued with a systematic inventory of the archdiocese's estates. In 1626, he compiled a list of the archdiocese's estates in the county of Solta.⁸⁸ In 1629, he compiled an inventory of the villages belonging to the archdiocese, and called witnesses who were nobles from the area around Kalocsa.⁸⁹ However, taxation on the archdiocese's former estates did not go easily or smoothly. The nobles occasionally protested outside their county courts, claiming that the archbishops were violating their rights to certain villages and estates. For example, Pál Bornemissza of Buda protested before the Pest–Pilisa–Solt County Assembly because Archbishop Telegdy had unfairly taxed his Serbian villages of Radonić and Perlković in Bačka county.⁹⁰ In 1642, Telegdy needed to address the same assembly because the nobles had unjustly occupied his estates in county of Solt.⁹¹

Also relevant is one of the first taxation censuses of the archdiocese's estates, which has been dated to 1543. However, this date has recently been disputed by Hungarian and Serbian historians, who consider the census to be either younger or older by a full century, if not more.⁹² So too is the inclusion of the town of Bač, which was responsible for a tax of forty forints paid to the archdiocese—one of the highest sums in the census. Interestingly, some of the settlements paid part of their taxes in shoes and boots.⁹³

Taxation of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa's estates during Ottoman rule reached its highest point under János Püsky (1649–1657), György Szelepcsényi (1657–1666), and György Széchényi (1666–1685), in the mid- and late-seventeenth century.⁹⁴ These archbishops invested a great deal of effort into restoring the archdiocese's estates with considerable success, as will be seen later. The first step was to complete an inventory of these estates and estimate the tax liability for each settlement. Around 1650, János Püsky compiled a detailed list of towns and villages with the amounts of tax to be collected. There are 179 towns and villages on the list, and the total tax was estimated at around 2,500 forints.⁹⁵ This list also mentions Bač, which paid forty forints to the archdiocese. Sombor also had to pay the same amount, and only Subotica paid more (50 forints).⁹⁶ His successor, György Szelepcsényi, collected all the information from Telegdy and Püsky, and compiled a list of 300 towns and villages, including former estates. King Leopold I (1657–1705) issued him a charter on April 12, 1662. Sometime later (December 12, 1665), another charter was issued confirming the archbishop owned the rights to these settlements and estates. The list, of course, included Bač and located it within the former county of Bačka, so Archbishop Szelepcsényi had a sense of where former archbishops' residence had been.⁹⁷ However, protests against the taxation of estates came from the nobles of Pest–Pilis–Solt

⁸⁷ For more detail on this, see: Katona 2003: 60–66; Tóth 2014: 37–38; Pfeiffer 2019: 108.

⁸⁸ Gyetvai 1992: 89.

⁸⁹ Katona 2003: 81.

⁹⁰ MNL, OL, P 1744 fasc. 1. Nr. 108.

⁹¹ Borosy 1985: 39–40.

⁹² Szakály 1981: 266–267; Wicker 2008: 46, 47; Ćirković 2017: 182.

⁹³ MNL, OL, E 156 - a. - Fasc. 103. - No. 047.

⁹⁴ For more on these three archbishops, see: Katona 2003: 66–75, 77–82; Molnár 2004: 67–76; Tóth 2014: 38–39.

⁹⁵ Molnár 2004: 70; Dudás 1896: 259–261.

⁹⁶ Dudás 1896: 261.

⁹⁷ Katona 2003: 70–73; Molnár 2004: 70; Szakály 1981: 266–267; Gyetvai 1992: 91–92.

county, who also regularly taxed the settlements in Bačka and where apparently all the Hungarian and Serbian villages had their own master.⁹⁸ There is information from the period 1657–1679 that noble families and the archbishops were not infrequently engaged in disputes over estates in Bačka as well. However, there is almost no information about the outcome of these disputes.⁹⁹ Moreover, according to a document from 1703 listing all the settlements that regularly paid taxes to the archbishops, states that even the Serbian villages paid taxes, or at least those in northern Bačka did.¹⁰⁰

A system for tax collection in the regions under Ottoman rule was determined during the reign of Archbishop Szelepcsényi. Direct tax collection was handled by the officers from the border fortresses. Their task was to collect taxes (even through violent means), defend the boundaries of the estates, protect the serfs primarily from the hajduks and border knights. The administrators of the estates, and especially of the Church's estates, had broad powers that ranged from arranging tax collection to the managing the archbishop's estate.¹⁰¹ After his appointment in 1657, Szelepcsényi immediately began arranging for the taxation of the archdiocese's estates. Based on threats he had made in a letter dated September 1, 1657, it is clear the archbishop took paying taxes very seriously: "We will destroy you by fire and sword, and those we capture will be heavily taxed, and soldiers will be sent to steal from you."¹⁰² His estate manager was György Légrádi, who had broad management privileges. His job was to collect taxes and run the estates. He entrusted the defense of these estates to Mihály Gálffy, a lieutenant from Nyitra, whose primary duty was to defend the archbishop's estates from raids by soldiers at the border fortresses.¹⁰³

The fact that Szelepcsényi collected a part of these taxes even after he became the archbishop of Esztergom shows just how important these taxes from the Bačka villages were. According to Szelepcsényi's account during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Bishop Giacinto Macripodari of Csanád conducted negotiations in Baja with representatives of villages in Bačka (Mélykút, Gara, Vaskút, Csátalja, Salašić, Ridjica, Ledjen, Katymár, Aranyos, Ivanka, Istvánmegye, and others), who complained that Széchényi, the new archbishop of Kalocsa, was demanding unjustifiably high taxes because he was asking for his share from settlements Szelepcsényi was also collecting from. Interestingly, two Janissary aghas were also present at this meeting. They complained about raids by border soldiers, which had increased significantly, especially in the south of Bačka where Serbs were living. These aghas sought protection from Szelepcsényi and his soldiers, and to free captured serfs from the Hungarian border knights, who had carried them off into slavery.¹⁰⁴ Szelepcsényi made serious threats to his villages in Bačka on January 22, 1678: If they did not pay their taxes within seven months, they would be attacked by the knights from Füle.¹⁰⁵

According to Molnár and Szakály, it became clear from these raiding parties that

⁹⁸ For more on this topic, see: Dudás 1896: 247–255.

⁹⁹ Molnár 2004: 70.

¹⁰⁰ Szakály 1981: 268–270; Gyetvai 1992: 92–93.

¹⁰¹ Szakály 1981: 174–211.

¹⁰² MNL, OL, E 150. Regestrata fasc. 29. Nr. 30.

¹⁰³ Molnár 2004: 71.

¹⁰⁴ Molnár 2001: 65–75.

¹⁰⁵ Id. 2004: 71.

soldiers from northern Hungary were extremely hostile toward the Serbian population. The sources indicate they regularly paid taxes, so this did not change the fact that Serbian villages in Bačka had recognized de facto Hungarian interests and the rights of Hungarian nobles and prelates.¹⁰⁶ Research into this topic conducted over the past decade only confirms that the South Slavic population was treated neglectfully in the same way as the Turkish population.¹⁰⁷ These areas were thus treated by the Hungarian authorities as an extension of the Balkans rather than as southern parts of the lands of the Hungarian crown. The population belonged to the Ottoman state with all of its administrative apparatuses, while the Kalocsa-Bač archbishops and Hungarian feudal lords levied taxes on Turkish territory not only for the income but also because they wanted their jurisdiction recognized and the power of the Turkish institutions reduced. The Serbs, however, were Ottoman subjects who were active in the Turkish administration and military system. This system of double taxation says much about the power of the Hungarian system and the weaknesses of Ottoman rule. Nevertheless, there is no trace of an agreement between the Hungarians and the Ottomans regarding the collection of revenues. However, as seen here, some of the nobles (such as the archbishops of Kalocsa), in protecting their own rights also protected their serfs. Interestingly, this mechanism was taken over by the Ottoman spahis to defend themselves against attacks by the hajduks and soldiers from the northern border fortresses.¹⁰⁸

It is necessary to explain what is meant here by the term double taxation. Ferenc Salamon was the first to draw attention to this system in an extensive monograph about the Ottoman conquest of Hungary.¹⁰⁹ After Salamon, Ferenc Szakály, whose monograph was cited earlier, further explored and expanded on this topic.¹¹⁰ The hypothesis essentially holds that the inhabitants of the former lands of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which was ruled by the Ottoman Empire from 1541 to 1699, continued paying taxes to the Hungarian nobles who were taxing these lands during this period.¹¹¹ The Ottomans did not formally recognize the Hungarian nobility (barons and prelates) or the Hungarian king, who owned the land as part of the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, and instead considered the land to be under the sultan's control.¹¹² But in reality, they never managed to prevent the Hungarian nobles or the Hungarian Chamber of Accounts from collecting taxes (ninths, tithes, in kind, or in currency).¹¹³

The Habsburg rulers, however, adopted the idea of immunity for the lands of Saint Stephan from the Hungarian nobility and made this known to the Ottomans during peace

¹⁰⁶ Szakály 1981: 272–275; Molnár 2004: 72.

¹⁰⁷ In addition to Serbs, these pillagers also harassed and oppressed the Bunjevci and Šokci. An instance from 1653 was noted in which they kidnapped a Franciscan who was later freed by Catholics with help from the Ottomans. Although Bačka was fertile, it was sparsely populated due to this uncertainty, according to Benlić, a missionary bishop: Borsa, Tóth 1989: 89–142.

¹⁰⁸ Hegedűs 1981: 147–169.

¹⁰⁹ Salamon 1886: 316.

¹¹⁰ Szakály 1981: 59–140, 449–479.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 23–59.

¹¹² For official policy and understandings of the sultan and the Sublime Porte, see the peace treaties of 1547 and 1568. For more detail, see: Thúry 1896: 397., Szalay 1860: 118; Salamon 1886: 316.

¹¹³ Szakály 1981: 449.

negotiations, primarily in the early seventeenth century.¹¹⁴ Interestingly, this right to immunity for the Kingdom of Hungary was not recognized even during the payment of 30,000 ducats between 1547 and 1606. The Sublime Porte interpreted this as an indication that the “Viennese king” had recognized the superiority of the Ottoman sultan and the Hungarian king.¹¹⁵ Also of interest is that, after the Treaty of Vienna (1606), the Ottomans no longer disputed the the Hungarian nobility’s right to tax these lands, where the Hungarians were the majority. They only took issue with areas where there was a primarily South Slav population. The Hungarians could take advantage of the peace treaties’ shortcomings because the treaties did not address the issue of taxation in Ottoman-controlled lands. But what is even more interesting is that the Ottoman spahis were able to expand their power behind the Kingdom of Hungary’s defensive lines. What really mattered was what actually happened on a day-to-day basis, or rather, who was more successful at asserting their authority without making use of their larger military forces.^{116, 117} It so happens that, in this instance, the Hungarian nobility had the upper hand.¹¹⁸

It should also be mentioned that the Hungarians failed to tax the entire area of Hungary controlled by the Ottomans. For example, they never managed to collect taxes in Srem, Slavonia, and the area between the Timiș and Mureș rivers.¹¹⁹ Likewise, it should be noted that the nobility from the Kingdom of Hungary claimed the right to all types of taxes (ninth, tithes, land tax, etc.), which were claimed not only from the settlements primarily inhabited by Hungarians but also from those in which there were South Slavs (Serbs, Šokci, Bunjevci, and Croats).¹²⁰ In the beginning, from the late 1640s to the end of the 1650s, the key fortresses along the Hungarian defensive line against the Ottomans (Siget, Eger, Đula) taxed the population in the eyalet of Buda. These “campaigns” were organized by the captains of the fortresses to support their garrisons and prepare the fortresses for defense against sieges by the Ottoman army.¹²¹ After these fortresses fell under Ottoman rule (Szigetvár and Gyula fell in 1566, and Eger in 1596), taxation passed to the barons, prelates, and Hungary’s Chamber of Accounts.¹²²

One of the most important sources regarding taxation of what is now Bačka by the Kalocsa archbishops at the end of Ottoman rule is a record compiled on the orders of Archbishop Pál Széchenyi. It was compiled in 1698 by Matija Bubnić, a canon from Győr, and György Lendvai, the royal commissioner, after careful examination in the field. Bubnić and Lendvai questioned forty witnesses, including officials in the county of Bačka, older serfs from Baja and its environs (Santovo, Breg, Kolut, Sombor, Bač, Baračka, Borsod, Leđen, Mélykút, Borota), and an allegedly 111-year-old monk from the Bodjani monastery

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 450.

¹¹⁵ Salamon 1886: 321–322; Szakály 1981: 44–59.

¹¹⁶ Szakály 1981: 451.

¹¹⁷ The assumption that double taxation was also practiced by the Ottomans was first mentioned by Ferenc Szakály. However, in recent years, Eva Simon S. in Hungary has done more detailed research on Ottoman taxation of the population in the west and northwest parts of Hungary. Sz. Simon 2014: 64–132; 207–217.

¹¹⁸ Szakály 1981: 23–59.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 452–453.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 455.

¹²¹ Szakály 1981: 456–457.

¹²² *Ibid.*

named Stefan Subota, and an officer named Stefan Husar. The witnesses unanimously stated that, in the last decades of Ottoman rule, during the reigns of the archbishops Szelepcsényi and Széchényi, the settlements, and especially those around Kalocsa, Baja, and Somobor, regularly paid taxes to the prelates of Kalocsa, but the hajduks sometimes traveled to Petrovaradin to collect taxes.¹²³ One settlement with an Ottoman garrison did not pay taxes, but the spahis encouraged the villages to pay so the soldiers from the north would leave them in peace. Stefan Husar and his soldiers from Füleke and Léva had to repeatedly persuade the recalcitrant settlements to pay taxes to the archbishop. It is also interesting that the monk Subota claimed that the Ottomans sometimes lent money to the serfs so they would have protection from Hungarians troops attacking from the north. The taxes collected from Bačka were later taken to Ferenc Wesselényi and his commanding officer János Gombkötő in Füleke, who handed the money over to István Koháry, the commanding officer but they also took this tax money to Győr, Nyitra, Érsekújvár (until 1663) and Komárom.¹²⁴ Also relevant here is that in this source, there is mention of a witness from Bač, Georgi, a fifty-six-year-old Catholic and a fur trader. He stated that the settlements around Baja and Sombor regularly paid taxes to the archbishop of Kalocsa:

The seventeenth witness, Georgije the fur trader, who was fifty-six and a resident of the town of Bač. He admitted to the panel that he had been questioned and that all the villages and estates...of the upper districts, such as Baja and Sombor, paid taxes annually to the archbishop of Kalocsa.¹²⁵

Now that we have seen how the archbishops managed to return a part of the former estates and to tax these settlements, we should look at how much they were able to collect and what revenues they could rely on. It is not possible in practical terms to determine the total amount because payment records only indicate how much a settlement in a particular geographic area paid.¹²⁶ However, to explore this area in more detail, it is necessary to look carefully at the canonical visitations.

In Vatican archives from the seventeenth century, there are records of seven proceedings¹²⁷ carried out by the archdiocese between 1649 and 1696, in which witnesses reported, among other things, on the archdiocese's revenues.¹²⁸ Annual revenues in 1649

¹²³ Molnár 2004: 73–74.

¹²⁴ Transcripts of this record from the eighteenth century: KÉGL Birtokjogi iratgyűjtemény fasc. 1. Nr. 1. fasc. 6. Nr. 455. Gyetvai 1992: 92–93. Molnár 2004: 73–74.

¹²⁵ KFL. III. 5.a. Nr.1.

¹²⁶ Szakály 1981: 270.

¹²⁷ According to Council of Trent, candidates for higher ecclesiastical offices had to undergo an examination (known as a canonical investigation or *processus informativus*), in which witnesses gave their assessments of the candidate by answering thirteen questions from a list (or ten if the bishop was being transferred), and the candidate himself had to answer thirteen questions related to his future diocese. This canonical process was stipulated by Popes Gregory XIV and Urban VIII (1591, 1627). Notes connected to the proceedings of the Hungarian bishops and archbishops have been kept in the Vatican archives since 1612 and are located in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* in three fonds: The *Archivio Consistoriale*, *Processus Consistoriales*; the *Dataria Apostolica*, *Processus Datariae*; and the *Archivio della Nuntiatura in Vienna*, *Processi dei Vescovi e degli abati*. For more about these fonds and diocesan proceedings, see: Molnár 2001: 149–163; Ritzler 1958: 204–220; Id. 1955: 95–101; Tusor 1999: 23–25.

¹²⁸ Molnár 2004: 74.

were estimated to have been between 300 and 500 forints that were collected from the serfs in the archbishop's estates, who paid their taxes in fish, carpets, and currency. Due to the organization of his estates, György Szelepcsényi was able to significantly increase his income. These records also indicate that the archbishop's income, collected in kind, in currency, and in Turkish carpets, amounted to between 1,000 and 3,000 forints. However, toward the end of Ottoman rule, the archbishop's revenues once again fell. At the time, György Széchényi complained that, for ten years, he had collected 500 forints, but that for the year 1682–83, he had barely managed to collect anything, and in 1684 he had received almost nothing from the serfs. Ten years later, Antal Péter Rátkay reported that during Archbishop Széchényi's tenure, his income was, in fact, approximately 700 forints annually. This amount did not increase much in the first few years after the Treaty of Karlowitz either.¹²⁹

Looking at the 160-year period between the Battle of Mohács and the Great Turkish War, there were certain events that can be attributed to the actions of the archbishops of Kalocsa. Some of them, such as Kutasy, Pethe, Szuhay, Szelepcsényi, and Széchényi, believed the Catholic Church could only be restored through the Counter Reformation. Throughout the seventeenth century, they focused on suppressing the Protestant Church, sometimes through radical measures. Evidence for this is the appropriation of estates and the Extraordinary Court in Pozsony (now Bratislava).¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the archbishops certainly had their own merits regarding art and culture within their diocese. They were far less successful, or rather almost completely unsuccessful, in carrying out reforms or re-Catholicizing the part of their diocese under Ottoman rule.

Yet it also cannot be said that the archbishops of the Diocese of Kalocsa-Bač took no action regarding the lands under Ottoman rule. Demeter Naprágyi appointed vicars (1612–1618) for the first time to head this church, with the goal of finding a way to tax the archdiocese's estates controlled by the Ottomans. The first steps toward this were taken in 1623. A few years later, Archbishop Telegdy attempted to take an inventory of the lands that had been lost. Püsky, Szelepcsényi and Széchényi continued in this direction, and Szelepcsényi was the first to appoint an administrator to run the archbishop's estates that were formally and legally under Ottoman control.¹³¹

There is a relatively large number of sources dealing with taxation in the Ottoman part of Hungary that favored the archbishops of Kalocsa and inventories of the diocese's former estates and settlements; however, the same cannot be said for the archbishop's pastoral work in these areas. There are various reasons for this: There were relatively few Catholics in these lands and the archbishops had other, more important dioceses where there was much for the prelates to do, leaving the Archdiocese of Kalocsa as only a place to collect taxes.¹³² There is some information about the archbishops' pastoral work regarding the appointment of vicars to represent them. The first known vicar was György Vásárhelyi, a Jesuit from Pecs and a missionary who was authorized by Demeter Naprágyi in 1612 with

¹²⁹ Id. 2001: 156.

¹³⁰ On the Extraordinary Court in Pozsony, see: Varga 1973: 232–239; Benczédi 1975: 199–206.

¹³¹ Tóth 2014: 46.

¹³² Molnár 2004: 74.

several pastoral and legal privileges and tasks.¹³³ After three years, in 1615 he appointed György Nagyfalvi, the vicar of Győr, as his representative.¹³⁴ Apart from these Jesuits, Archbishop Naprágyi maintained a relationship with Paolo Torrelli,¹³⁵ an abbot in Bač whom he had appointed as his vicar in 1618.¹³⁶

However, here it should be pointed out that, shortly before this, the title of “abbot of the Benedictine abbey in Bač” was fictitious. The Benedictine missionaries from Dubrovnik wanted to legitimize their work and presence in southern Hungary, so they sought a local title for themselves. This proved to be a rather difficult task because Church titles were bestowed by the Hungarian king, and the titles of smaller ecclesiastical institutions disappeared temporarily. They bridged this gap by creating a fictitious title which had never existed before. This was the Bač Abbey of the Virgin Mary. The first to hold this title was Pietro di Vicenzio, a secular priest from Dubrovnik whom the pope granted this abbey on May 30, 1592, through a donation.¹³⁷ This is problematic because the Benedictine Abby of Bač had never existed. During my research I found no trace of the Benedictines ever having had an abbey in Bač. There is no mention of one in the Hungarian literature either.¹³⁸ However, during our research of charters and letters from the Bačka chapter, we came across a charter dated October 1, 1473, in which there is mention of Filip, a member of the Bač chapter, who completed an investigation by order of his chapter. According to this charter, he was the presbyter of the Church of the Virgin Mary. Thus it is possible that this church did indeed exist in Bač, and Rome was already aware of this it, but it was mistakenly believed to have once been Benedictine.¹³⁹ Moreover, in reviewing the chapter charters from the 1470s up to 1525, I came across provosts minor (*praepositus minor*) in several places at the end of charters in lists of elected canons of the elected canons of the General Chapter of Bač. This is, in fact, evidence that in Bač, in addition to the cathedral, there was also a collegiate chapter church led by the provost of the Church of the Virgin Mary: *Prepositus beate Marie virginis Bachiensis*.¹⁴⁰ This is also the opinion of the Hungarian scholar, C. Tóth Norbert.¹⁴¹ Thus, it is very likely that the Holy See associated the name of the collegiate church with incorrect information about a Benedictine monastery in Bač in the Middle Ages. In fact, there are sources about filling the fictitious title of a Benedictine abbey in Bač that date up to the 1630s. Furthermore, in 1597, Mavro Orbini, a Dubrovnik historiographer, bore the title of Abbot of Bač.¹⁴²

¹³³ *Id.* 1999: 171–263.

¹³⁴ Szabady 1932: 212–232.

¹³⁵ The names of two seventeenth-century abbots are known. One is Paolo Torelli, a secular priest from Dubrovnik, who bore the title in 1625. The other is don Simone Matkovich, who was given the title of this position in 1631. (Molnár 2004: 53–55). Torelli was the nephew of Bonifacije Drakolica, a former papal visitor to southern Hungary, so it is likely he was chosen for missionary work in southern Hungary because of his uncle. (For more about Drakolica and his work, see: Tóth István 1997: 447–472; Molnár 2002: 125–136).

¹³⁶ Tóth I. Gy. 2002: 131–133.

¹³⁷ Molnár 2004: 52.

¹³⁸ Sörös 1912; Sekulić 1978: 11–34; Hervay 2001: 461–547.

¹³⁹ DL 17465

¹⁴⁰ Theiner 1860: 496; Lukesics 1902: 291; Pfeiffer 2019: 173.

¹⁴¹ C. Tóth 2019: 35–36.

¹⁴² Molnár 2022: 64.

Bálint Lépes, Naprágyi's successor as head of the archdiocese, however, was not particularly concerned with spiritual life in Bačka. At the 1622 Diet held in Sopron, Carlo Carafa, a Viennese nuncio under the authority of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (or Propaganda Fide),¹⁴³ examined the activities of the priests in Bačka. Of all of the archbishops, Lépes seemed the most unprepared to answer the questions posed to him.¹⁴⁴ It was evident in a letter Archbishop Telegdy sent from Nyitra to the Szeged monastery on August 5, 1626, that the archbishop had been counting on the Szeged Franciscans' missionary work. In this letter, he informed the abbot that they had been selected to undertake missionary work in Ottoman territory, and that they were to obey only him.¹⁴⁵

Telegdy wanted the pope to grant permission to deploy priests with at least twelve years of pastoral experience in the former lands of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa and the Diocese of Nyitra.¹⁴⁶ Since the archdiocese had been vacant for two years, György Lippay, the archbishop of Esztergom, named Đuro Vaić, a Franciscan from Olovo, as head of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa.¹⁴⁷ Archbishop Szelepcsényi also appointed Petar Guganović, a Bosnian Franciscan, as the head of the Diocese of Kalocsa, but Guganović became an abbot on the coast in 1666, and so the new archbishop Petretić had to find a new vicar. He was assisted in this by Petar Nikolić, a Slavonian Franciscan, and Marijan Matković, the vicar of Srem. They wrote to the priest in Bač and the abbot of the Olovo monastery, who looked after the priests in Bačka, to choose a new vicar for the Archdiocese of Kalocsa.¹⁴⁸ This probably never happened because Petretić died on October 12, 1662.¹⁴⁹

It should also be mentioned that the high clergy in the Kingdom of Hungary knew very little of the geography of the former archbishop's estates. We had the chance to take note of this in the records of the archbishops' visitations during the seventeenth century. Witnesses provided very general information. For example, Mátyás Tarnóczy stated that Kalocsa was most likely located on the other side of Buda in a plain rather than up in the

¹⁴³ Pope Gregory XV founded the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) on January 6, 1622. The purpose of this institution was to spread the Catholic faith and conduct Catholic missions outside of Europe and on the old continent in the spirit of the canon law and the provisions of the Council of Trent (For more about Propaganda Fide, see: Tóth István 2000: 19–68; Molnár 2002: 199–216; Metzler 1971: 79–111) The Congregation was, of course, interested in the Hungarian lands occupied by the Ottomans.

¹⁴⁴ In 1622, the papal legate in Vienna asked the Hungarian prelates to provide reports on the current situation for Catholics throughout the fractured Hungarian region, and to submit them to the Diet of Sopron in the summer of 1622. (Molnár 2004: 12–14) Carafa was not satisfied with the report and asked for more detailed information, along with some other items, from the current archbishop of Kalocsa, Bálint Lépes. Lépes complained that he knew almost nothing about the state of the Catholics in his diocese because the priests he had sent preached in dangerous areas and had been repeatedly beaten by Ottoman officials or even killed. (*Idem*). The Vatican understood that the Hungarian prelates would not be able to return to the seats of their dioceses, and it would therefore be impossible to organize more missions. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Congregation decided to continue its work through missions carried out by Franciscan friars and priests from Dubrovnik and Bosnia. (*Idem* 75; Pfeiffer 2019: 446)

¹⁴⁵ Katona 2003: 494–495.

¹⁴⁶ Molnár 2004: 75.

¹⁴⁷ Molnár 2004: 75, Katona 2003: 87.

¹⁴⁸ Molnár 2004: 75–76.

¹⁴⁹ Kolarić 1995: 339.

hills (“...*ultra Budam, puto esse in campis, non autem in montibus*”)¹⁵⁰ It is no wonder that György Széchényi did not know which former county his seat was located in. In 1649, as bishop of Pecs, he claimed before the papal nuncio in Vienna in 1649, and then again in 1685 as the archbishop of Esztergom, that the town of Kalocsa was located in the county of Bačka rather than the county of Fejér.¹⁵¹ The biggest error, however, came from two witnesses named István Dolny and György Náray, who believed the other capital of the archdiocese was in Transylvania.¹⁵²

It is clear from these sources and literature that proceedings carried out at the archdiocese are important sources, but the information available in them is rather modest. Emphasis was placed on describing the situation in Kalocsa, the primary seat of the archbishopric. Due to specific circumstances in the Ottoman-controlled territory, these reports were rather routine and contained general information, which is why the visitation records are more informative than other sources from the former Kalocsa diocese and the Bačka churches. These records included letters from missionaries, visitations by bishops and missionaries, etc. Despite the shortcomings of these types of reports (superficial information about secular and Church leaders in the Kingdom of Hungary, connections between the archbishops of Kalocsa and the occupied diocese, income and taxes from the former seat of the archdiocese, what happened to buildings and institutions in the archdiocese, the number of clergy, new appointments of the office of archbishop), these sources nevertheless yield valuable information for scholars studying the history of the archdiocese and the history of the Ottoman administration in seventeenth century Hungary.

The archbishops of Kalocsa knew very little about the religious circumstances in their former archdiocese. So, for example, at the time of the installment of Archbishop György Széchényi, it was claimed that he was the best candidate for this position because he was the bishop of Győr, which neighbored Kalocsa.¹⁵³ Széchényi headed the Archdiocese of Kalocsa for eighteen years, of which seven were spent as the confirmed bishop from Rome. Thus it is rather odd that in 1685 he was so uninformed about his own diocese and that he thought Kalocsa was located in the county of Bačka, and that all he knew about the clergy and the religious circumstances was that a few monks and Jesuits were looking after the faithful. As for his work as the leader of his flock, he said nothing.¹⁵⁴

5. Final considerations

Finally, I would like to draw a conclusion about the Kalocsa archbishop, the Kaločko-Bač Archbishopric, the general religious circumstances, and taxation during the second half of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. First, in the seventeenth century, it was quite “Balkan,” in the sense that it was located below the Kalocsa-Szeged line, the former Hungarian settlements had disappeared during the period between the Fifteen Year War

¹⁵⁰ Molnár 2001: 154.

¹⁵¹ Tóth 2014: 46–47. However, Kalocsa was part of the county of Pest in the eighteenth century.

¹⁵² Molnár 2001: 154.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem* 76.

¹⁵⁴ Id. 2001: 154–157.

(1591–1606) and the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), so the settlements were predominantly South Slavic (Serbs, Bunjevci, and Šokci). In historical Church sources, these lands were considered “Balkan territory,” in which the institutions of the Catholic Church did not function well at all. Furthermore, the majority of Catholics were South Slavic Catholics who moved into this region during this period. Between 1630 and 1670, they increased from 4,000 to 13,000. It had not been previously known that the archbishops had vicars in these areas controlled by the Ottomans. These vicars were Franciscans and Jesuits, whom we mostly know about from Vatican sources. Taxation in Bačka on behalf of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa began in the early seventeenth century, and by the end of Ottoman rule in Hungary, it had become quite lucrative. At the same time, this was a sign that the Hungarian authorities (religious and secular) had never reconciled themselves to the loss of the central lands in the former Kingdom of Hungary, and that they had persisted in trying to implement taxation of the settlements under Ottoman control, regardless of the ethnic or religious makeup of the population. We have also seen that Orthodox Serbian settlements paid duties to the archbishops of Kalocsa in northern and central Bačka.

Translated by *Elizabeth Salmore*

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**ИЗМЕЂУ БАЛКАНА И УГАРСКЕ – БАЧ КАО ДРУГИ ЦЕНТАР
КАЛОЧКО-БАЧКЕ НАДБИСКУПИЈЕ ПОД ОСМАНСКОМ ВЛАШЋУ
У 16–17. ВЕКУ**

Резиме

У овом раду желели смо са утврдимо какав је био положај католика у османској Угарској, односно приступ калочких надбискупа према својој некадашњој надбискупској дијецези. У нашем фокусу биле су територије око града Бача и јужне Бачке. Новија истраживања показала су да су османске власти биле много толерантније према католицима на овим територијама у случају верских прописа, него што се то раније мислило. Да би одржали локално становништво дозволиле су, временом, црквено звоњење, па и градњу нових цркава. С друге стране, мађарски краљеви и врховни свештеници полагали право на изгубљене територије, које су сматране за саставни део круне Светог Стефана, те су зато и именовани бискупи и надбискупи, иако нису имали своје центре на османским територијама. Ову претензију су прихватиле и папе, мада је често долазило до неспоразума између мађарских краљева и папе у вези постављања врховних поглавара угарске цркве. Однос католичке цркве из Краљевске Угарске према окупираним територијама такође је био различит. То смо тумачили и интересовањем врховних пастира само за опорезивањем бивших поседа. Могли бисмо рећи да су доста дуго и католичке институције биле у опасности, првенствено због експанзије реформације у 16. веку (не може се закључити да су Османлије користиле протестанте против католика јер тамо где су католици представљали већину становника и власти су најчешће биле на њиховој страни). Исто тако можемо рећи да је католичка црква из Краљевске Угарске била заинтересована у одређеној мери за католичке вернике у османској Угарској, али да ће право интересовање показати католички мисионари, који ће бити послати од стране Рима, односно босански фрањевци на територијама некадашње Јужне Угарске.

Кључне речи: Бач, бачка тврђава, Калочко-бачка надбискупија, калочки надбискупи, Османско царство, хришћанство у османској Бачкој, католичко опорезивање у османској Бачкој.

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**«ГРАММАТИКА ИЛЛИРСКОГО ЯЗЫКА» (1833)
И. БЕРЛИЧА КАК КУЛЬТУРНЫЙ ФЕНОМЕН ЭПОХИ
«НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО ВОЗРОЖДЕНИЯ»
У ЮЖНЫХ СЛАВЯН АВСТРИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ**

Аннотация: В статье рассмотрена «Грамматика иллирского языка» (1833) торговца, писателя и лингвиста Игнаца Алоиза Берлича (1795–1855) с исторической и культурологической точек зрения. Берлич занял особую нишу в движении иллиризма, являясь представителем интеллектуальной мысли Славонии и Военной границы. При этом он частично отказался от родной ему славонской лингвокультурной традиции в пользу более широкой «иллирской». Автор статьи пришел к выводу, что Берлич не собирался знакомить читателя книги с историей и культурой южных славян, однако предполагал, что по его грамматике будут обучаться «иллирскому» языку не только «немцы», но и его «земляки», для которых этот язык родной. Кроме того, в статье показано, что на первое издание «Грамматики» повлияло общение Берлича с Вуком Караджичем и Йернеем Копитаром, тогда как на второе – с Богуславом Шулеком, который, как установил автор статьи, с большой долей вероятности обучался хорватскому языку именно по пособию Берлича. Обращая внимание на то, что Берлич в предисловии к грамматике и ее переизданиям пытался решить проблему двух типов письменности «у одного народа», связывая их с конфессиональной принадлежностью, автор статьи предлагает ввести в научный оборот термин «письменно-графическая идентичность».

Ключевые слова: Берлич (Брлич), национальное возрождение, иллиризм, грамматика, Военная граница, Славония, Австрийская империя.

Первая половина XIX в. – период национального возрождения и создания литературных языков у народов Австрийской империи.¹ Поиск оптимальной языковой нормы побуждал образованных людей разных профессий к написанию грамматик и учебников.² Одним из таких пособий стала «Грамматика

¹ В 1800–1830-е гг. появились работы Йосефа Добровского (1753–1829) по грамматике и правописанию чешского языка, затем Йернея Копитара (1780–1844) – для словенского языка, Вука Караджича (1787–1864) – для сербского языка и, наконец, Людевита Гая (1809–1872) – для хорватского языка, которые окончательно оформили литературные стандарты этих языков. См.: Tolstoj 1981.

² Havanova 2020.

иллирского³ языка» писателя и лингвиста Игнаца Алоиза Берлича (1795–1855), изданная по-немецки в 1833 г. в Буде,⁴ а затем переизданная в Загребе в 1842 г.⁵ и 1850 г.⁶ Ее автор происходил из города Брод-на-Саве (совр. Славонски-Брод, Хорватия) в Славонии, имевшего статус «императорско-королевского свободного военного города» в составе Военной границы Габсбургской монархии.

В первой половине XIX в. Военная граница представляла собой отдельную милитаризованную территорию на юге Габсбургской монархии, управлявшуюся австрийским военным министерством и являвшуюся военным и санитарным кордоном на границе с Османской империей. Большинство населения этого региона было южнославянским, однако исторически важную часть офицерских кадров на Границе составляли немецкоязычные выходцы из других районов Габсбургской монархии. Согласно данным на 1837 г. австрийских статистиков М. Штопфера и К.Б. фон Хитцингера, все население Военной границы составляло 1.175.477 душ (с учетом Трансильванской границы)⁷ и включало в себя 837.161 «славян»⁸ (71,2%), 188.262 «валахов» (16%), 108.524 венгров (9,23%), 31.397 немцев (2,67%) и 10.133 «остальных».⁹ Нужно заметить, что абсолютно доминирующей религией в регионе было христианство, а крупнейшими конфессиями – католицизм и православие. Среди немецкого и венгерского населения при численном преобладании католиков имелись также общины протестантов (преимущественно лютеран и кальвинистов).

По итогам Великой Турецкой войны (1683–1699 гг.) Славония перешла под власть Габсбургов, а ее территория была со временем разделена на гражданскую и военную части. Результатами процесса постепенной инкорпорации Славонии в композитарную Габсбургскую монархию, стали, среди прочих, создание новых учебных заведений,¹⁰ а также усиление немецкого и венгерского культурных влияний через местную администрацию и переселенцев.¹¹ Однако одним из важнейших факторов было изменение положения католического населения Славонии. Попад под власть католических монархов из династии Габсбургов, оно превратилось в опору новой власти в регионе. В XVIII в. в Славонии началось «католическое обновление», которое сопровождалось изданием большими тиражами брошюр «славонского» правописания (так называемых «абэцевиц» на основе латинского алфавита) и

³ «Иллирским» в XVI–XIX вв. называли язык, на котором говорило южнославянское население запада Балкан и юга Центральной Европы.

⁴ Berlich 1833.

⁵ Berlich 1842.

⁶ Berlich 1850.

⁷ Hietzinger, Stopfer 1840: 43.

⁸ В статистиках первой половины XIX в. южнославянское население Военной границы ещё не разделялось на сербское и хорватское. Приводились данные по конфессиональному составу населения, однако в число православных попадали помимо сербов также и «влахи» (румыны), а в число католиков – помимо хорватов также, например, немцы-католики и т.д.

⁹ Hietzinger, Stopfer 1840: 47.

¹⁰ О школьной реформе Марии Терезии см.: Ninković 2012.

¹¹ Советский и российский историк В.И. Фрейдзон писал, что в XVIII в. «в Венгрии и в Хорватии немецкий язык распространился в дворянской и бюргерской среде». А сам «процесс германизации» имел «как стихийный, так и целенаправленный (политический) характер». См.: Frejdzon 1999: 37.

молитвословов с наставлениями в католической вере для широких слоев населения.¹² При этом православное славянское население Славонии и южной Венгрии, принадлежавшее Сербской православной церкви и обычно идентифицировавшее себя как сербское, тяготело к кириллической письменной традиции.¹³

Во второй половине XVIII в. в Броде-на-Саве на Славонской военной границе возникла местная лингвокультурная традиция. Отсюда происходили и здесь работали францисканский священник Блаж Тадиянович (1728–1797), граничарский офицер Матия Антун Релькович (1732–1798) и францисканский теолог и философ Мариян Ланосович (1742–1812), издавшие на немецком пособия и грамматики по изучению «славонского» языка.¹⁴ Следует заметить, что все трое были знакомыми деда и/или отца Игнаца Берлича, а следовательно, у последнего сформировалось особое к ним отношение как членам семейного круга общения и ярким представителям местной интеллектуальной элиты.

Игнац Берлич происходил из католической семьи, причем, его отец был синдиком (судебным уполномоченным) во францисканской провинции Босна Сребрена, поэтому и сам Игнац в течение жизни поддерживал тесные контакты с боснийскими францисканцами.¹⁵ Он окончил сначала школу при францисканском монастыре в родном Броде-на-Саве, затем гимназию в Пожеге, а после учился торговому делу в Вуковаре. Важную роль в его личностном становлении сыграло домашнее образование, привившее ему любовь к родной славонской культуре, славонским писателям XVIII в. и в целом к родному краю. Берличи занимались торговлей и имели лавку в Броде-на-Саве, причем, Игнац преуспел в собирании книг, поэтому при семейной лавке смог открыть даже первый в его городе книжный магазин (в 1822 г.). Со временем Берлич стал известен как издатель, публицист, лингвист, переводчик с немецкого и латыни, а также собиратель южнославянского фольклора. Кроме того, он включился в общественно-политическую деятельность и стал активным участником движения иллиризма эпохи «национального возрождения» у южных славян.

Целью статьи является культурологический анализ введения и учебных текстов «Грамматики» Берлича для поиска ответа на вопросы, как автор понимал иллиризм, а также какие задачи он ставил перед книгой. В статье реконструируются взгляды Берлича в рамках «национального возрождения» и причины написания и переиздания «Грамматики», а также включения в нее некоторых учебных текстов. В задачи статьи не входит лингвистический анализ основной (грамматической) части книги, особенностей «иллирского» языка или его графики, предложенной Берличем. Вместе с тем статья является первой попыткой рассмотреть заявленную тему в российской историографии.

¹² Vončina 1984: 454.

¹³ См.: Novaković 1869; Mihailović 1964.

¹⁴ См.: Thaddianovich 1766; Relkovich 1767; Lanosovich 1778. Из славонских сербов подобную грамматику, но для сербского языка («Иллирска словница») издал в 1779 г. Стефан Вуяновский (1743–1829).

¹⁵ О францисканцах Босны Сребрены см.: Pranjković 2000.

1. Понимание иллиризма Берличем в предисловиях его грамматик и проблема двух типов письменности

В предисловии к третьему изданию «Грамматики» (датировано серединой июня 1849 г.) Игнац Берлич вспоминал, что «31 год назад ощутил непреодолимое желание познакомиться с грамматикой родного языка».¹⁶ В ходе несложных вычислений можно установить, что в данном воспоминании речь идет о 1818 годе. При этом о причинах написания собственной грамматики сам Берлич давал две версии.

В том же предисловии 1849 г. автор сообщал, что «не нашел ни одной удовлетворительной книги», а потому решил сам написать для собственного пользования «славянскую грамматику для нашего диалекта», которая «всегда была бы под рукой».¹⁷ Тогда как в предисловии к первому изданию «Грамматики» (1832) Берлич признавался, что изначально хотел просто переиздать грамматику Рельковича, но затем решил сам погрузиться в лингвистические тонкости, познакомиться с авторами похожих трудов как среди южных славян, так и других народов и стран. Расширив свой кругозор, Берлич принял решение «переработать» грамматику Рельковича.¹⁸ Более того, он указывал, что на написание книги его вдохновило литературное творчество Рельковича и другого славонца – Антуна Канижлича (1699–1777).¹⁹ Сопоставив эти версии, можно заключить, что для Берлича в 1849 г. Релькович уже не являлся тем авторитетом, каким он предстает в тексте 1832 г.

Для составления новой грамматики Берлич привлек выше упомянутые труды Рельковича и Ланосовича, работы по кодификации «иллирского» языка славянских и итальянских авторов XVIII – начала XIX в., а также сербского (Мразович, Караджич и др.) и словенского (Копитар, Метелко и др.) языков. Кроме того, он ознакомился с учебниками русского, чешского и польского языков, написанными на немецком.²⁰ Таким образом, для подготовки грамматики Берлич ориентировался в том числе на пособия по изучению славянских языков для иностранцев и в первую очередь – немцев.

Изначально Берлич назвал свою книгу «Славонская грамматика» („Slavonische Sprachlehre“). Однако, когда работа над текстом была уже завершена, автор решил заменить лингвоним «славонский» в названии на «иллирский». В письме Вуку Караджичу от 23 мая 1832 г. Берлич объяснил сербскому коллеге, что такую идею ему предложил Копитар.²¹

Под названием «иллирский язык» Берлич понимал «боснийский, далматинский, герцеговинский, иллирский и сербский в Венгрии, ликский, черногорский, рагузинский, сербский в Сербии, славонский и сремский языки».²² На

¹⁶ Berlich 1850: III.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Berlich 1833: V.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*: X.

²⁰ Берлич упоминал, в частности, работы Йосефа Добровского и Франца Новотного, «Польскую грамматику для немцев» (1818) Георга Самуэля Бандтке и учебник русского языка для немцев (1816) Самуэля Вельцдина. См.: Berlich 1833: VI–VII.

²¹ Vukova prepiska 1910: 143.

²² Berlich 1833: III.

основе такой лингвистической географии можно предположить, что автор этим перечислением не только показывал читателю регионы, где жили носители «иллирского языка», но и потенциальную славянскую аудиторию грамматики. Очевидно, что подразумевалось не только обучение иностранцев местному славянскому языку, но и, собственно, немецкоязычных представителей южнославянского населения в означенных границах – родному славянскому (как это было, например, у Добровского и Копитара, писавших на немецком для не знавших или забывших родной язык соотечественников). Кроме того, изменение названия грамматики явно давало понять, что автор решил предложить свой вариант кодификации языка, включая и свой вариант алфавита, для всего южнославянского населения в перечисленных им уже в самом заглавии книги регионах.

Характерно, что в книге Берлича в предисловии есть отдельное обращение к «соотечественникам» («землякам»). Оно датировано 22-м мая 1832 г., то есть за день до упомянутого выше письма Берлича Караджичу. Также это обращение имеется в переиздании книги 1842 г. Центральным вопросом, который разбирал Берлич в этой части введения, было существование одновременно кириллического и латинского вариантов письма «для одного и того же языка». ²³ Берлич пояснял, что выбор письма обычно зависел от вероисповедания, к которому принадлежит носитель языка: для православных это кириллица, а для католиков – латиница. Автор указывал на наличие двух видов письменности как на недостаток, отсутствующий у других европейских народов, которые, несмотря на внутреннее деление на разные конфессии, всё равно пользуются единым видом письма. ²⁴

Позиция Берлича по решению обозначенной им проблемы двух типов письменности формировалась у него в процессе написания грамматики. По-видимому, наибольшее влияние на взгляды Берлича оказали Караджич и Копитар, с которыми он активно общался письмами, а иногда и виделся вживую. В середине 1820-х гг. Берлич познакомился с грамматикой сербского языка (1814) Караджича в немецком переводе (1824) Якоба Гримма (1785–1863). ²⁵ С этого момента Берлич стал симпатизировать лингвистической деятельности Караджича, а предложенный им тип письменности (вуковицу) считать лучшим для «иллирского» языка. Сразу после «открытия» для себя трудов сербского лингвиста, Берлич завязал с ним переписку, в ходе которой быстро перешел со «славонской» латинской графики на вуковицу.

Позиция Берлича основывалась на нескольких убеждениях. Во-первых, он изначально выступал за реформу письменного сербского языка, который, по его мнению, содержал большое количество «кириллизмов» (слов из церковнославянского языка) и русизмов. ²⁶ Во-вторых, его не совсем устраивал и «язык католиков», которые «с XV в.» не были под влиянием церковнославянского языка, однако переняли слова из латинского и немецкого языков. ²⁷ В-третьих, под влиянием Караджича он стал сторонником концепций словацкого и чешского слависта Павла Йосефа Шафарика (1795–1861),

²³ *Ibid.*: XII.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Grimm 1824.

²⁶ Berlich 1833: XIV.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

считавшего всех говоривших на штокавском диалекте южных славян одним народом, а их древней письменностью – кириллицу,²⁸ а также Йосефа Добровского, который церковнославянский, русский и «иллирский» языки относил к «кириллическим», а языки западных славян (польский, чешский, словацкий и лужицкие) – к «латинским».²⁹ В-четвертых, новый алфавит для сербского языка, предложенный Караджичем, в глазах Берлича имел два преимущества: был фонетическим и представлял собой вариант, на его взгляд, ближе латинице, нежели церковнославянская азбука.³⁰ Таким образом, вуковица виделась Берличу как возможный вариант общей письменности для католических и православных южных славян.

Тем не менее, в предисловии к первому изданию «Грамматики» Берлич не предлагал сделать выбор в пользу одного из двух алфавитов. С одной стороны, он восхищался политикой австрийского императора Франца I, благодаря которой «на всей Военной границе почти в каждой деревне были созданы национальные школы», в которых «ребёнок легко мог освоить наряду с латинским и немецким также и кириллический национальный алфавит».³¹ С другой стороны, он писал, что «если бы католики хотя бы немного читали книги, написанные православными («греческими иллирами») и, наоборот, православные читали бы книги католиков, то от этого всем была бы польза».³²

В предисловии к третьему изданию «Грамматики» (датировано серединой июня 1849 г.) Берлич еще определеннее высказался в поддержку вуковицы, назвав ее «единственным путем к нашему спасению».³³ Он считал, что у южных славян «национальность, язык и литература будут процветать», если они станут «вне зависимости от вероисповедания настоящими братьями одного племени, одного языка и одной литературы».³⁴ Здесь чувствуется влияние на автора событий 1848–1849 гг. в Австрийской империи. Кроме того, такое объединение Берлич обосновывал малочисленностью южных славян, видимо, относительно окружавших их крупных народов, таких как немцы, венгры, итальянцы, турки и т.д.

В качестве общего названия для южных славян, начиная еще от предисловия к первому изданию «Грамматики», Берлич предлагал «нашинцы» („našinci“), а для языка – «нашки» („naški“, „naschki“).³⁵ Такой подход также доказывает ориентирование грамматики Берлича на максимально широкую южнославянскую аудиторию, т.к. в первой половине XIX в. сторонники терминов «иллирский» и «нашки» для названия языка пытались найти такие лингвонимы, которые были бы приемлемы как для сербов, так и для хорватов, а также других южнославянских идентичностей.

²⁸ См.: Šafařík 1826.

²⁹ Berlich 1842: XVIII; *Id.* 1850: IX–X.

³⁰ Для Берлича понятие «сербская грамматика» прочно ассоциировалось со славяносербским письменным языком, который он не любил, поэтому поначалу он не придал значения выходу в свет грамматики Вука Караджича. Однако знакомство с трудами последнего настолько впечатлило Берлича, что вуковица показалась ему алфавитом, компромиссным с латиницей. См.: Berlich 1833: VII–VIII.

³¹ Berlich 1833: XIII.

³² *Ibid.*: XIV.

³³ Berlich 1850: XV.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Berlich 1833: V.

Можно заключить, что от начала написания грамматики до предисловия к ее третьему изданию позицию Берлича в отношении направления национальной и языковой консолидации его южнославянских «земляков» определял выбор им в качестве ориентира этно-лингвистических взглядов Караджича, Шафарика и Добровского. При этом частичный отход Берлича от его родной католической славонской культурной традиции (маркерами этого стали изменение заглавия книги и исчезновение упоминаний о Рельковиче в предисловии 1849 г.) был вызван желанием сказать свое слово в рамках всего движения иллиризма, т.е. другими словами, выйти на общеюжнославянский уровень.

2. Проблемы изданий и адресаты «Грамматики» Берлича

Помимо рассмотренных выше Игнац Берлич называл ещё одну причину публикации им «Грамматики», рассказать о которой читателям он решил лишь в третьем издании. В 1828 г. новым католическим печским епископом стал барон Игнац Сепеши фон Недьеш (1780–1838). Вскоре после занятия епископской кафедры, согласно информации предисловия книги 1850 г., он «каким-то образом узнал», что Берлич в то время занимался написанием грамматики, и обратился к автору с просьбой предоставить ему рукопись книги, т.к. собирался «учить язык национального большинства в его диоцезе».³⁶ Причем, согласно Берличу, Сепеши предлагал издать его грамматику за епископский счет.³⁷ Далее сообщается, что в том же году Берлич передал епископу рукопись его грамматики (значит, в 1828 г. она уже была завершена!) и ожидал, что тот сам издаст её в епископской типографии, как они якобы договаривались.³⁸ Однако Сепеши так и не издал труд Берлича, поэтому последний решил напомнить о себе. Епископ ответил автору, что «в связи с введением венгерского языка в церкви и школах,³⁹ иллирское языковое пособие оказалось совершенно ненужным».⁴⁰ В таком ответе Берлич почувствовал подтверждение неравного положения «иллирского» языка с немецким и венгерским, а также того, что его родной язык считался «языком-изгоем» в государстве.⁴¹ Эту историю Берлич посчитал нужным открыто донести до читателя лишь в 1850 г., когда венгерская антигабсбургская революция была подавлена австрийскими и русскими войсками, а цензура на короткое время стала пропускать в публичное пространство критику венгерских светских и духовных властей.

Тем не менее, данная ситуация с отказом в издании «за ненужностью» послужила мотивацией для Берлича самому взяться за издание его книги, чтобы, по-видимому, доказать как лично Сепеши, так и всем, кто думал сходным образом, обратное – «нужность» его грамматики.

³⁶ Berlich 1850: III.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ В 1827 г. хорватский парламент (сабор) утвердил решение венгерского парламента 1825–1827 гг. о преподавании во всех школах королевства Хорватии и Славонии венгерского языка в качестве обязательного. См.: Kolak Bošnjak 2017.

⁴⁰ Berlich 1850: IV.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: III.

Результатом издания книги лишь со второй попытки стало наличие двух предисловий, которые как бы наслаивались одно на другое. В заглавии книги Берлич говорилось, что «Грамматика» предназначена для немцев, а в первом предисловии уточнялось: для «офицеров, государственных служащих, священников, врачей, учителей или представителей иных профессий», для которых «знание национального языка крайне необходимо» в силу их проживания среди носителей «иллирского языка».⁴² Тогда как далее шло второе предисловие (для «соотечественников»/ «земляков»). При этом данное разделение предисловия как бы на две части сохраняется и во втором издании книги.

Первое издание «Грамматики», согласно данным британского филолога Р. Оти, имело тираж 500 экземпляров.⁴³ Однако на самих печатных экземплярах как первого, так и последующих изданий грамматики тираж не был указан. Следует заметить, что в самой книге количество тиража может быть завышено (иногда даже значительно), но Р. Оти, по его словам, нашел информацию в фонде «Семья Брлич»⁴⁴ Государственного архива в Славонском-Броде, а если это так, то вряд ли автор грамматики стал бы указывать неверную цифру в своих документах.

На основе данных из фонда «Семья Брлич» Р. Оти писал, что из общего тиража «Грамматики» 66 экземпляров Берлич, по принятой в то время практике,⁴⁵ разослал конкретным адресатам,⁴⁶ в числе которых были не только его близкие единомышленники южнославянского происхождения как Караджич и Копитар, но и, например, уже упоминавшиеся выше чешский славист Павел Йосеф Шафарик, немецкий лингвист и фольклорист Якоб Гримм, а также польский филолог немецкого происхождения Георг Самуэль Бандтке. При этом из письма Берлича Караджичу от 22 марта 1833 г. следует, что первый собирался отправить по десять экземпляров «Грамматики» Караджичу и Копитару, но им лично предназначалось лишь по одному экземпляру, а остальные Берлич просил их отправить «наиболее достойным славянам, где бы они ни жили», на их усмотрение, но в первую очередь тем, кого автор упоминал в предисловии книги.⁴⁷ Из дальнейшей переписки видно, что коллеги выполнили просьбу автора. Сам Берлич не забыл и старых знакомых еще времен его учебы в гимназии в Пожеге: по экземпляру он отправил одному из учителей и однокласснику.⁴⁸

Сразу после выхода «Грамматики» (1833) Берлич столкнулся с критикой книги, в том числе со стороны даже тех, кто «не читал».⁴⁹ Скоро на смену критике пришло молчание. Так, в письме Караджичу от 1 октября 1833 г. (через несколько месяцев после выхода книги из печати) Берлич жаловался, что о его «Грамматике» никто нигде не пишет, «как будто она проклята».⁵⁰ Далее в письме он писал, что его книгу «хотя

⁴² Berlich 1833: III.

⁴³ Auty 1962: 9.

⁴⁴ О фонде «Семья Брлич» Государственного архива в Славонском-Броде см.: Lakić 2000.

⁴⁵ См.: Havanova 2015.

⁴⁶ Auty 1962: 9.

⁴⁷ Vukova prepiska 1910: 148.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 157, 159.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 151.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 152.

бы наши попы просматривают, но и они молчат».⁵¹ Из письма также можно узнать, что он сам спрашивал мнение о грамматике у его знакомых священников и монахов-францисканцев.⁵² По-видимому, обращение к представителям католического духовенства, особенно францисканцам, осуществлявшим в том числе просветительскую деятельность, было вызвано желанием Берлича узнать у таких читателей, насколько его грамматика могла быть конкурентоспособна по влиянию, в первую очередь, на южнославянское население. Поэтому их вялую реакцию одобрения или молчание Берлич переживал как неудачу его книги.

Особое внимание Берлич уделял любым упоминаниям его книги в прессе и других печатных изданиях. Так, при встречах и в письмах он просил друзей и знакомых присылать ему экземпляры газет и журналов, где будет упомянута «Грамматика», т.к. в его родном Броде «не было литературной газеты», из которой он мог бы оперативно узнавать о таких статьях.⁵³ От лингвистов он ожидал так же, как и от представителей духовенства, получить отзыв, но уже более профессиональный, о его книге. Несмотря на первоначальное разочарование автора в том, что мало кто писал про его грамматику, из его писем Караджичу можно установить, что уже в течение года после выхода книги в прессе Австрийской империи появились критические отзывы о «Грамматике» Берлича,⁵⁴ при этом часть читателей-интеллектуалов заинтересовало авторское предисловие к книге,⁵⁵ рассмотренное выше. В дальнейшем книга Берлича также удостоивалась упоминаний и отзывов в печати.⁵⁶

Через три года после выхода в свет «Грамматики» Берлич начал издавать в Буде (где была напечатана и грамматика) «Новоучрежденный иллирский календарь, или Святодневник» („Novouređeni ilirski kalendar iliti Svetodanik“), который выпускался им с 1836 до конца его дней (1855), а затем какое-то время его сыном. Этот календарь стал продолжением традиции славонских народных календарей (один из календарей-предшественников выпускал и упоминавшийся выше Ланосович). Само длительное издание «Иллирского календаря» свидетельствует о его востребованности у южнославянского населения, а решимость издателя взяться за осуществление такого

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*: 148.

⁵⁴ Сам Берлич в декабре 1833 г. в переписке с Вуком Караджичем упоминал, что видел статьи о своей «Грамматике» в газете „*Veobachter*“ (скорее всего, имелось в виду литературное приложение к венской ежедневной газете „*Oesterreichischer Beobachter*“) и выходившей в Буде газете по теме образования „*Gemeinnützige Blätter zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung*“. См.: *Vukova prepiska* 1910: 154. Также сразу в 1833 г. рецензия на «Граматику» Берлича появилась в рубрике «Смѣсице» (обзор новых книг и статей) в газете австрийских сербов «*Serbskij ljetopis*». См.: *Serbskij ljetopis*, 3, 1833: 150–157.

⁵⁵ Например, сербский публицист и издатель первой сербской ежедневной газеты «Новине сербске» Димитрие Фрушич (1790–1838) обсуждал авторское введение в «Грамматике» Берлича с Вуком Караджичем. См.: *Vukova prepiska* 1907: 684. Также и анонимный автор рецензии в газете «*Serbskij ljetopis*» (см. примечание выше) сконцентрировался не на грамматической части книги, с которой, по его признанию, не успел ознакомиться, а именно на предисловии, на основе которого заключил, что книга Берлича должна называться «Сербская Грамматика», а не «иллирская». Кроме того, «всем сербам римско-католического закона» автор рецензии рекомендовал прислушаться к «благодетельным речам и мудрому совету родолюбивого Берлича». См.: *Serbskij ljetopis*, 3, 1833: 151, 157.

⁵⁶ См., напр.: *Der Oesterreichische Zuschauer*, 12 II. 1836; *Wurzbach* 1857: 147–148.

проекта косвенно подтверждает успешность «пробного камня» – грамматики.

В «Грамматике» Берлича осталась незавершенной грамматическая часть,⁵⁷ что он решил исправить в переиздании книги. Правда, если на первое издание «Грамматики» серьезное влияние оказало общение автора с Йернеем Копитаром и Вуком Караджичем, то на второе – с Богуславом Шулеком⁵⁸ (1816–1895), который в дальнейшем стал крупным хорватским филологом и публицистом. Их знакомство произошло примерно в конце 1838 – начале 1839 г., после того как последний приехал в ноябре 1838 г. в Брод-на-Саве к брату, служившему военным врачом в Бродском полку Военной границы.

В предисловии ко второму изданию «Грамматики» (датировано 20 августа 1842 г.) Берлич сообщал читателю, что многие «переработки и изменения» сделаны не столько им лично, сколько принадлежат перу его «друга Карла Богослава Шулека», который произвел «корректуру книги из особой любезности» к автору и «из любви к иллирской литературе».⁵⁹ Однако Шулек только по приезду в Брод-на-Саве начал учить хорватский язык, как это известно из его биографии. Поэтому можно предположить, что именно «Грамматика» могла стать одним из первых учебников Шулека, тогда как он, сам поучив язык по этой книге, мог сделать читательские замечания к тексту. Приняв критику такого ученика, Берлич, возможно, решил переиздать незавершенную грамматику и подключить к доработке текста самого Шулека.

Кроме того, по-видимому, из-за того, что Шулек с осени 1839 г. стал работать в Загребе печатником в типографии Франца Зуппана⁶⁰ (1783–1847), именно туда Берлич и отдал в печать второе издание «Грамматики». В пользу этой версии свидетельствует письмо от 26 января 1842 г. Игнаца Берлича его старшему сыну Андрии Торквату (1826–1868), учившемуся тогда в Загребе, где отец кратко сообщал сыну о помощи Шулека в издании его книги и о доверии такого дела только этому человеку: «Если он (Шулек – *А.Д.*) мне не оформит грамматику, то не отдам ее никому другому в руки».⁶¹ Берлич характеризовал Шулека как «очень способного и трудолюбивого, отлично умеющего делать правку [текста]».⁶² Поэтому, узнав о том, что Шулек не ладит с Зуппаном и может уйти из типографии, Берлич стал опасаться, что его друг не успеет издать грамматику, а потому попросил Шулека «как можно быстрее» выпустить книгу.⁶³ Таким образом, в начале 1840-х гг. Шулека можно считать доверенным лицом Берлича в Загребе, а переиздание «Грамматики» оказалось полностью в его руках.

⁵⁷ Берлич не дописал два грамматических раздела. Вероятно, это было связано со спешкой автора для отправки рукописи книги епископу Сепеши, а после несостоявшейся публикации Берлич решил уже не дописывать грамматическую часть, сконцентрировавшись на предисловии и практической части.

⁵⁸ Богуслав Шулек был этническим словаком и происходил из села Собоштишт (совр. Собоштиште, Словакия) на северо-западе Венгерского королевства (в составе Австрийской империи).

⁵⁹ Berlich 1842: XVI.

⁶⁰ Он же по-хорватски Франьо Жупан, а по-венгерски Ференц Зуппан. Следует заметить, что Франц Зуппан происходил с Военной границы и после покупки типографии в Загребе (1826 г.) печатал в том числе издания деятелей движения иллиризма.

⁶¹ Brlić 1942: 39.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*: 40.

Тем не менее, в предисловии к третьему изданию Берлич объяснял переиздание грамматики в 1842 г. предшествовавшей этому деятельностью Людевита Гая и развитием иллиризма, благодаря чему южные славяне «больше не стыдятся их национальности и языка», а «поселившиеся в их землях иностранцы могут учить их язык». ⁶⁴ В этой фразе заметна скрытая полемика всё с тем же печским епископом Сепеши (см. выше), как будто Берлич именно ему пытался доказать право южных славян на свой язык и то, что представителям других народов учить этот язык не зазорно.

При этом, рассказав про Гая, Берлич в предисловии к третьему изданию (написано в июне 1849 г.) уже нигде не упоминал Шулека и его помощь при переиздании грамматики в 1842 г., что резко контрастирует с рассмотренным выше предисловием ко второму изданию. Такое неожиданное полное забвение Шулека, по-видимому, стало результатом расхождения во взглядах на развитие иллиризма с Берличем, что произошло примерно в середине 1840-х гг., а далее лишь усиливалось. Из писем Игнаца к сыну Андрии можно узнать, что гнев первого на Шулека был вызван тем, что тот примкнул к ближайшему окружению Гая, полностью поддерживая его лингвистические взгляды, и начал критиковать Караджича. ⁶⁵

Необходимо заметить, что несмотря на его симпатии к иллиризму как объединительному движению для южных славян, Берлича не совсем устраивала языковая реформа загребского кружка Людевита Гая. ⁶⁶ В первом издании «Грамматики» Берлич еще не упоминал работы Гая, ⁶⁷ зато в следующих двух переизданиях уже критиковал языковую политику Гая и его сторонников, ⁶⁸ хотя и выражал поддержку их общественно-политической деятельности. ⁶⁹ Кроме того, во второй половине 1830-х и в 1840-е гг. Берлич вёл полемику с загребскими «иллирами» на страницах сначала их изданий, ⁷⁰ а затем – задарской газеты „*Zora dalmatinska*“ (в 1844–1847 гг.). ⁷¹

Из письма Берлича сыну от 15 марта 1848 г. следует, что именно полемика с загребскими «иллирами» стала главной причиной решения первого снова переиздать «Грамматику». В самой эмоциональной части письма Берлич провозглашал целью его грамматики защиту родного «красивого и славного языка» от деятельности загребских лидеров иллиризма, которые «коверкают» этот язык. ⁷² Однако следует обратить внимание на два других места в этом письме. Во-первых, Берлич отдельно

⁶⁴ Berlich 1850: VI.

⁶⁵ Brlić 1942: 123; *Id.*: 156.

⁶⁶ См.: Murray-Desplatović 2016; Dronov 2018.

⁶⁷ Гай издал «Краткую основу хорватско-славянского правописания» („*Kratka osnova hrvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja*“) в 1830 г., поэтому Берлич, по-видимому, не успел с ней ознакомиться до выхода его собственной книги.

⁶⁸ Несмотря на выбор Гаем штокавского диалекта в качестве литературной нормы для хорватского языка, Берлич называл его и в целом загребских идеологов иллиризма «кайкавцами».

⁶⁹ Berlich 1842: XVII. *Id.* 1850: V–VI.

⁷⁰ Главным оппонентом Берлича в газете Гая „*Danica ilirska*“ был филолог Векослав Бабукич (1812–1875), тоже являвшийся уроженцем Славонии (из Пожеги) и единственный из лидеров загребских «иллиров», для кого штокавский диалект был родным. Бабукич выступал против выбора вуковицы в качестве основного алфавита для «иллирского» языка и доказывал важность латиницы для хорватов.

⁷¹ Matičević 1995.

⁷² Brlić 1942: 164.

осуждал «фантазера» Бабукича за то, что тот «далеко отошел» в «грамматике»⁷³ от «народного языка».⁷⁴ Здесь заметно, что Берлича особо волновала деятельность именно его земляка из Славонии (среди других лидеров загребских «иллиров»), а потому третье издание «Грамматики» можно рассматривать как ответ лично Бабукичу в рамках их полемики. Во-вторых, Игнац сообщал сыну, что хотел уже сдать книгу в работу (в типографию), но «вспомнил», что в печать была отправлена «Сербская грамматика»⁷⁵ Йована Суботича (1817–1886),⁷⁶ а потому решил подождать, когда она выйдет из печати, чтобы из нее «чему-то поучиться».⁷⁷ Отсюда можно предположить, что третье издание «Грамматики» Берлича не было связано с революционными событиями 1848–1849 гг. в Австрийской империи и было готово к печати уже накануне революции.

В предисловии к третьему изданию «Грамматики» (июнь 1849 г.) Берлич объяснял ее очередное переиздание востребованностью у читателя, в подтверждение чего сообщал, что «между первым и вторым изданиями даже не уследил», что Игнац Кристьянович (1796–1884)⁷⁸ «свою „Грамматику хорватского наречия“⁷⁹ полностью списал» у него, но при этом «не указал ее в качестве источника».⁸⁰ Если это так, то грамматика Берлича была хорошо известна среди южнославянских интеллектуалов и оказала влияние на написание некоторых последующих грамматик.

Таким образом, «Грамматика иллирского языка» (1833) стала серьезной заявкой Берлича на участие в дискуссии интеллектуальной элиты южных славян Австрийской империи 1830–1840-х гг. о путях национальной консолидации и кодификации литературного языка. Если первое издание книги было вызвано стремлением автора доказать венграм важность и равноправие «иллирского» языка с венгерским и немецким, то переиздания грамматик начала и конца 1840-х гг. явились результатом как популярности этого учебного пособия, так и желания автора продолжать в рамках иллиризма отстаивать свою точку зрения на дальнейшее языковое, национальное и культурное развитие, чувствуя интерес читателей и поддержку части крупных интеллектуалов. Понимание было и внутри семьи Берлича – его старший сын Андрия Торкват, занимавшийся общественно-политической деятельностью, продолжил дело отца и в 1854 г. издал в Вене уже свою «Грамматику иллирского языка».⁸¹

⁷³ Скорее всего речь идет не только о книге Бабукича «Основа грамматик славянской наречия иллирского» („Osnova slovnice slavjanske naręċja ilirskoga“, 1836), но и о его работе 1846 г. «Несколько слов о правописании», которую, видимо, и критикует Берлич.

⁷⁴ Brlić 1942: 163.

⁷⁵ Из-за событий революции 1848–1849 гг. в Австрийской империи книга не была напечатана и осталась в рукописи.

⁷⁶ Йован Суботич (1817–1886) – австрийский подданный и сербский юрист, писатель, публицист и политик. В 1842–1847 гг. являлся издателем печатного издания австрийских сербов «Летопис Матице српске».

⁷⁷ Brlić 1942: 164.

⁷⁸ Игнац Кристьянович (1796–1884) – австрийский подданный и хорватский католический священник и лингвист, впоследствии епископ, родился и жил в Загребе, писал на кайкавском диалекте.

⁷⁹ Берлич имел в виду книгу Кристьяновича „Grammatik der Kroatischen Mundart“ (1837).

⁸⁰ Berlich 1850: VII.

⁸¹ Berlić 1854.

3. Проблема заимствований в «Грамматике» Берлича

В «Грамматике иллирского языка» (1833) после собственно грамматической части, которая разделена на три большие главы и занимает почти всю книгу, автором приводятся дополнительные материалы: «Наиболее употребительные слова» (разделены на тематические части), «Фразы», «Разговоры» (учебные диалоги на конкретную тему), «Различные фразы и выражения», «Поговорки», «Пословицы» и «Анекдоты»,⁸² басни и рассказы).

При этом во втором издании книги (1842) грамматическая часть была расширена до четырех глав, а дополнительные материалы были выделены в «Практическую часть». Этот раздел состоял из тех же материалов, что и в первом издании грамматики, но в самом его начале автор вставил текст «Мир в картинках» чешского педагога Яна Амоса Коменского (1592–1670) на немецком и «иллирском» языках. Такое добавление детского учебника (правда, без иллюстраций), очевидно, предполагало использование грамматики Берлича для детского образования и воспитания. Сам автор в предисловии ко второму изданию объяснил вставку пособия Коменского тем, что «обучающиеся могли бы им пользоваться вместо хрестоматии».⁸³ Можно предположить, что учебник Коменского в грамматику Берлича мог посоветовать добавить Богуслав Шулек, который в 1850-е гг. выпустил целый ряд учебников и пособий для детей и школ. Кроме того, возможно, что первое издание грамматики использовалось в качестве школьного учебника (или для домашнего обучения детей). Нужно отметить, что третье издание грамматики (1850) по структуре полностью повторяло второе.

Особого внимания заслуживают «Разговоры» и «Анекдоты, басни и рассказы», содержащие небольшие законченные тексты. Как выяснилось в ходе текстологического анализа этих разделов «Граматики», Берлич в основном заимствовал приводимые им тексты из книг других авторов.

После первого издания «Граматики» (1833), которое уже содержало несколько Эзоповых басней,⁸⁴ Берлич заинтересовался работами дубровчанина Джуре (Юрая) Ферича (1739–1820), который переводил на хорватский басни Эзопа, Федре, а также сам писал басни на основе южнославянского фольклора. Берлич приобретал работы Ферича и опубликовал многие басни последнего в «Иллирском календаре». Надо заметить, что Берлич хорошо разбирался, какой контент лучше подходит для какой страты общества. Так, в письме сыну он писал в 1845 г., что «народ обучается через смешные штучки, люди ищут Эзоповы басни, ищут Сатира Рельковича,⁸⁵ ищут каждый год календарь; чем смешнее – тем популярнее, из нового ищут песенники⁸⁶ –

⁸² «Анекдоты» во второй половине XVIII – первой половине XIX в. публиковались в изданиях различного типа: газетах, журналах, альманахах, календарях и т.п.

⁸³ Berlich 1842: XV.

⁸⁴ Вполне возможно, эти басни были взяты из книги Meißner 1791. Также Берличу были известны переводы Эзоповых басен Рельковича.

⁸⁵ Имеется в виду литературное сатирическое произведение Рельковича «Сатир или дикий человек» (1761).

⁸⁶ У Берлича „pismařica“ – можно перевести на русский как «сборник песен» или «сборник стихов».

ничего другого народ не хочет читать, он ещё дитя, он хочет забавляться».⁸⁷ Хорватский литературовед М. Татарин заметил, что в отличие от газеты „*Danica*“ Гая, целевой аудиторией которой было высшее общество и интеллектуалы, Берлич, издавая «Иллирский календарь», ориентировался на широкие слои населения.⁸⁸

Однако, несмотря на то, что свой «Календарь» Берлич старался сделать максимально интересным простому народу и подбирал к нему занимательные тексты, учебные материалы в «Грамматике», в том числе и басни, во втором и третьем изданиях почему-то не претерпели никаких изменений или дополнений. Возможно, Берлич, хорошо понимавший, как привлечь читателя, не считал практические тексты в его «Грамматике» важным инструментом для этого. Можно предположить, что грамматика задумывалась как этап обучения читателя родному языку, а календарь, как второй этап, должен был служить просвещению населения через знакомство его с южнославянскими литературой и фольклором.

Главными действующими лицами «разговоров» являются представители верхушки общества, его гражданской и военной элиты, а их основные темы обсуждения – заботы об образовании детей, общение с прислугой, офицерские будни, быт и досуг офицерской / чиновничьей семьи, в частности, посещение театральных представлений.⁸⁹ При этом в 1837 г. венгерский статистик А. фон Фенеш оценивал количество людей знатного происхождения на Военной границе как «не более 833 человек»⁹⁰ или всего 0,07% населения. Тогда как во всём Венгерском королевстве, согласно той же статистике, знать составляла 4,87% населения.⁹¹

Тем не менее, источником заимствований текстов «разговоров» стала книга венгерского историка и поэта графа Яноша Майлата (1786–1855) «Практическая немецкая грамматика для немцев, в вопросах и ответах».⁹² После сопоставления двух учебных пособий можно сделать вывод, что «разговоры» в «Грамматике» Берлича практически идентичны «разговорам» в учебнике Майлата, но при этом в книге Берлича имеются два «разговора» (№ 11 «О правописании» и № 12 «О славонском языке»), отсутствующие у Майлата. Однако, на наш взгляд, их авторство нельзя автоматически приписывать Берличу, т.к. эти тексты, несмотря на их названия, вполне универсальны как и предыдущие. Даже текст с названием «О славонском языке» (в

⁸⁷ Brlić 1942: 84–85.

⁸⁸ Tatarin 2006: 107–141.

⁸⁹ Первый публичный театр на территории королевства Хорватии и Славонии начал действовать в Загребе с 1797 г. Это был драматический театр, в котором давали представления гастролирующие труппы, а основным языком представлений был немецкий. Однако этот первый театр не имел постоянной площадки. Тогда как первое постоянное здание театра появилось в Загребе лишь в 1834 г. В других городах королевства давали представления гастролирующие труппы на временных сценах. Богатые люди могли позволить себе частные театры. Кроме того, в городах Славонии иезуиты и францисканцы открывали школьные театры при своих учебных заведениях. А среди простого люда Славонии были популярны любительские постановки, преимущественно комедийного жанра. В переводах диалогов на «иллирский» язык Берлич сделал пояснения для читателя к театральным терминам.

⁹⁰ *Agrarier Zeitung*, 2 IV. 1845.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Mailath 1832.

издании грамматики 1850 г. этот текст называется «Об иллирском языке»⁹³) имеет вполне универсальную основу, в которой можно просто заменить одно название языка на другое, ведь в «разговоре» № 12 нет никакой информации об особенностях названного языка или его сопоставления с другими. Для сравнения можно посмотреть на аналогичный «разговор» в учебнике итальянского языка для немцев (1826 г.) почти современного «Грамматике» Берлича. Этот «разговор» называется идентично («Об итальянском языке»), однако содержит рассуждения о различных диалектах языка, их истории, а также известных авторах древности (ещё римского периода).⁹⁴ Поэтому если Берлич сам был автором разговора «О славонском языке», то выглядит странным, что он не включил в данный диалог подобной специфики.

Кроме того, при копировании текстов «разговоров» в отдельных случаях Берлич сделал некоторые изменения. Так, второй «разговор» был сокращен путем отсечения концовки диалога.⁹⁵ Окончание четвертого разговора между офицерами у Берлича отличается от текста Майлата тем, что Берлич изменил фразу «Вы не участвовали в походе Р.?» на «Вы не участвовали в турецком походе?» («Haben Sie nicht den Feldzug von R. mitgemacht») заменил на «Haben Sie nicht den türkischen Feldzug mitgemacht». (Подчеркивания мои. – *А.Д.*).⁹⁶ Возможно, таким образом Берлич пытался несколько приблизить текст к реалиям Военной границы, для населения которой были актуальны военные операции против турок. В остальном же все тексты в обоих учебных пособиях практически полностью идентичны.

Боваль	Майлат/ Берлич
Der Herr und sein Bedienter	Der Herr und sein Bedienter
Der Herr, die Frau und das Stubenmädchen	Der Herr, die Frau und das Stubenmädchen
«Liebe Frau! Was beliebt dir? Kaffeh oder Thee?»	«Liebe Frau! Was beliebt dir? Kaffee oder Thee?»
Der Bedienter und das Stubenmädchen	---
Das Stubenmädchen und die Kinder	Das Stubenmädchen und die Kinder
«Heraus, heraus, junge Herren, stehen Sie auf! der Kaffeh wartet auf Sie»	«Heraus, heraus, junge Herren, stehen Sie auf! der Kaffee wartet auf Sie»
«Es ist gleich acht Uhr. Unser Zeichenmeister wird kommen»	---
Der Zeichenmeister und die Kinder	---
Die Kinder unter sich	---
Zurückkunft der Ueltern, und Empfangung der Kinder	---

Таблица 1

⁹³ Berlich 1850: 390.

⁹⁴ Rossi 1826: 230–234.

⁹⁵ Berlich 1833: 338.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: 345.

При этом в своей книге Майлат указал на источник, откуда он взял диалоги: это некое «немецко-французское пособие» для изучения языка французского лингвиста Франца Боваля. Знакомство с работами последнего натолкнуло на мысль, что Майлат, скорее всего, заимствовал тексты из книги Боваля «Разговоры для общественной жизни», которая издавалась в трех томах («Утренние разговоры», «Дневные разговоры» и «Вечерние разговоры»).⁹⁷ В таблице 1 приведено сопоставление названий «разговоров» из «Утренних разговоров» Боваля, объединенных под названием «Первое утро», и их аналогов из грамматик Майлата и Берлича.

Как видно из таблицы, Майлат из 10 «разговоров» Боваля выбрал лишь 5, т.е. половину. В результате, из цельного сюжета Боваля «Первое утро» Майлат выбрал отдельные «разговоры» и не стал их как-то отделять от других разговоров. В частности, не были заимствованы «разговоры» про приглашаемого к детям учителя рисования. Из следующего сюжета Боваля «Второе утро», имеющего 11 «разговоров», Майлат выбрал лишь один (самый первый). Из дальнейших сюжетов Боваля, в т.ч. «дневных» и «вечерних» разговоров, заимствования Майлата также носят эпизодический характер. Нужно сказать, что заимствования у французских авторов в то время были широко распространены.⁹⁸

На основе данной цепочки заимствований можно сделать следующие выводы. Во-первых, герои «разговоров» в книге Берлича были исходно не только не южными славянами (границарами, славонцами и т.д.) или венграми, но даже и не австрийскими подданными, а, вероятно, французами или немцами Германских земель. Во-вторых, избирательный подход Майлата при выборе «разговоров» из книг Боваля перешел и в «Граматику» Берлича, тем самым урезав ту картину современного ему общества рубежа XVIII – XIX вв., какую в своих «Разговорах» пытался показать Боваль. Из этих двух выводов можно заключить, что интерпретация среза общества по «разговорам» грамматики Берлича возможна лишь с существенными поправками на первоначальные источники этих текстов. Причину заимствований текстов именно у Майлата Берлич объяснял лишь в предисловии к третьему изданию книги, увязывая с отказом в печати того самого епископа Сепеши,⁹⁹ тем самым намекая, что для венгерской цензуры он решил взять тексты из работы венгерского автора.

В разделе «Анекдоты, басни и рассказы» первый сюжет посвящен истории из жизни императрицы-королевы Марии Терезии, а пятый – ее сына Иосифа II (про одно из его путешествий инкогнито¹⁰⁰), которые показаны как особо милостивые к своим подданным монархи. Можно предположить, что наличие панегирических историй про монархов из правящего дома Габсбургов в учебных и просветительских пособиях, издававшихся на территории монархии, было если не обязательным, то

⁹⁷ Beauval 1813; *Id.* 1818.

⁹⁸ В 1812 г. хорватским священником и филологом Шиме Старчевичем (1784–1859) была переведена с немецкого и адаптирована под «иллирский» язык грамматика французского языка филолога-романиста и лексикографа Доминика-Жозефа Мозена (1769/1771–1840). Под авторством Старчевича она получила название «Новая иллирско-французская грамматика». См.: Starcsevich 1812. С этой книгой был также знаком Берлич.

⁹⁹ Berlich 1850: IV.

¹⁰⁰ На тему путешествий инкогнито Иосифа II см.: Gräffer 1848. Czernin 2021.

желательным для прививания уважения к представителям правящей династии и воспитания верноподданнических чувств среди населения.

В рассказе про Марию Терезию сообщается, что она однажды посетила кадетский корпус, где ей представили воспитанника из Далмации, некоего Вукасовича, как лучшего в фехтовании. Государыня наградила его 20-ю дукатами. Через несколько дней императрица снова приехала в корпус и поинтересовалась, на что юноша потратил эти деньги. Оказалось, что все деньги тот отправил отцу, лейтенанту в отставке, который жил без пенсии и бедствовал. Узнав об этом, Мария Терезия приказала назначить отцу кадета ежегодную большую пенсию, а самому Вукасовичу снова выдать 20 дукатов.¹⁰¹

Следует заметить, что данная история про Марию Терезию и Вукасовича в конце XVIII – первой половине XIX в. имела широкое распространение и встречается в источниках разных жанров. С чем же это было связано? Логично было бы предположить, что герой данной истории был в ту эпоху широко известной личностью, поэтому упоминание о нем сразу вызывало нужные ассоциации. И действительно, насколько удалось выяснить, данная история произошла в Военной академии в Винер-Нойштадте¹⁰² в молодые годы уроженца Военной границы фельдмаршал-лейтенанта барона Йозефа Филиппа фон Вукасовича (1755–1809),¹⁰³ проходившего там обучение.¹⁰⁴ Правда, его отец Петар Вукасович вышел в отставку в звании майора, а не лейтенанта. Скорее всего, эта неточность (как и в случае с количеством дукатов) стала следствием многократных пересказов данной истории с искажением отдельных деталей повествования. Надо заметить, что такой подробный разбор данного учебного текста вызван тем, что это единственный (!) текст в «Грамматике» Берлича, героями которого являются южные славяне (и граничары).

При этом, несмотря на все очевидные заимствования, переводы данных текстов «Практической части» грамматики с немецкого на «иллирский» сделал, по-видимому, сам Берлич. К этому выводу подводит то обстоятельство, что в книге Майлата, например, приведено имя переводчика на венгерский язык, тогда как Берлич не дал никакой информации о переводчике и указывал в частной переписке, что написал текст своей книги без помощника.

* * *

На основе анализа вводной и практической частей «Грамматики иллирского языка» Берлича в контексте его просветительской деятельности, а также личных контактов с другими интеллектуалами Австрийской империи и соседних с ней стран, можно заключить, что данная книга рассматривалась автором не только как языковой учебник для немецкого, южнославянского и др. населения, но и как вариант кодификации общего для части южных славян «иллирского» (или «нашкого») языка.

¹⁰¹ Berlich 1833: 367–368. Существовал вариант данной истории, когда первоначально Мария Терезия дает Вукасовичу 12 дукатов, а второй раз удваивает денежное вознаграждение до 24 дукатов.

¹⁰² Нужно сказать, что Мария Терезия не только основала военную академию в Винер-Нойштадте (1751), но и заложила основы государственного попечения над ветеранами и инвалидами.

¹⁰³ Австрийский генерал, участник Наполеоновских войн, погиб в битве при Ваграме.

¹⁰⁴ Svoboda 1894: 133. Также см.: Shek Brnardić 2017.

При этом из анализа учебных текстов «Грамматики», заимствованных им из других источников и переведенных на «иллирский» язык, и того факта, что автор не стал их менять или дополнять новыми текстами при переизданиях грамматики, видно, что Берлич делал упор на самую грамматическую часть его книги, которую он расширял и дорабатывал, т.е. основной целью было обучение читателя самому «иллирскому» языку. Тогда как для решения задач по культурному просвещению южнославянского населения Берлич использовал издания других жанров (например, «иллирский календарь»). Таким образом, посвящая свою грамматику «немцам», автор не собирался их знакомить с культурой или историей южных славян (носителей «иллирского» языка). Тогда как для возможных читателей грамматики южнославянского происхождения, которых он называл «соотечественниками» («земляками»), автор сделал отдельное обращение, которое он перерабатывал при переизданиях книги.

В этом обращении к «соотечественникам» («землякам») Берлич пытался решить (возможно, и для себя в том числе) проблему двух типов письменности, параллельно существовавших в его родном регионе. Под влиянием работ Вука Караджича Берлич стал сторонником вуковицы и фонетического типа письма. Однако парадокс Берлича в том, что он рекламировал вуковицу в предисловиях к переизданиям своей грамматики, где использовал латиницу для «иллирского» языка. Таким образом, на практике Берлич противоречил декларируемой им позиции по вопросу выбора типа письменной графики, что, возможно, было связано с его католической верой и нежеланием ассоциироваться с сербами. В движении иллиризма он пытался занять свою особую нишу и всё-таки сохранить преемственность с наследием католических интеллектуалов Славонии XVIII в.

Эта проблема двух типов письменности была характерна для всей Хорватско-славонской военной границы, а потому изучение взглядов Берлича как уроженца Военной границы может помочь лучше понять процессы национального размежевания или, наоборот, консолидации, проходившие среди граничарского населения в XIX в. Кроме того, использование Берlichem таких понятий как «язык католиков», «письменность на католической основе», «кириллический национальный алфавит» и т.п. свидетельствует о необходимости ввести в научный оборот термин «письменно-графическая идентичность» для обозначения явления, когда письменная графика (например, тип алфавита) является определяющим фактором, на котором строится идентичность человека, а также определение им других людей в контексте «свой – чужой». Данный термин применим к регионам, где два или более типа письменной графики конкурируют между собой.

В целом на основе настоящего исследования можно сделать вывод, что как сама «Грамматика иллирского языка», так и другое письменное наследие Игнаца Алоиза Берлича представляет собой пример славонского или граничарского варианта иллиризма, во многом являвшегося альтернативным известному загребскому иллиризму кружка Людевита Гая и его культурных учреждений и периодических изданий, а потому заслуживает дальнейшего изучения.

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**THE “GRAMMAR OF THE ILLYRIAN LANGUAGE” (1833)
BY IGNAZ BERLIĆ AS A CULTURAL PHENOMENON OF THE ERA
OF “NATIONAL REVIVAL” AMONG THE SOUTHERN SLAVS
OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE**

Summary

The article attempts to consider the “Grammar of the Illyrian language” (1833) by the merchant, writer and linguist Ignaz Alois Berlić (1795–1855) from a historical and cultural point of view. Berlić occupied a special niche in the Illyricism movement, being a representative of the intellectual thought of Slavonia and the Military border. At the same time, he partially abandoned his native Slavonian linguistic and cultural tradition in favor of a broader “Illyrian” one. The author of the article came to the conclusion that Berlić did not intend to acquaint the reader of the book with the history and culture of the Southern Slavs, however, he assumed that not only “Germans”, but also his “countrymen”, for whom this language is native, would be taught the “Illyrian” language according to his grammar. In addition, the article shows that the first edition of the Grammar was influenced by Berlić’s communication with Vuk Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar, while the second edition was influenced by Boguslav Šulek, who, as the author of the article established, was most likely taught Croatian by Berlić’s manual. Drawing attention to the fact that Berlić, in the preface to grammar and its reprints, tried to solve the problem of two types of writing “among one people”, associating them with confessional affiliation, the author of the article suggests introducing the term “written-graphic identity” into scientific circulation.

Keywords: Berlić (Brlić), national revival, Illyrian movement, grammar, Military border, Slavonia, Austrian Empire.

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**MILITARY TRAINING OF LINE INFANTRY AND BORDER
GUARD REGIMENT OFFICERS IN THE MID-19th CENTURY:
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY FROM TRANSYLVANIA**

Abstract: This paper argues that in the early 19th century, border guard regiments were generally staffed with less qualified officers than the line regiments were, potentially because service in the former was considered to be less prestigious for a Habsburg officer during this period. This is demonstrated through a comparative case study of officers serving in 1840 in the 51st line infantry regiment and the 17th border guard regiment (or 2nd Romanian border guard regiment). The case study focuses on three quantifiable indicators: education, language abilities, and knowledge of engineering. The data were gathered from the officers' *Conduite-Listen* (personal records), which was an evaluation form that recorded a plethora of information about all the regiment's *Oberoffiziere* (subaltern officers).

Keywords: Austrian Military Border, *Conduite-Listen*, Habsburg army, Officers, Military training, Transylvania.

1. Introduction

The Habsburg Military Frontier was a defensive military institution developed primarily to protect the empire's southern frontier against Ottoman threat. During the 1760s, the frontier was successfully expanded to Transylvania, where thousands of Romanian and Székely peasants were organized into four infantry regiments and one cavalry regiment. The Grenzer regiments' position within the structure of the Habsburg army oscillated between assimilating them into the line regiments or developing them into light infantry units. Initially, the Habsburg military almanacs numbered these troops in continuation of the line regiments, assigning them numbers between 60 and 76.¹ This changed in 1799 when these units were issued new numbers (1–17) and were listed as a separate army branch called the *National-Grenz-Regimenter*.² These changes also reflected the military authorities' indecision as to which kind of tactics these troops should employ:

¹ Hollins 2005: 20.

² *Militär Almanach 1799*: 35–45.

skirmishing (more common for the light infantry) or closed formations.³ No official distinction between Grenzer officers or officers of the line existed, and transfers between these two army branches were permitted. Nevertheless, there were certain differences between the two officer corps, stemming from the peculiarity of each unit's service.

Service in the border guard regiments was not held in high esteem among Austrian officers, with the Grenzer infantry being the least prestigious military branch of the Austrian army to serve in.⁴ The reasons for this were manifold and ranged from the low status of these regiments within the army to strenuous cordon guard duty,⁵ or even the sense of isolation officers must have felt living at a remote station hours away from their closest fellow officers.⁶ Contemporary accounts also acknowledged the hard work required of the Grenzer officers. In a brief survey of the Transylvanian Military Frontier published in 1834, Benigni von Mildenberg, a civil servant working at the *k. und k.* Transylvanian General Commando, described the daunting work of an Austrian officer commissioned in one of the empire's Grenzer regiments. In his opinion, such a commission required much more responsibility, as the position "entailed supervising not just Grenzer military affairs but also those involving politics and finance."⁷ To make matters even worse, unlike regiments in other districts within the Military Frontier, the Transylvanian Grenzer regiments had no *Verwaltungs-Offiziere* (administrative officers).⁸

Furthermore, as opposed to line officers, Grenzer officers rarely had the opportunity to travel beyond the limits of the Military Frontier. Andrew Paton, a British writer who traveled within the Croatian Military Frontier, considered this the main difference between Grenzer and line officers. He believed the officers of the line enjoyed the "great world," while those serving on the border "lived in a little world of their own."⁹ Paton also saw this inability to travel as the primary reason why the Grenzer officer was not such an "attractive companion" as was his counterpart of the line.¹⁰ When discussing the Grenzer officers from Transylvania, the Romanian historian George Barițiu also pointed to the monotony of the border guard service, claiming that some young officers were struggling to get a commission in a line regiment in order to be able to "see the world and the country."¹¹

Taking all of this into account, one could argue that, given the difficulties of serving in the Grenzer regiments and the lack of prestige, well-trained Austrian officers ended up serving in the line regiments, while the Grenzer regiments were staffed with those who were less qualified. This paper will attempt to demonstrate this through a comparative case study of officers in a line regiment and those in a Grenzer regiment. For this purpose, three quantifiable indicators were analyzed. First, the levels of both military and civil education achieved by the officers in both regiments were compared. Second, the officers' language

³ Rothenberg 1966: 94-9.

⁴ Rothenberg 1999: 15.

⁵ Rothenberg 1966: 133.

⁶ Paton, 1849: 155, also cited in Rothenberg 1966: 134.

⁷ Mildenberg, 1834: 87.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Paton 1849: 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Barițiu 1874: 32.

capabilities were used as evidence of their level of education. Last, the article will compare the officers' technical skills.

2. Methodology and sources

This paper examines the officer corps serving in the 51st line infantry regiment and the 17th (or 2nd Romanian) border guard regiment from Năsăud based on cross-sectional data recorded in 1840. Both regiments were Transylvanian, in that the line regiment recruited its rank and file from the principality, and the Grenzer unit was one of the regiments that made up the Transylvanian section of the Austrian Military Border. By 1840, these two units had very distinct organizational structures: the line infantry consisted of three battalions and a grenadier division composed of two grenadier companies,¹² while the Grenzer regiment had only two active battalions.¹³ Furthermore, the number of officers serving in the line regiment was much higher: the 1840 officer corps of the 51st regiment numbered 80 officers (excluding field-grade officers and cadets), while that of the Grenzer regiment had only 43 (excluding field-grade officers and cadets).

The analysis relies entirely on the very impressive *Conduite-Listen*, which were highly detailed records of personal information. Introduced during Maria Theresia's reign, these military documents were used as a means of improving the promotion system. They were drafted yearly by the regiments' field-grade officers, who were required to record information about their fellow officers up to the rank of *Hauptmann* (captain). Hence the *Conduite-Listen* cover all the regiment's *Oberoffiziere* (subaltern officers) but not the regiment's field-grade officers, who had a different, more in-depth evaluation form. The information recorded by these sources included details about the officers' careers, including all the units they served in; their marital status and brief mentions about their families; their state of health; short descriptions of their conduct, including behavioral problems and vices; their language skills; and their knowledge of engineering and other subjects. Moreover, starting in 1840, these evaluation forms began recording information about officers' previous studies under the rubric *Was er war?* (*What was he?*). Interestingly, until that year, this section of the *Conduite-Listen* was reserved for details concerning the officers' social milieu, their fathers' occupation and, very rarely, details of their education.¹⁴ This was the main reason for selecting officers serving in 1840 for this case study.

3. Education

Although a military educational system had been in development since the reign of Maria Teresia, by the beginning of the 19th century, attending one of Austria's military schools was not a requirement for an officer commission. In fact, many officers from the two regiments graduated from civil educational institutions. Out of the 80 subalterns (i.e., all the company officers from the rank of *Unterlieutenant* [second lieutenant] to that of

¹² Wrede 1898: 47–48.

¹³ Rothenberg 1966: 126.

¹⁴ For more on the content of the *Conduite-Listen* see: Ianc 2021.

Hauptmann) serving in the 51st line regiment, 44 had attended a military school (55 percent), while 28 (35 percent) had studied at a civil educational institution.¹⁵ In the case of eight officers (10 percent), no information concerning their education was recorded. In the Näsäud border guard regiment, only 19 out of the 43 subaltern officers serving in 1840 (44.18 percent) had attended a military school, while 21 (48.83 percent) came from a civil educational background. For the remaining three officers (6.97 percent), no information about their education was provided.

4. Military education

At the top of the Habsburg military educational system was the Wiener Neustadt Academy. Founded in 1751, the academy trained the sons of exemplary officers or petty noble families free of charge.¹⁶ Starting in 1806, the academy took in children between the ages of 10 and 12, trained them for eight years, and usually commissioned them as infantry officers.¹⁷ As a rule, the vast majority of students were assigned to the line regiments and, very rarely, to the Grenzer ones. A comprehensive analysis by Leitner von Leitnertreu shows that between the year the academy was established and 1851 (also the year the Transylvanian Military Border was dismantled), only 187 out of 4,206 graduates were commissioned in a Grenzer regiment. In comparison, 3,635 received a commission in a line regiment.¹⁸

Returning to the comparative study, 18 officers (22.5 percent) from the line regiment graduated from Wiener Neustadt, Austria's most prestigious military academy. On the other hand, only one (2.32 percent) of the officers serving in 1840 in the Grenzer regiment had attended it: Ludwig Klococsán de Also-Venecze, an officer of Romanian origin, had been accepted, along with his two brothers, due to their father's achievements during the French Revolutionary Wars.¹⁹ After studying there between 1807 and 1815, he was commissioned as a *Fähnrich* (ensign) in the 16th (or 1st Romanian) border guard regiment from Transylvania.²⁰

The rank received at graduation provides a good indication of an officer's academic performance while at Wiener-Neustadt because their *Ausmusterung* (commission) depended on their academic performance. Theoretically, the four best students would be commissioned as *Unterleutnants*, the good students as *Fähnriche*, and the rest would enter

¹⁵ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, Grenze 498, Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 16 (1824–1849), Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 17 (1824–1840), year 1840 (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498); Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, IR [1823–1849] 131 Infanterieregiment Nr. 51, 1823–1849, year 1840, (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823–1849] 131). These and all the following statistics are based on the *Conduite-Listen* of the officers serving in 1840 found in these two boxes. The documents found in this box were not numbered, so the *Conduite-Listen* will be referenced according to the box and the years in which they were created.

¹⁶ Hochedlinger 1999: 157.

¹⁷ Poter 1893: 107.

¹⁸ Leitnertreu 1853: 24–26.

¹⁹ Klein 1867: 107.

²⁰ Svoboda 1894: 398.

the regiments as ordinary cadets.²¹ With one exception, all 18 line officers were commissioned as *Fähnriche*. Carl Züllich von Zülborn, who would later rise the rank of colonel in 1848,²² was the only one who immediately received the rank of *Unterleutnant*.

A second academy, the Engineering Academy, trained engineering officers. Unlike Wiener Neustadt, most of the students had to cover the tuition fees from their own means.²³ After the first six years of study, some of the students were commissioned as *Fähnriche* in the infantry, while the high-achieving ones would go on to study for another year and then enter the army's Engineer Corps.²⁴ Three officers (3.75 percent) of the 51st regiment and only one (2.32 percent) from the 17th border guard regiment studied there.

The *Kadettenkompanien* (Cadet Companies) constituted the middle level of the Austrian military educational system. Created in 1808, these institutions trained ordinary cadets or, in some cases, regimental cadets who had not previously studied at any of the military academies.²⁵ The cadets had to be at least 16 years old and had to pass an exam that heavily emphasized knowledge of German.²⁶ The course of study lasted three years.²⁷ In the early 19th century, such schools were established in Graz and Olmütz and another was opened in Milan in 1839.²⁸ Of the line regiment's officers, 18 (22.5 percent) had attended one of these. In comparison, only two officers (4.65 percent) from the border guard regiment had studied at one of them. Additionally, two officers from the line regiment (2.5 percent) had attended the *Pionierkorpsschule*, a similar institution that trained pioneer cadets. The course of study there lasted three years, and at the end of it, the students were commissioned as officers.²⁹

The schools at the lowest level were regimental elementary military schools, or *Erziehungshäuser*. These were established in 1782 and were primarily focused on educating servicemen's sons. Almost all the line infantry regiments had such an institution. Within the Military Frontier, however, there were only two, and both were located within the Transylvanian sector of the Military Frontier (Năsăud and Târgu Secuiesc). The curriculum was divided into five classes according to the pupils' ages, with the actual military training conducted in the final year.³⁰ In places such as Năsăud where there already was a *Normalschule*, the students attended this institution for the first four years.³¹ The good students stood a chance of becoming non-commissioned officers, or they could become ordinary cadets and go on to study at one of the Cadet Companies.³² Only two officers (2.5 percent) of the line regiment had completed the program at an *Erziehungshaus* as their highest level of education, whereas nine (20.93 percent) Grenzer officers were trained at one of these

²¹ Poten 1893: 107.

²² Svoboda 1894: 361.

²³ Wagner 1987: 247.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Poten 1893: 154.

²⁶ Poten 1893: 155.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Wagner 1987: 244.

²⁹ Wagner 1987: 246.

³⁰ Poten 1893: 189.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Wagner 1987: 244.

institutions, and of these more than half (6) in the one attached to the Näsäud regiment.

In the other parts of the Military Border where there were no *Erziehungshäuser*, future NCOs and officers were schooled at what were called *Mathematische Schulen* (mathematic schools). The course of study lasted three years, and much of the instruction focused on mathematics. Considering that completion of a *Normalschule* was, theoretically, a prerequisite for attending these schools,³³ the level of instruction must have been higher than in the *Erziehungshaus*. Only two (2.5 percent) officers of the line regiment had completed one of these, whereas five Grenzer officers (11.62 percent) had.

There were also two officers, one from each regiment, who had received military training outside the borders of the Austrian Empire. One of these, Ferdinand Lorang, who was from the small duchy of Nassau, had been trained as a cadet in the duchy's army before joining the 51st line regiment in 1824.³⁴ The other is a more intriguing case: Joseph Blaskovich, a *Hauptmann* in the Grenzer regiment, was from Szluin, located within the Croatian Military Frontier. According to his *Conduite-Listen*, he was schooled at the French Academy of La Flèche (this probably referred to the Prytanée de La Flèche).³⁵ Unfortunately, his *Conduite-Listen* do not provide any hints as to how he ended up there. Considering his year of birth, however, it is possible that an opportunity arose during the French occupation of the Croatian Military Frontier.

5. Civil education

Twenty-eight officers (35 percent) serving in the 51st line regiment and 21 officers (48.83 percent) serving in the Näsäud border guard regiment had studied at civil educational institutions. Their *Conduite-Listen* recorded the type of school the officer had attended and where it was located. Generally, the sources also mention the highest class they had completed or the nature of their studies. For example, a Grenzer named Titus von Mihalowski studied at the Gymnasium in Iwano-Frankiwsk/Stanyславiv up until the class of *Sintax* ("Studierte im Stanislauer Gimnasium bis zur Sintax").³⁶ In comparison, his fellow officer from the 51st regiment, Johann Rauber, had completed the *Humaniora*, which were the last two classes at the Gymnasium ("hat zu Marosvásárhely die Humaniora absolviert").³⁷ If a future officer had not completed the full course of study, this was also specified. Friedrich Melckior, who studied at the Gymnasium in Cluj/Kolozsvár is one such example ("...hat jedoch den Kurs nicht vollendet").³⁸

For the purpose of comparing the various educational institutions from which the 49 officers graduated, the institutions were divided into two categories based on their level of instruction: elementary schools (e.g., *Normalschule*, *Hauptschule*, *Oberschule*) and secondary or higher educational institutions (e.g., *Akademie*, *Gymnasium*, *Collegium*).

Of the 21 Grenzer officers (48.83 percent) who attended a civil educational

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1840.

³⁵ AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

³⁶ AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

³⁷ AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1840.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

institution, 11 (25.58 percent) had graduated from a secondary or higher school, while 10 (23.25 percent) of them only completed elementary school. Unsurprisingly, many of those from the latter category (6 officers), had attended the *Oberschule* (or *Normalhauptschule*) in Năsăud. Considering the other six officers who, as previously mentioned, had attended the local military institute, it can be stated with reasonable certainty that at least 12 officers (27.90 percent) from the Grenzer regiment had been educated locally.³⁹ The line regiment's officer corps, however, was radically different, as all the officers with civil degrees had graduated from a secondary or higher educational institution.

The fact that many of the Grenzer officers who studied at the elementary school in Năsăud did not continue their studies could be attributed to a series of factors, among which was joining the regiment at a very young age. For instance, Franz Zatetzky, whose father had served as a *Oberst* (colonel) in the regiment, joined the regiment as a cadet at only 14, immediately after he completed elementary school in Năsăud.⁴⁰ Another potential roadblock could have been the curriculum of the school itself, which strongly prioritized German over Latin, and which was still a highly important factor for acceptance at secondary educational institutions such as the Gymnasium. One situation perfectly illustrates this issue: In 1810, after great efforts by local intellectuals, twelve young students from the Năsăud elementary school were sent to study at the Blaj Gymnasium. After arriving in Blaj, however, they were instead enrolled at the *Normalschule* because their knowledge of Latin was not sufficient for the Gymnasium. In the end, only three of them graduated from the Gymnasium.⁴¹

6. Comparison of linguistic abilities

A relevant indicator of the officer's level of education was their knowledge of other languages. In a separate section of the *Conduite-Listen*, field-grade officers were required to list all the languages spoken by their subordinates and their level of proficiency. In most cases, three different levels were used to indicate officers' linguistic competence: *geläufig*, *gut* (good); *mittelmäßig* (intermediate) or *etwas* (low). Unfortunately, there is no way to know if these evaluations were based on the officers' self-assessments or on their superiors' opinions. Furthermore, it is difficult to verify the information recorded in the sources with other secondary accounts due to the scarcity of the latter. There is, however, one account confirming a non-Romanian officer's command of Romanian, which is worth mentioning. During the formal departure for Cluj of two companies from the regiment in 1848, Major Carl von Wieser addressed the soldiers of the regiment in Romanian. This solemn episode was reported by the local newspaper *Der Siebenbürger Bote*, which quoted von Wieser directly. The speech, which reminded the men of the sacrifices their forefathers had made for the monarchy, is fairly complex and would necessitate a good command of Romanian.⁴²

³⁹ Because the sources only mention the highest level of education achieved, it is impossible to know if more officers (who later achieved a superior level of education) had not previously studied in Năsăud. Unfortunately, the archive of the Năsăud *Normalschule* was destroyed during the 1848–1849 revolution, and the surviving documents do not contain any information on this subject.

⁴⁰ AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

⁴¹ Drăganu, Șotropa 1913: 17–18.

⁴² *Der Siebenbürger Bote*, 16 October 1848, no. 110, apud Maendl 1899: 289–290.

Information from his *Condituite-List* of 1847 confirms his knowledge of Romanian, which the source indicates he was able to speak fairly well (*ziemlich gut*).

Frequent revisions to the *Conduite-Listen* also indicate their reliability in accurately evaluating the officer's knowledge of other languages. For instance, in 1826, when Wilhelm Binder, a Transylvanian Saxon born in Rupea/Reps, joined the Grenzer regiment as a regimental cadet, he reportedly spoke both German and Hungarian well, but spoke only a bit of Romanian (*etwas*).⁴³ Roughly ten years later, his Romanian speaking abilities were evaluated as good (*gut*).⁴⁴ Finally, in 1842, after 16 years in the regiment, his command of Romanian was assessed as very good (*sehr gut*).⁴⁵

Language	Percentage
Romanian	76.25%
Italian	68.75%
Hungarian	57.50%
French	22.50%
Serbian/Croatian	21.25%
Polish	12.50%
Latin	10.00%
Czech/ <i>Armeeslawisch</i>	5.00%
English	2.50%

Table 1. Languages spoken by the officers of the 51st line regiment (excluding German)

Language	Percentage
Romanian	92.86%
Hungarian	40.48%
Serbian/Croatian	21.43%
Latin	14.29%
Polish	9.52%
Italian	2.38%
French	2.38%

Table 2 Languages spoken by the officers of the 17th Grenzer regiment (excluding German)

The following tables illustrate familiarity with languages (excluding German) among two officer corps in 1840. An officer was considered to be familiar with a certain language whenever his speaking ability was assessed as either intermediate or good. One notable difference between the two officer corps was command of Italian, which was not commonly spoken by the officers in the Grenzer regiment (2.38 percent); yet there was a high percentage of Italian speakers (68.76 percent) among the officers of the line. This is surprising, considering only three of them had come from the empire's Italian provinces. A plausible explanation may be that between 1815 and 1840, the line regiment was stationed

⁴³ AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1826.

⁴⁴ AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1836.

⁴⁵ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, Grenze 499, Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 17 (1841–1849), Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 18 (1840–1849) (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 499), year 1842.

more or less permanently in Italian cities.⁴⁶ Moreover, there is reason to believe that Italian was widely spoken among the officers of the line infantry. Even in 1870, the year the first statistics for the entire army were published, Italian was the most widely spoken language, with 36.28 percent of the officers of the line infantry being able to speak it.⁴⁷

Knowledge of French, a completely foreign language, however, provides the best indicator of the line infantry officers' higher level of education. Of these officers, 18 (22.5 percent) were assessed as speaking French at least at an intermediate level. Interestingly, nearly all of them had attended military educational institutions.

7. Comparison of engineering skills

The last indicator, knowledge of engineering, also provides insight into the officers' level of education. The *Conduite-Listen* contained a separate rubric reserved for listing officers' knowledge in this field. In nearly all cases, comments from their superiors mention the officers' ability to design or construct field or permanent fortifications. Twentyfour (28 percent) from the line regiment were competent in this, compared to only 4 (9 percent) of the Grenzers. Of the 24 line officers, 21 had graduated either from Wiener Neustadt or the Engineering Academy, one had attended the Olmütz Cadet School, and two had attended civil educational institutions. In the Grenzer regiment, each of the four officers had gone to a different educational institution: Wiener Neustadt, the Engineering Academy, the Olmütz Cadet School, and the Mathematics School in Caransebeş.

8. Case studies

Two individual case studies were also conducted, which focused on the careers of Grenzer officer Leontin Lucchi and one of his contemporaries from the line regiment, Cajetan Licudi. These two officers were selected because their educational background was a good representation of each of their respective officer corps.

Leontin Luchi was born in Feldru, one of the militarized villages under the authority of the 17th Grenzer regiment, in 1807.⁴⁸ Born into a Grenzer family, he attended the regimental military institute in Näsäud. After graduating, Luchi joined the border guard regiment at the age of eighteen as a *Gemeiner* (private). After serving eleven years in the regiment, he was commissioned as a *Fähnrich* in 1838, when he was nearly thirty years old.⁴⁹ While his initial *Conduite-Liste* did not record any particular background in the sciences or other interests, in 1841, Luchi's superiors acknowledged that he had some understanding of history and geography.⁵⁰ His German improved as well, and from 1841 onwards, his abilities

⁴⁶ The only exception was between 1829 and 1831, when the 51st line regiment was stationed in Klagenfurt (Wrede 1898: 471).

⁴⁷ *Militär-Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1870*: 222.

⁴⁸ AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1841.

were evaluated as very good. This development could also be attributed to the fact that Luchi was seconded for several years to the chancellery of Archduke Ferdinand d'Este.⁵¹ In 1846 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and following his successful conduct during the war of 1848–1849, he was promoted to the rank of *Hauptmann I. Classe* (captain 1st class) in 1848.⁵² His *Conduite-Liste* from the following year, which was also his last, did not recommend him for promotion to staff officer.⁵³ After the war ended and the Grenzer regiment was disbanded, Luchi pursued a career as a public servant.

Cajetan Licudi came from a completely different social background. He was born in Rijeka in 1805, and his father was a forestry inspector.⁵⁴ At the age of twelve, he was admitted to the prestigious academy in Wiener Neustadt, where he spent the next eight years preparing for a future career as an officer in the Austrian army. In 1825 he was commissioned as a *Fähnrich* in the 16th line regiment, and almost three years later was transferred to the 51st.⁵⁵ He advanced rapidly within the regiment, reaching the rank of *Hauptmann* by 1847. His previous education at Wiener Neustadt was reflected in his *Conduite-Liste*. According to the documents, Licudi was familiar with the construction of fortifications, and had knowledge of mathematics, drafting, history, and geography. In 1828, three years after graduating from the academy, Licudi was reported as being able to speak German and Italian well and had a limited knowledge of Latin, French, Polish, and Hungarian,⁵⁶ the four languages he had studied at the academy.⁵⁷ It is telling that over the next six years, according to his *Conduite-Liste*, there were notable changes in Licudi's reported knowledge of languages. His *Conduite-Liste* from 1834 no longer mentions Polish or Hungarian, yet his knowledge of French seemed to have improved, and he now spoke Romanian, the language spoken by the rank and file, which he had most likely become familiar with during his time in the regiment. During the war of 1848–1849, just like Lucchi, he distinguished himself and was decorated for his conduct. Unlike Lucchi, Licudi's superiors recommended promotion to the rank of staff officer, citing among their reasons the good education he had received.⁵⁸ In 1850, he was promoted to the rank of *Major* (major), and nine years later to *Oberstleutnant* (lieutenant colonel). In 1864, after a career of nearly 40 years, he retired with the rank of *Oberst* (colonel).⁵⁹

Licudi's more extensive education was most certainly an important asset for his career, and contributed to achieving a field-grade officer rank. On the other hand, even though Luchi's military career was not as successful as Licudi's, it nevertheless demonstrates the opportunities for social mobility available to those living within the Military Frontier that arose due to the establishment of educational institutions. In addition,

⁵¹ Onofreiu 2008: 138.

⁵² Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, Grenze 499, Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 17 (1841–1849), Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 18 (1840–1849) (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 499), year 1849.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Svoboda 1894: 483.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1828.

⁵⁷ Poten 1893: 107.

⁵⁸ AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1849.

⁵⁹ Svoboda 1894: 483.

these two case studies show how different levels of education were reflected in the *Conduite-Listen* and how they could eventually impact one's career.

9. Conclusions

When Andrew Paton scrutinized the lands of the Military Frontier in the 1840s, he noticed that the Austrian officers he met there did not make for such good "companions" as did the line infantry officers he was accustomed to. He attributed this to Grenzer officers being confined to the area under the jurisdiction of their regiments and rarely having the opportunity to travel outside their stations.

A different perspective is presented here. Given these regiments' lower status within the army and that service in the Grenzer regiments was considered the least prestigious option for an officer, the Grenzer regiments ended up being staffed with less qualified officers than the line regiments. This is demonstrated here by a comparative case study between the officer corps from 1840 of a line regiment (the 51st line infantry regiment) and a border guard regiment (the 17th border guard regiment). The study looked at three quantifiable indicators: education, languages spoken, and knowledge of engineering. In terms of education, the analysis showed that line officers had been trained at either military or civil higher educational institutions. The majority of line officers attended one of two academies (the highest level of military education) or a cadet school (the secondary level of military education), while the majority of Grenzer officers who had completed military studies had attended less prestigious military educational institutions such as the regiments' *Erziehungshäuser*. The analysis also showed that all of the 28 line officers who graduated from civil educational institutions had attended secondary or higher educational institutions, while only 11 of the 21 Grenzer officers with the same educational background had attended such institutions. Furthermore, the line officers' superior credentials were also reflected in their language abilities. Two examples supporting this were widespread knowledge of Italian and the considerable number of line officers who spoke French. Last, a comparison of technical skills also illustrates the line officers' superior education in comparison to the Grenzer officers.

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ДРАГОШ ДУМИТРУ ЈАНЦ
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**ВОЈНА ОБУКА ОФИЦИРА ОДРЕДА
ЛИНИЈСКЕ ПЕШАДИЈЕ И ПОГРАНИЧНЕ ГАРДЕ
ХАБЗБУРШКЕ ВОЈСКЕ У ПРВОЈ ПОЛОВИНИ 19. ВЕКА –
КОМПАРАТИВНИ ПРИМЕР ИЗ ТРАНСИЛВАНИЈЕ**

Резиме

У раду се показује да, имајући у виду нижи статус који су погранични одреди уживали унутар аустријске војске и да се служба у њима сматрала мање престижном, они су били пуни мање квалификованих официра него линијски одреди. Зарад аргументовања ове тезе спроведена је компаративна студија подређених официра (*Oberoffiziere*) који су 1840. г. служили у 51. линијском пешадијском одреду и оних који су служили у 17. одреду пограничне гарде. Размотрена су три квантификацијска индикатора: образовање, језичке способности и техничке вештине. Када је реч о образовању, анализа је показала да су линијски официри похађали више просветне установе, што је био случај и са онима који су завршили војне студије, и са онима који су били у цивилној школи. Велика већина линијских официра који су завршили војне образовне установе, похађала је или једну од две академије (Винер Нојштат или Инжењерску академију), или кадетске школе (што је био средњи ниво војног образовања), док је већина официра пограничних одреда ишла у наје престижне војне школе, попут *Erziehungshäuser*. У погледу цивилног образовања, анализа је показала да су сви од 28 линијских официра који су завршили ову врсту школа, имали средње или високо образовање, док је свега 11 од 21 пограничног официра са овим типом едукације достигао такав ниво. Друго, виши степен образовања линијских официра одражавао се и на њихове језичке способности. Учестало знање италијанског, и знатан број линијских официра који су знали француски, примери су који иду у прилог овом закључку. Коначно, упоређивање техничких вештина показало је виши образовни профил линијских у односу на пограничне официре.

Кључне речи: Аустријска војна граница, листе владања, Хабзбуршка војска, официри, војна обука, Трансилванија.

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THE SERBIAN VOJVODINA: IDEA AND BORDERS UNTIL 1918*

Abstract: The concept of a Serbian Vojvodina as a political and territorial unit, was present among the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy from the end of the seventeenth century until the First World War. During the period it existed (1848–1861) or when demands for it again emerged (before 1848 and after 1861) the question of its borders arose. This became especially apparent when the people in Vojvodina voluntarily joined the Kingdom of Serbia, which subsequently became a newly formed state for Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in December 1918. When a common state was created, the issue of Vojvodina's borders centered on its northern borders, which were defended at the Paris Peace Conference according to historical and ethnic principles.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarch (Austria-Hungary), Serbs, Vojvodina, borders.

In the past, the Serbian Vojvodina was based on various principles—ethnic, historical, and geographical. This is why “the Serbian Vojvodina, as it was called by the people, which was formed as a separate crownland as the Voivodeship of Serbia and Banat of Temeschwar, embodied the centuries-old idea and aspiration of the Serbian people to maintain their national individuality—ethnically, religiously, and politically—in a country with foreign masters and a foreign name. The Serbian people succeeded in this to some degree under incredibly difficult circumstances by spilling blood for foreign rulers and a foreign state.”¹ The true historian also makes a clear distinction between what is modern-day Vojvodina, an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia, and the Serbian Vojvodina, which was created “as a political term to denote a unique national and political community through which the Serbian people endeavored to preserve their ethnic, religious, and national identity within a foreign state.”² However, historians believed that Serbs had the right to seek a Serbian Vojvodina within the Habsburg Monarchy based on the Privileges granted in the late seventeenth century, which they did through institutions and political

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¹ Popović 1990: 7; Njegovan 2004: 26.

² Krkljuš 1995: 5.

parties, and especially through the patriarchate of Karlovci.³

A greater presence of the Serbian people in Hungarian lands can be documented from the late fourteenth century, soon after the Battle of Maritsa (1371) and the Battle of Kosovo (1389). At this time, Serbian people seeking a peaceful life began crossing the banks of the Sava and the Danube in large numbers and settling in Hungarian lands. These Serbs brought their religion, culture, and even economic centers to Pannonia and Transdanubia, and remained separated from most of their fellow Serbs living within the Ottoman Empire.⁴ They found themselves in new, unknown, and Catholic surroundings. Here there were scattered far and wide, from Transylvania to the Adriatic Sea.⁵ There were quite a few leaders among them, but there was no one figure who could unite them.⁶ This “force” who commanded ecclesiastical and secular political power emerged among the Serbs in Hungary after the Great Migration of 1690 in the figure of the patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević.⁷

The Serbs wanted to solidify their position as it was defined by the Privileges through the acquisition of certain lands within the Habsburg Monarchy. This was specified for the first time at the diet of Baja in 1694. This persuaded the Austrian military authorities to propose that the Serbs in northern and central Hungary settle within the southeastern part of the Military Frontier around Osijek, Petrovaradin, and Titel. At the diet in Baja, the Serbs sought and agreed to a compact, mass relocation to Mala Vlačka in central Slavonia and Kumanija in northern Bačka as soldiers with a privileged status.⁸ At the Church Council held in Krušedol in 1708, the Serbs from Buda asked for Serbs in Hungary to be granted Bačka, Banat, Srem, and Slavonia.⁹ After this, no Serb representative sought any separate land throughout almost the entire eighteenth century, until the Transylvanian Diet of 1790, when an explicit demand was made based on the Privileges in which this had allegedly been promised. This time, the Serbs asked for Banat. Due to deteriorating relations between Vienna and Pest, they were also supported in this by the imperial government.¹⁰

Almost until the Revolutions of 1848, Serbs in the monarchy had not been in a position to demand specific land where they could legally and politically establish themselves. At the May Assembly in 1848, they proclaimed the establishment of the Serbian Vojvodina and imbued it with the foundations of their national, political, and religious agenda. This area comprised Srem, Baranja, Bačka, and Banat, which the Hungarian government could not accept, and to which it responded with armed confrontation. This is best evidenced by the words of Lajos Kossuth: “He who wishes to found a separate state

³ Mikavica 2005: 201.

⁴ (Radojčić 1958: 5–7.) *The Zbornika Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, which published the paper cited here, was banned for many years due to this very paper by Dr. Nikola Radojčić.

⁵ *Ibid.* 5–6.

⁶ *Ibid.* 6.

⁷ On Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević and the granting of Serbian privileges, see: Adamović 1902: 21–33; Ivić 1991: 299–311; Radonić 1940: 1–47; Simeonović-Čokić 1940: 61–70; Radonić, Kostić 1954: 1–18; Gavrilović 1991: 7–24; Id. 1996: 12–15; Gavrilović 2001: 16–20; Mikavica, Gavrilović, Vasin 2007: 15–24; Mikavica 2011: 18–22; Mikavica, Lemajić, Vasin, Ninković 2016: 149–181.

⁸ Savković 1952: 21–51; Gavrilović 1991: 7–23; Krestić 1994: 88–113; Mikavica 2011: 11–14.

⁹ Mikavica 2005: 15–16; Id. 2014 b: 13–18; Gavrilović 2014: 67–78.

¹⁰ Gavrilović 2005: 121–123; Mikavica 2005: 19–25.

within the bounds of Hungary is a rebel and an insurrectionist.”¹¹ This declaration of the Serbian Vojvodina was only recognized by the Croatian Sabor, which led to the disappearance of this free-thinking, democratic, and autonomous region of Serbs in Hungary when the revolution ended.¹² The government in Vienna attempted to reward the Serbs for their loyalty during the revolution and for their persistence in the bitter fight against the Hungarians by establishing the Voivodeship of Serbia and Banate of Temeschwar as a separate crownland, which lasted from 1849 to 1860. However, creating the Voivodeship, with German as its official language and its seat in Timisoara at the fringes of Serbian ethnic space in the monarchy, satisfied the Serbs in name only, and stood in stark contrast to the idea of autonomy the Serbs had been seeking at the 1848 May Assembly.¹³ The clearest expression of this dissatisfaction came from Svetozar Miletić, the leader of the Serbs in Hungary, in what has become known as the *Tucindanski članak* (article), published in January 1861, in which he asserted that if the voivodeship were to be abolished, the Serbs would not lose much because the autonomy they had within it was fictional, and that, for the Serbian nation within Hungary and the monarchy, the fight for true independence was yet to come.¹⁴

An attempt was made to resurrect the Serbian Vojvodina at the Annunciation Assembly of 1861, with the assertion that “this area, in which a Serbian majority lived, was to be recognized as a Serbian area within the Kingdom of Hungary, or rather within a proposed Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia under the name *Vojvodovina Srbska* [Serbian Vojvodina].”¹⁵ However, the demands made at the Annunciation Assembly for a Serbian Vojvodina were never met, and were instead used by the Viennese court as a threat against the Hungarians. After the Dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was created in 1867, the services of the Serbian people within the monarchy were forgotten. The vast

¹¹ Gavrilović 2000: 13; Mikavica 2000: 23–39.

¹² Savković 1952, 21–51; Gavrilović 1991: 7–23; Krestić 1994: 88–113; Gavrilović 2000: 7–31; Mikavica 2005: 23–38.

¹³ At the time of the conquest, the Voivodeship of Serbia and Banate of Temeschwar was a part of Bačka and Banat, without the Military Frontier, and with only a part of Srem and the Ruma and Ilok districts. The remainder was granted to Croatia as part of the Triune Kingdom. (Gavrilović 2000: 30–31; Mikavica 39–57; Stevanović 2014: 23–24.)

¹⁴ The *Tucindanski članak* was published in the 102nd (and final) issue of *Srbski dnevnik* in late December 1860. It was written in answer to Emperor Franz Ferdinand’s decision to abolish the Voivodeship. (Mikavica, Popov 1999: 232–235; Mikavica 2006: 35–67; Mikavica 2018: 299–335.)

¹⁵ According to the attached authentic drawing, this area included: 1) all of provincial Srem, i.e., Ruthenian, the Ilok and Vukovar districts; 2) Lower Bačka with the border settlements still belonging to Vojvodina, starting from the Danube: Sonta, Sombor, Stari and Novi Sivac, Kula, Stari and Novi Vrbas, Sentomaš, and Mohol; 3. Banat with the following border towns and settlements, which are still in Vojvodina, starting from the Mureş: the Hodoş monastery, Novi Bodrog, Nova Vinga, Fenlak, Sekusić, Nadfala, Varjaš, Kettefelj, Knez, Perjamoş, Srbski Sentpeter, Staro Bešenovo, Vrbica, Crna Bara, Mokrin, Velika Kikinda, Mali Orosin, Klara, Keča, Čenej, Nemet, Mali Bečkerek, mehala, Timisoara and its surrounding settlements, Frajdorf, Utvinj, Romanski Sent Mihalj, Dinjaš, Srbski Sentmarton, Ivanda, Čebza, Čakovo, Macedonija and Gad, Đir, Tolvadija, Soka, Denta, the Sentdurađ monastery, Berekuca, Komorski Sentdurađ, Omor, Brešće, Dežanfalva, Mali Žam, Veliko and Malo Središte, Mesić, Jabuka, Vojvodince, Subotica, Potporanj, and Vljakovac. The Banat part of the Serbian Vojvodina included everything between the designated area of the Military Frontier, where the Tisa and Mureş lie. The Petrovaradin, German-Banat, and Serbian Banat regiments and the Titel battalion with their respective free military communities were considered an integral part of the Serbian Vojvodina. (Radojčić 1958: 17; Vasin 2015: 21–68.)

majority of Serbs residing in Hungary then fell under Hungarian supremacy, and they were only able to exercise their rights through Hungarian institutions.¹⁶ Although they were constantly under political threat, the Serbs built themselves up as a modern nation, which confirmed Jovan Skerlić's position that "in Vojvodina, a hundred and fifty years have been thought of and written about for all Serbs."¹⁷

What had been an awareness of the existence of Serbian Vojvodina created during the Revolutions of 1848, and what proved to be the unquenchable desire of the Serbs at the Annunciation Assembly in 1861, then became the main driver of all Serbian cultural and political activity in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. It awaited fertile ground, which showed itself at the end of the First World War with the direct annexation of the "resurrected Vojvodina" within the Kingdom of Serbia. Serbia's wartime objectives, expressed in the Niš Declaration and confirmed in the Corfu Declaration, also included the issue of Vojvodina. It was an eloquent plebiscite about the unification of Serbia with Vojvodina began in Russia during the war, when captive South Slavs (Yugoslavs) from the Austro-Hungarian army began joining volunteer units to fight in the Serbian army against the Central Powers. Serbs made up the largest percentage of volunteers, followed by Bosnians and Herzegovinians, and then Vojvodinians—first those from Banat, then those from Srem, and finally those from Bačka and Baranja.¹⁸ Steps taken by Austria-Hungary in the form of persecutions, arrests, and internment of the more prominent Serbs showed the Vojvodinians their future and the unification of Baranja, Bačka, Banat, and Srem with the Kingdom of Serbia. Arrests and internment of all prominent Vojvodinian Serbs began immediately after war was declared against Serbia in 1914. Among those imprisoned were Mihailo-Polit Desančić, leader of the Serbian liberals; Jaša Tomić, leader of the Serbian radicals; along with Vasa Stajić, Mita Klicin, Emil Gavrića, and other prominent Serbian intellectuals. These Serbs were taken to internment camps in Szeged, Arad, Timisoara, Eger, Debrecin, Székesfehérvár, Velký Meder, Szombathely, Kecskemét, Tata, and Komárom.¹⁹

When it was clear the fall of Austria-Hungary was near after the breakthrough on the Salonika Front in September 1918, the Serbs of Vojvodina did not want to be caught off guard by a future peace, so they began forming Serbian national committees and councils, along with a Serbian National Guard in the largest towns in Vojvodina. Other ethnic groups in the region were not forgotten, and national committees for Hungarians, Bunjevci, Germans, and Slovaks were also formed.²⁰

The first Serbian National Committee in the future Vojvodina was established in Nagybecskerek (now Zrenjanin) on October 31, 1918, so the Novi Sad National Committee,

¹⁶ After a series of heated debates at the Hungarian diet, the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 was passed on May 29, 1867. Resistance came not only from non-Hungarian peoples, but also from the Hungarian representatives, representatives of the left, and part of the Hungarian diaspora led by Lajos Kossuth. The Compromise was followed by the Nationality Law of 1868, which gave legal backing for increased Magyarization in Hungary. (Popov 1997: 371–373; Kirilović 2006: 42–78; Mikavica 2011: 147–154.)

¹⁷ Popov 1997: 373; Njegovan 2004: 28–29.

¹⁸ Radojčić 1958: 21; Njegovan 2004: 205.

¹⁹ Mikavica 2014 a: 191–213.

²⁰ In some towns, mixed national committees were created, including the Serbian-Bunjevci Committee in Sombor, the Bunjevci-Serbian Committee in Subotica, the Serbian-Hungarian Committee in Bečej, and others. (Njegovan 2004: 206.)

founded on November 3,²¹ could take responsibility for the overarching political and social issues. The committee in Novi Sad then prepared for an election and convened the Great National Assembly in Novi Sad on November 25, which declared that Banat, Bačka, and Baranja would join the Kingdom of Serbia. Meanwhile in Srem, which had always been a stumbling block for Serbian-Croatian relations within the monarchy, there was also agitation for the Kingdom of Serbia to directly annex it. An assembly of representatives of the people's committees in Srem was held on November 24, 1918, and it passed a resolution stating that Srem should be immediately join the Kingdom of Serbia.²² Based on these resolutions by the Great National Assembly in Novi Sad and at the assembly in Ruma, all of Vojvodina, which had been dreamed about and once again resurrected, voluntarily agreed to an act of unification with the Kingdom of Serbia, thus becoming an integral part of the new state of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.²³

While these political events were unfolding, military action was also underway. The Serbian army was rapidly moving to cross the Sava, Drava, and Danube rivers to secure the borders. By early November 1918, the Serbian army had occupied territory in Banat, Bačka, Baranja, and Srem within a circle starting at the Orșova River that ran through and along Mehadia, Karánsebes, Ara, the Mureș, Szeged, Subotica, Baja, Pécs, Barcs, the Drava, Osijek, Šamac, the Sava, and the Danube, and then back to the Orșova. This line also became a line of demarcation determined by the Belgrade Armistice of November 13 of that year.²⁴ This line clearly indicated that this territory in Vojvodina was also part of the northern frontier of the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS). Defending this was a difficult task for its representatives at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.²⁵

Within the Yugoslav sub-committee for Geography, Ethnography, History, colloquially known as “the Territorial,” the head of the committee, Jovan Cvijić, a geographer and ethnologist, and Stanoje Stanojević, a historian from Vojvodina who drew up a memorandum to defend and seek Vojvodinian territory and to justify its inclusion in the Kingdom of Serbia (later the shared state of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), in particular distinguished themselves due to their work and commitment. The Yugoslav delegation had the difficult task of defending Serbian claims to land in Austria-Hungary stretching from

²¹ The Novi Sad People's Committee was preceded by the Central Committee of Banat, Bačka, and Baranja for the Reception and Accommodation of War Orphans and Poor Children from Bosnia, which was founded in Novi Sad on December 14, 1917. It should be noted that, during the preparations for the Great National Assembly in Novi Sad, scheduled for November 25, 1918, several variations for unifying Vojvodina with Serbia were presented. One, presented by the Radicals led by Jaša Tomić, called for the immediate unification of the Vojvodinian regions. Another, presented by the supporters of democratic ideas led by Vasa Stajić, called for initially including the part of Vojvodina within the self-proclaimed State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs based in Zagreb, and then a subsequent unification of these areas with the Kingdom of Serbia. Due to the efforts of other nationalities in Vojvodina, primarily the Bunjevci, the immediate unification of the regions in Vojvodina with the Kingdom of Serbia won out with the support of a large majority. Unification was announced at the Great National Assembly on November 25, 1918, in Novi Sad. (Njegovan 2004: 210–211; Mikavica 2005: 193; Marković 2020: 79–81.)

²² Njegovan 2004: 229.

²³ *Ibid.* 246.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 249–250.

²⁵ Stanojević 1921: 76–90; Kirilović 1938: 120–129; Radojčić 1958: 22–26; Njegovan 2004: 250.

Gorica in the west to Banat in the east. In addition to asserting territorial claims according to ethnicity, the Serbian delegation also prepared a memorandum about what the Serbian people had suffered during the war, which stated that, during this time, the Serbian population had lost 1.150.000 people. The composition of the delegation itself underlined Vojvodina's importance; in addition to Stanojević, there were four other Serbs from Vojvodina: Ilarion Zeremski, bishop of Bačka and administrator of the sub-committee; Stevan Mihaldžić, a historian and priest from Baranja; and Nikola Radojčić and Vasa Stajić, two young yet already distinguished historians. The Serbian delegation itself was headed by the highly experienced former prime minister, Nikola Pašić.²⁶

That Austria-Hungary had ceased to exist as a state was a positive element for resolving territorial disputes, creating new borders for the Kingdom of SCS, and dealing with the issue of Vojvodina. The Serbian army also held all the territory in Vojvodina, in which the people had voluntarily voiced their support for unification.²⁷ English and American representatives, who were in charge of the work and the commissions for demarcation, required first and foremost that ethnic criteria be respected, and that economic and military considerations also be taken into account. All other criteria, especially historical territorial belonging, would be relegated to the background. Therefore, when demarcating the borders of Vojvodina, those of Baranje and Bačka would be a matter to be determined in cooperation with the newly created Hungarian state, and Banat's would be determined in cooperation with Romania, while Srem was unquestionably considered part of the Kingdom of SCS.²⁸ In Banat, the border was determined according to the Serb and Romanian majorities. Delineating between the two peoples based purely on ethnicity was not possible, so an attempt was made to determine the final border through a system of reciprocity: for example, approximately the same number of Serbs would remain in Romania as Romanians did in Serbia. There was a significant number of Germans and some Hungarians present, but they were not at all considered to be an important factor in delineating these borders. In Bačka and Baranja, the relationships among all the Slavic peoples and the Hungarians, not including the Germans and the Romanians, were considered according to the same principle.²⁹ Banat was a particularly delicate issue for the commission because it had become an ally and later joined the Entente in 1916, but an offer had been made for it to enter the war on the side of the Allies. After many disagreements and attempts by the Serbs and the Romanians to gain as much territory in Banat as they could, a realistic border was established. Serbia (Kingdom of SCS) lost Timisoara, and the Romanians lost Vršac and Bela Crkva.³⁰ This border has withstood the test of time and other internationally recognized borders, and even today it is still the northeast border between the Republic of Serbia and Romania.

The question of delineation between Hungary and Baranja and Bačka was dealt with jointly and determined according to the same ethnic principle. At times, the Serbian delegation had an easier time with this issue than with Banat because only the Serbs (the kingdom) had pretensions and claims to this territory, but at other times it was even more

²⁶ Radojčić 1958: 22–23; Njegovan 2004: 286–287.

²⁷ Stanojević 1921: 84–85.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 85.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 86.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 86–88.

difficult because the Slavs (there were Slovaks and Ruthenians in addition to Serbs) were scattered throughout the area, rather than being more concentrated, as in parts of Banat. For this reason, the Serbian delegation was explicitly told that the borders of these areas had to encompass at least 51 percent of the Slavic population. After much evidence was presented by the Serbs and Hungarians, the border was drawn with the largest losses to the Serbs in Baranja, with Pécs, Mohács, and Baja going to Hungary, and Osijek and Beli Manastir to the kingdom. In Bačka, the Serbs lost Szeged but gained Subotica and Sombor. The undisputed Serbian right to Novi Sad was asserted and confirmed.³¹ The northern borders acquired by the Kingdom of SCS, however, did not remain unchanged. The territory granted to them in Baranja was excluded from Vojvodina in 1939 with the creation of the Banovina of Croatia, and after the fall of Yugoslavia it became part of the newly created Republic of Croatia. The border established for Bačka between the kingdom and Hungary has remained unchanged to this day and is currently the northern border of the Republic of Serbia.

Just how difficult it was to reach a compromise regarding the borders of Vojvodina while also satisfying the Kingdom of SCS, Romania, and the Allies, was evidenced by the position of the French General Le Rond, which was presented in August 1919, during the conference, to Ante Trumbić, the kingdom's minister of foreign affairs. Le Rond warned Trumbić that Romania was respected by the Allies, "and that it would be a great and powerful state, that it was rich in ore and raw materials, and that it would rapidly develop." Yugoslavia, he stressed, "[had] no quarrels with it, apart from the question of Banat, and that very small piece of land itself was in a difficult position, being surrounded by Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Albania. If you are on good terms with Romania, you are protected." Therefore, "Crown Prince Aleksandar could marry a Romanian princess."³²

Considering the Serbian people's position in the monarchy and its constant vacillation between Vienna and Pest, the Vojvodina that was proclaimed in 1918 at the People's Assembly in Novi Sad and its inclusion in the Kingdom of Serbia guaranteed their political and national survival by merging with a state (the Kingdom of Serbia) in which Serbs were a constituent and majority group. When they proclaimed their own Vojvodina, a hitherto unattainable ideal, they rightly believed that joining the Kingdom of Serbia (which would become the Kingdom of SCS), would set the stage for their national preservation and their cultural and economic advancement.³³ Vojvodina's continued existence through two Yugoslavias (as a kingdom and a republic) and its autonomy within the modern-day Republic of Serbia shows just how correct the Serbian people in Hungary were in bringing to fruition the idea of Vojvodina as separate cultural, historical, and economic construction. Throughout the development of their own Vojvodina, the Serbian people have always respected a multiethnic principle, and have lived as part of community with other peoples, which we also demonstrate by further developing Vojvodina as a region within a united Europe, while also respecting its special place within the Republic of Serbia.

Translated by *Elizabeth Salmore*

³¹ *Ibid.* 88–89.

³² Krizman 1929: 31–72; Kardum 1989: 136.

³³ Mikavica 2005: 202.

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СРПСКА ВОЈВОДИНА – ИДЕЈА И ГРАНИЦЕ ДО 1918. ГОДИНЕ

Резиме

Идеја *Српске Војводине*, као политичко-територијалне јединице, била је присутна код Срба у Хабзбуршкој монархији од краја 17. века до Првог светског рата. У време када је она постојала (1848–1861) или када је поново захтевана (пре 1848, после 1861) постављало се питање њених граница. То је посебно било наглашено приликом добровољног уласка становника Војводине у Краљевину Србију, односно новостворену државу Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца, децембра 1918. године. Питање војвођанских граница је чином стварања заједничке државе постало питање њених северних граница, које су браћене на мировној конференцији у Паризу према етничком, али и историјском принципу.

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ORPHANS NO MORE!: THE YOUNG TURKS' HOMOGENIZING POLICIES, THE ALBANIAN REACTION, AND THE BALKAN COMMITTEE IN LONDON, 1910–1912

Abstract: This paper explores the reaction of Albanian nationalists towards the homogenizing and centralizing policy of the Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire. After the Young Turks came to power, the focus for the Albanian nationalists was on raising awareness of and securing international support for their national rights. In addition, their focus was on the difficult humanitarian situation in the vilayet of Shkodra. Albanian nationalists' efforts converged with the Balkan Committee, which was established in London in 1903 following the events in the Balkans after the Ilinden Uprising of 1903. This study investigates the reasons why the Balkan Committee in London became interested in the 1911 Albanian uprising in the vilayet of Shkodra. By following an analytical approach and using numerous sources, the paper concludes that the Balkan Committee succeeded in making British public opinion receptive to the Albanians' difficult humanitarian situation. However, it did not succeed in uniting the political actors in the Balkans and thus failed to organize a general Balkan uprising, which was clearly an undertaking beyond its capabilities and outside the British government's interests.

Keywords: Young Turks, Balkan Committee, Albanian Uprisings, Ottoman Empire, Vilayet of Shkodra, Ismail Qemal Vlora, humanitarian situation, Macedonian Relief Fund.

1. Introduction

In the early twentieth century, when the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire was seriously threatened by territorial losses, military defeats, separatist revolts against the central government, and Western economic penetration, a group of reformist intellectuals emerged known as the Young Turks. The Young Turks believed they could save the state and maintain its territorial integrity through legal reforms, a constitution, and the creation of an Ottoman nation based not upon a specific ethnicity or religion but on the unity of all of them.¹

¹ Kaya 2014: 127–145; Yavuz 2013: 31–32.

In July 1908, when the Young Turks raised a flag of the revolution based French ideas of freedom, justice, and equality, the Albanians were among their greatest supporters.² Although the reasons were various and differed substantially from one to another, the Albanians welcomed the restoration of the Ottoman constitution on July 23, 1908. Some supported it based on the assumption and belief that the constitution would provide protection for Albanian traditions and culture, while others considered it a prelude political autonomy. Nonetheless, the relationship between Young Turks and Albanians eventually shifted quickly from cooperation to defiance due to the Young Turks' nationalism.

When launching their program on August 18, 1908, the Young Turks' Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) promised all Ottoman citizens equal rights and obligations without any distinction as to origin or religion. Consequently, non-Muslim citizens were also expected to perform military service, a reform that proved far more controversial than initially hoped. Turkish was also promulgated as the only official language allowed in general correspondence and official consultations. The CUP planned to centralize education: according to the thirteenth point of the program, all schools were placed under state control.³

In October 1908, the CUP declared its political platform by asking for a major change in the constitution that would require all communication at the state level be in conducted using the Turkish language; insisting on equality before the law and declaring its position in favor of mandatory conscription; and calling for the establishment of technical schools to train workers with the requisite skills for economic development.⁴ The Ottoman Union was no more than a union of all ethnic groups within the empire that would bring an end to separatist leanings among Muslim or non-Muslim subjects alike.⁵ Thus the Young Turks' aim was to move towards the centralization of power and a sort of homogenization of its society. Major Ismail Enver Bey, a member of the CUP proclaimed the well-known doctrine of Ottomanism with the statement *that* "there are no Bulgarians, Greeks, Romanians, Jews, or Muslims. We are all equals; *we glory* in being Ottomans."⁶

Initially, however, to the peoples and nations, an Ottoman Union meant cultural autonomy would be preserved and might even thrive. Accordingly, they would be considered first and foremost Albanians, Greeks, or Armenians, and only then Ottoman subjects of the empire. The elites representing different ethnic groups wanted to be rewarded for their struggle against despotism not only with official posts but also with extended autonomy. The rest of the population saw this as an appropriate opportunity to preserve and strengthen their traditions.⁷ Religious groups, including the Greek Orthodox Church, were unhappy with the CUP's move to enhance state authority and ultimately centralize and oversee the education system. Moreover, the minorities favored a policy of

² For more about the Young Turk Revolution and the influence of the Albanian factor in the promulgation of the Second Ottoman Constitution (1908) see: Hanioglu 2001: 210–279; Bozborca 2002: 244–255; Dauti 2018: 133–142; Çeku 2022: 711–725.

³ Hacısalihoglu 2013: 108.

⁴ Yavuz 2013: 48.

For a detailed treatment of the Young Turks policy see: Feroz 2003: 25–65.

⁵ Dymon 2004: 551.

⁶ Gawrych 2006: 154.

⁷ Dymon 2004: 551.

decentralization.⁸ The CUP's insistence on teaching Turkish in schools was perceived as a Turkification policy, and the Greek Orthodox acted against this education initiative. The first reaction came from the secessionist Macedonian communities along with some Albanian communities.⁹ Therefore, the reinstatement of the constitution not only left national questions unresolved but also further aggravated them.

After crushing the Counter-Revolution of April 13, 1909, in which the Albanians played an important role, the Young Turks decided to implement their centralization program and Turkification policy by force of law. On April 26, 1909, the Ottoman government passed the Law on Vagabonds and Suspicious Persons, which became a very effective instrument for controlling the action of individuals in Rumelia.¹⁰ In July 1909, the Ottoman government enacted two laws regarding the press and publishing houses. They were threatened with closure if they published articles that insulted religious or ethnic groups or the sultan, parliament, army, or any imperial institutions. Similarly, the Law on Military Service for Non-Muslims passed on August 7, 1909, which abolished the military exemption tax on all non-Muslims who avoided military service, ignited widespread opposition among Balkan Orthodox Christian groups.¹¹ Another crucial legal measure adopted by the CUP government was the prohibition of political parties organized according to nationality. According to the Law on Associations, all political parties organized on a purely ethnic basis (and characterized with an ethnic name) were forbidden and cultural clubs were closed. Article 4 of this law banned "political societies whose aim or name represented a particular race or nationality."¹² The Law on Bands passed on September 27, 1909, targeted the use of guns and was aimed at creating a state monopoly on the use of violence. Under this law, armed movements not sanctioned by the state were forbidden under penalty of death and all illegal weapons in the hands of the population had to be turned over to the state within a specific period set by the government.¹³

The Young Turks intended to follow a policy of cultural Ottomanization as well. The Law on Disputed Churches and Schools issued on July 3, 1910, upset the Christians under the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. They considered the implementation of the law to be cultural assimilation with predominantly Turkish elements prevailing over the rest.¹⁴ To that end, the Young Turks sought to centralize the Ottoman Empire's education system by introducing a law on primary school education that compelled all Ottoman children to attend the same school system.¹⁵

As a result of these policies, a non-Turkish school inspectorate was established,¹⁶ the Normal School in Elbasan and the boys' school in Korça in the vilayet of Monastir, both

⁸ Yavuz 2013: 48–49.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁰ Çanlı 2017: 2825–2846.

¹¹ Hacısalihoglu 2013: 115.

¹² Dymon 2004: 116.

¹³ Hacısalihoglu 2013: 117–118.

¹⁴ Kerimoğlu 2007: 3–25; Egro 2010: 98.

¹⁵ For more on the educational system in Ottoman Empire and regulations imposed by the Young Turks, see: Ünlü 2023: 158–211; Blumi 2011: 151–174; Hacısalihoglu 2013: 121–123.

¹⁶ Dymon 2004: 552.

established in 1909, were closed, and in state schools, the Albanian language was removed from the state schools' curricula. Albanian patriotic clubs were also shut down.¹⁷ An Albanian publishing house in Monastir/Bitola, a city in what is now the southwest of North Macedonia, suffered the same fate.¹⁸ Many Albanian officials who supported the Latin alphabet were removed from their offices and sent to Anatolia or the Arab provinces. The Albanian newspapers that had recently started being published were closed down and their publishers imprisoned often without a trial. Shkodra's newspaper survived a bit longer only because its political articles did not deal with current issues. Eventually, it too died out as it was not keeping up with *the spirit of the time*. Many Albanian nationalists were arrested or forced to leave the country.¹⁹ The situation deteriorated further due to the Young Turks' attempts to disarm the Albanian population in the north and impose solutions by force to maintain order and law.

All these centralization policies provoked serious reactions. Several insurrections started in the vilayet of Kosovo in 1910 and a year later spread to the vilayet of Shkodra.²⁰ The Young Turks' policies also caused general disappointment and dissatisfaction among Greeks, Armenians, the Arabs in Syria, and others. For them, the constitution fell short of their expectations, as it did not provide the freedoms, welfare, and national progress they expected and that had been previously proclaimed. Others instead were upset for the opposite reasons since it did not guarantee the traditions and privileges they had long cherished.²¹

In response to this situation, a group of Albanian nationalists led by Ismail Qemal Vlora (Ismail Qemali) had the immediate responsibility of raising international awareness of their plight and securing support for their national rights and assistance for the difficult humanitarian situation that had resulted from the uprisings. Ismail Qemali was originally from the Adriatic port town of Vlora and a scion of one of the most influential families in the vilayet of Ioannina. He served as a deputy in the Ottoman Parliament and as head of the Ottoman Liberal Party (AHRAR), and he was the one who proclaimed Albania's independence in November 1912. Ismail Qemali considered the Law on Bands as the first attempt by the Unionist government to legitimize its "criminal attacks" against Albanians.²² He decided to put more effort into internationalizing their national question. His goal was the involvement of the Great Powers and of neighboring states that would favor an acceptable solution for the Albanians. Their efforts and aims converged on several points with the Balkan Committee's agenda.

Within this context, this article focuses on relations between the Balkan Committee and the Albanians, and will address three main aspects: first, the stance held by the Committee and its members towards the Albanians and their national issue; second, humanitarian engagement by the Balkan Committee in providing assistance to Albanian Catholic highlanders in the vilayet of Shkodra (1911); and third, the efforts of Albanian nationalists, specifically Ismail Qemali, to collaborate with the Balkan Committee and other

¹⁷ Skendi 1967: 388; Kondis 1976: 50.

¹⁸ Clayer 2009: 571.

¹⁹ Swire 1971: 98; Gurakuqi 2012: 69.

²⁰ For more on the Albanian Uprisings see: Gawrych 2006: 177–197; Clayer 2009: 620–632; Babacan 2014: 104–112; Blumi 2011: 125–150; Malcolm 1998: 239–249; Gurakuqi 2012: 125–245.

²¹ Dymon 2004: 552.

²² Hacisalihoglu 2013: 118; Blumi 2011: 118–123.

Balkan actors in organizing widespread anti-Ottoman uprisings in the Balkans that would involve not only Albanians but also other nationalities within the Ottoman Empire. These issues will be examined in connection with the awareness among and reaction of the public in Great Britain, along with the official stance of the Foreign Office.

In Albania, there are no studies related to the Balkan Committee; however, the committee's activities have been analyzed elsewhere in two doctoral theses (James Andrew Perkins at the University of Birkbeck and Daut Dauti at the University of Leeds)²³ and several articles.²⁴ With the exception of Daut Dauti's doctoral work, which focuses on the position of members of the Balkan Committee regarding the Albanian question, other works overlook this aspect. This article aims to fill this gap, especially in two areas: the humanitarian campaign organized by the Balkan Committee to garner support and provide assistance for Albanian Catholic highlanders, and the Albanian and Balkan political actors' expectations of concrete cooperation with the committee in organizing an armed Balkan reaction in support of securing national rights for nationalities within the Ottoman Empire.

This article is based on an analysis of an extensive body of literature and an examination of published and unpublished sources (Albanian, Bulgarian, and British). The latter includes documents from the Archive of the Institute of History in Tirana,²⁵ and in particular a collection of files on the Austro-Hungarian perspective, used for the first time as a source for the Balkan Committee. British primary sources have already been used in the doctoral works mentioned previously, but the novelty here is an analysis of the articles published in *Times* magazine, where the Balkan Committee's humanitarian actions in the vilayet of Shkodra in 1911 often appeared.

2. A brief overview of the Balkan Committee: Key actors and their stance

The Balkan Committee was established in the British capital in 1903 following events that transpired in the Balkans after a rebellion initiated by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), known as the Ilinden (St. Elijah's Day) Uprising of 1903 and which was supported by local Albanians.²⁶ James Bryce, an explorer and travel writer, was the first president of the committee, and Noel Buxton, a British liberal and later Labor politician was appointed as its chairman. Meanwhile the bulk of the committee was dominated by Liberal politicians and religious leaders who continued the Gladstonian

²³ Perkins 2014; Dauti 2018.

²⁴ Al-Jubouy 2022: 187–216. <https://doi.org/10.25130/jtuh.29.5.2022.10>, (accessed 3 August 2023); Spirkovski 2013: 53–68; Genov, R, "Bulgaria's entry and participation of in World War I as seen by the British journalist James D. Bouchier". <http://www.viaevrasia.com/documents/Roumen%20Genov.pdf>, (accessed 10 August 2023); Balatoni 2019: 49–60.

²⁵ The Archive of the Institute of History in Tirana possesses an exceedingly rich collection of documents from various European chancelleries. This collection was established and enriched as a result of numerous research trips conducted by researchers since the early 1930s.

²⁶ The goal of the rebellion was to establish an independent Macedonian state. The rebellion, however, was brutally suppressed, focusing attention yet again on the problems of Turkish misrule in Macedonia. See: Yosmaoğlu 2014: 25–39; Glennly 2000: 200–205; Hacısalihoğlu 2013: 130–131.

tradition of supporting Bulgaria, Greece, or Serbia, and who were anti-Ottoman and disregarded the Muslim population. It gave priority to Christians in the Balkans and little consideration to other nationalities or ethnic groups. For this reason, the Albanian question in Ottoman Macedonia²⁷ did not receive sufficient attention from committee members.²⁸ The Balkan Committee functioned on the principles of Gladstonian Liberalism, and among the founding members were high profile scholars, politicians, clerics, and journalists.²⁹ Under the committee's auspices, the Macedonian Relief Fund, headed by the journalist Bertram Christian, was established in 1903.³⁰ One of the Balkan Committee's main goals was to promote collaboration among Balkan countries. This would lead to a common understanding to secure more national rights for the peoples of the region still under Ottoman rule. Some of its other main goals were to instrumentalize the Foreign Office's Balkan policy, mobilize the British public to turn its attention to Balkan events, start humanitarian campaigns in Macedonia, and to secure British economic interests in the Ottoman Empire.³¹ The committee's members had welcomed the Young Turks Revolution of 1908, but they too soon realized that the Young Turks' revolution did little to alter the essence of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans.³² Thereafter, the committee worked to oppose the negative effects of the Young Turks' policies.

Although the Albanian question was not within the Balkan Committee's primary objectives, Albania was mentioned in the Autonomy Proposal—a twelve-article document published by the committee in 1903, which was sent to the sultan and relevant European governments. In the document, the committee demanded autonomy for “Macedonia, Albania, Old Servia/Kosovo and Thrace/Adrianople” and outlined the details of a settlement for the region.³³ According to Dauti Dauti, the Autonomy Proposal was ambiguous and unsatisfying both for the Albanians and the other nationalist movements in the Balkans. This ambiguity stemmed from the fact that the suggested division of the autonomous provinces was not based on ethnic or religious principles. For instance, an autonomous Albania would consist of only two vilayets (Shkodra and Ioannina) out of the four existing ones under the Ottoman rule. The vilayet of Kosovo, as proposed, was to become a separate autonomous province, while the vilayet of Monastir would become part of Macedonia. Nevertheless, from the Albanian perspective, the proposal contained some positive elements, namely that this was the first proposal for Albanian autonomy to be presented to the Sublime Porte and to the European Powers by a British organization.³⁴ After issuing this document, the Balkan Committee paid no particular attention to the Albanian national question.

²⁷ Ottoman Macedonia is a geographically imprecise term. It was broadly understood to mean the three vilayets of Salonika, Monastir, and Kosovo. Ottoman Macedonia was inhabited by various ethnic and religious communities that did not share a common national identity. Albanians numerically dominated the western part of the vilayet of Monastir and most of the vilayet of Kosovo, but were not as present in the vilayet of Salonika. See: Yosmaoğlu 2014:112–168; Brown 2013: 14–21.

²⁸ Dauti 2018: 114–143.

²⁹ Robbins 1994: 216; Perkins 2014: 106; Dauti 2018: 98–99.

³⁰ Nevinson 1935: 141.

³¹ *Balkanskiat Komitet v London (1903–1946)*, 2003: 275; Balatoni 2019: 50.

³² Nevinson 1935: 274.

³³ *Balkanskiat Komitet v London (1903–1946)*, 2003: 303.

³⁴ Dauti 2018: 100–101.

Greater interest in Albania would develop among Balkan Committee associates during the Albanian uprisings against Ottoman rule in 1910–1912. This increased interest particularly resulted from the personal interest, work, and influence of individuals such as Edith Durham, a Balkan specialist and a rare expert on Albania’s national movement and political and ethnographic composition;³⁵ Aubrey Herbert, a British public figure, diplomat, and writer;³⁶ and a few other members and activists who represented the political views of the Conservatives under Disraeli. Unlike most of the committee members, they favored the Albanians regardless of their religious affiliation. The national principle of “the Balkans for the Balkan people” was their motto, which perfectly encapsulated the principle of nationality.³⁷ They worked to support the Albanian national question and to influence the British government, and they played a significant role within the Balkan Committee.

However, the main focus of the Balkan Committee remained the defense of the Christian population, which they considered to be the only group persecuted and oppressed by Ottoman policies. This focus also explains their heightened interest in the 1911 insurrection in the vilayet of Shkodra, where the population oppressed by the Young Turks was of the Catholic faith. For this reason, the insurrection of 1911 garnered considerable publicity in the British and European press. This was in contrast to the 1910 uprising in the vilayet of Kosovo, where the population was mostly Muslim, despite the violent policies pursued by the Ottoman authorities.

Some of the Albanian nationalists were in contact with the Balkan Committee. For example, according to the Albanian scholar Zef Prela, Albert Gjika, a Romanian of Albanian origin and one of the candidates for Albania’s throne in 1913, worked for the committee. However, his engagement was not appreciated in certain circles of the Albanian National Movement. Albanian nationalists such as Dervish Hima, Nikolla Naço, and their followers in Bucharest, who were supported and financed by the Austro-Hungarian joint ministry for foreign affairs,³⁸ all kept their distance from Gjika and also the committee.³⁹ Meanwhile, Ismail Qemali another prominent Albanian nationalist, who was mentioned previously, appears to have been in active contact with the committee, especially during the 1912 uprisings. Nathalie Clayer, a Senior Researcher at the Center for Turkish, Ottoman, Balkan, and Central Asian Studies at EHESS in Paris, claims that the Balkan Committee was in touch with members of the Albanian Committee in Monastir and had offered them financial support in favor of Albanian-Bulgarian close cooperation.⁴⁰

³⁵ For more on Edith Durham see: Destani (eds), 2001; Dauti 2018: 217–247; Tanner 2014; Elsie 2010: 120–121.

³⁶ About the activity of A. Herbert, especially in the vilayet of Kosovo, see: Destani and Tomes (eds.) 2011; Dauti 2018: 249–258; Elsie 2010: 189–190.

³⁷ Durham and Herbert critiqued the attitude towards Albanians and resigned from the Balkan Committee in protest at its apparent indifference to crimes committed by Bulgarian (and other Christian) bands against local the Muslim and Albanian populations. They began to enter into fierce conflict with committee members Henry Brailsford and R. W. Seton-Watson, who were known supporters of Bulgarian and Serbian causes respectively. In December 1912, they established the Albanian Committee, under the presidency of Aubrey Herbert. See: Perkins 2014: 156; Dauti 2018: 217–227; 254–258.

³⁸ Gostentschnigg 2018: 528.

³⁹ Prela 1962: 134.

⁴⁰ Clayer 2009: 514.

3. Raising public awareness, collecting contributions, and providing relief for Albanian highlanders

In the early twentieth century, the Balkans and Albania were not unknown to the public in Great Britain. A clearer picture of them had been created by nineteenth-century travel writers, and later by dedicated individuals considered experts on the history and politics of the Balkans. The expert writers played a special role in the image building process, contributed to educating the public on Balkan matters, and influenced the decision-making process in British politics. The Balkan Committee conveyed its ideas and plans through these experts, who included, among others, Edith Durham, Henry Brailsford, Aubrey Herbert, James Bouchier, and Noel and Charles Buxton.⁴¹ Raising public awareness in the United Kingdom of the Balkans, and in particular the Macedonian Question, was considered an essential goal for the Balkan Committee. In order to inform the British public and influence political opinion regarding the need for reforms in the Balkans, its members repeatedly prepared memoranda and pamphlets, published books and resolutions, and held conferences. In the first memorandum, prepared in 1903, the British authors accurately drew attention to the first signs of clear and open anti-Ottoman resentment among the Albanians who had converted to Islam⁴² and who had been so charmingly described in the poetry of Lord Byron, an early twentieth-century British travel writer.⁴³ The meager impact of the Ottoman Constitution; the inimical attitude towards schools, churches, and the Christian community; the ban on the Albanian language; and Ottoman repression, brutality, and massacres revealed the Ottoman Empire's total inefficiency⁴⁴ and were substantial reasons to provoke a reaction in the Balkans.

The British press played a major role in informing the public of the insurrection of 1911, which took place mainly among the Catholic population in the vilayet of Shkodra. The *Times* reported regularly and extensively on Balkan events, and this was no coincidence. James Bouchier, an Irish journalist and member of the Balkan Committee in London, had been the newspaper's correspondent in the Balkans since 1892.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Edith Durham, also an activist and member of the Balkan Committee and the Macedonian Relief Fund, published the majority of her writings in the same newspaper. Durham had traveled to Albanian lands in early 1904, and she had originally been drawn to the region by relics of prehistoric symbolism such as the images of suns Albanian women still drew on their foreheads or tombs ornamented with little birds carved in stone and wood.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Dauti 2018: 20–50, 91–105.

⁴² *Balkanskiat Komitet v London* (1903–1946), 2003: 303.

⁴³ Lord Byron's visit to the vilayet of Ioannina in the autumn of 1809 made a true and lasting impression on him, so much so that he recalled the experience in the second canto of his poem "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage":

*"Let me bend mine eyes
On thee, thou rugged nurse of savage men!
The cross descends, thy minarets arise,
And the pale crescent sparkles in the glen."*

He documented his trip and experiences in Albania in a series of letters to his mother, including a meeting with Ali Pasha of Tepelena, also known as the Lion of Ioannina. Marchand (eds) 1982: 29–34; 41–42.

⁴⁴ *Balkanskiat Komitet v London* (1903–1946), 2003: 350–352.

⁴⁵ Elsie (eds.) 2014: 106.

⁴⁶ Nevinson 1935: 275.

Articles published almost daily in the *Times* provided thorough and accurate information about the uprisings in the vilayet of Shkodra, the activity of Albanian nationalists and especially that of Ismail Qemali, the operations of the Ottoman army, and who was openly protesting against the Ottoman policy towards the Albanians.⁴⁷ Against this background, the main goal of the Balkan Committee's activities was to gather evidence and urge possible intervention.⁴⁸ To that end, its members made in-person visits to the region and met with Albanians and their representatives. In a letter written by Edith Durham in a neighboring village of Montenegro on June 11, 1911, and published in the *Times* by A. G. Symonds, the secretary of the Balkan Committee in London, it was noted that:

Upper Albania is now a miserable desolation. All women and children who, except a few, have had their houses burned down are too weak to go any further and have found refuge here. They fled from violence and humiliation but now risk dying of famine. In this district, there are 2,144 people, while in the whole of Montenegro around 20,000 individuals.⁴⁹

On July 31, 1911, the Balkan Committee published a call for aid in the *Times* entitled "Sorrow in Albania," appealing to the "generous support and sympathy of the British people to save them from famine and the extermination of a brave race."⁵⁰ The terribly difficult situation in the vilayet of Shkodra due to the 1911 insurrection and the severe conditions the highlanders were in certainly evoked British humanitarian feelings. The public responded to the appeal made by the Balkan Committee. The committee tried to raise enough funds to save 25,000 people. The fact that the committee sent financial aid to Albanians means they were able to raise donations for their cause. It is not clear who the main donors were, though it is more likely they were not necessarily big ones. The relief allocation was carried out through the Macedonian Relief Fund, representatives of which were already in the Malësia e Madhe, a region in the vilayet of Shkodra in the mountainous land bordering Montenegro.⁵¹ The aid amounted to several thousand pounds and would be distributed to all people in need regardless of their political or religious affiliation.⁵²

⁴⁷ For articles published in the *Times* on events in northern Albania see: "The situation in Turkey", *The Times*, London, 11th February 1911, 5; "The King of Montenegro", *The Times*, London, 28th February 1911, 5; "The condition of Albania. Concentration of Turkish troops", *The Times*, London, 18th March 1911, 5; "Montenegrin Assurances", *The Times*, London: 31st March 1911, 5; "Fighting between Albanians and Turks", *The Times*, London, 29th March 1911, 5; "Turkey and the Montenegrin frontier", *The Times*, London, 8th April 1911, 5; "Extension of the movement", *The Times*, London, 11th April 1911, 5; "Heavy Turkish Losses", *The Times*, London, 12th April 1911, 5; "Montenegro and refugees", *The Times*, London: 20th April 1911, 3; "Turkish success in Albania", *The Times*, London, 3rd June 1911, 5; "Views of Ismail Kemal Bey", *The Times*, London, 14th June 1911, 7; "Torgut Shevket's army", *The Times*, London, 16th June 1911, 5; "Insurgents and the Turkish promises", *The Times*, London, 17th June 1911, 7; "Turkish policy in the rebel districts", *The Times*, London, 29th June 1911, 5; "Destruction of catholic villages", *The Times*, London, 4th July 1911, 5.

⁴⁸ *Balkanskiyat Komitet v London* (1903–1946), 2003: 348.

⁴⁹ "Condition of refugees", *The Times*, London: 21st July 1911.

⁵⁰ The History Institute's Archive in Tirana (hereinafter: *HIA*), F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj. 21-20-2036, The Balkan Committee's relief appeal, London, 29 July 1911.

⁵¹ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A in *AIH*, Vj. 21-7-752, Report of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in London to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, London, 4 August 1911; Nevinson 1935: 275.

⁵² On the collection of funds and allocation of relief in the vilayet of Shkodra see: *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj. 21-20-2036, The Balkan Committee's relief appeal, London 29 July 1911; Vj. 21-7-752, Report of the Austro-

The success of the fundraising campaign was attributed to James Bouchier, the *Times* correspondent in the Balkans, who as a member of the committee was personally interested in raising both awareness among the British and money for the cause, while Edith Durham and Henry W. Nevinson, the chairman of the Macedonian Relief Fund and a well-known British journalist and war correspondent in the Balkans, took credit for its actual distribution.⁵³ According to the general consul of Austria–Hungary in Shkodra, the Balkan Committee’s relief operation was mediated by the British consulate, which acted in compliance with London’s instructions urging the fulfillment of the committee’s requests.⁵⁴ The British consul in Trieste, Mr. J. R. Spence, gave significant assistance for purchasing and transporting relief supplies.⁵⁵

Aid was mostly in the form of food, clothes, blankets, and timber to rebuild homes that had been burned down. Only a small amount of cash was distributed. Upon inspection by the committee’s representatives, it was decided that 250 cabins would be built in Hot, Gruda, Traboin, Kastrat, and Bajza—all villages located in the vilayet of Shkodra in the mountainous area bordering Montenegrin. To that end, all timber supplies were bought from the market, and the rest was ordered from Trieste.⁵⁶ Other forms of aid included food rations for people on the verge of starvation. Large amounts of quinine had also been ordered, although the population did not have any knowledge of medicine and still believed in pagan symbols as remedies. Similarly, it organized the distribution of grain supplies to people in poverty and on the verge of starvation. In Bregmatje alone, a village located near the town of Shkodra in what is now northern Albania, fifty boxes of medication were distributed.⁵⁷ Furthermore, a British doctor was expected to treat the sick.

4. Ismail Qemal Vlora and Other Actors in Balkan Political Life: Efforts to organize an insurrection in collaboration with the Balkan Committee

In the Balkans, the Young Turks’ centralizing policy created the preconditions for joint resistance. Balkan insurrection attempts began in 1911. According to Austro-Hungarian diplomats, there were talks between the Greeks and the Bulgarians about establishing a common front, which also involved the Albanians.⁵⁸ Ismail Qemali was

Hungarian ambassador in London to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, London, 4 August 1911; Vj. 21-6-619, Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul in Shkodra to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 9 September 1911; Vj. 21-6-629, Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consulate in Shkodra to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, 5 October 1911.

⁵³ *HIA*, F. Archivio Storico e Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Seria Politica “P” (1891–1916), Albania, Pacco 673, Pos. 844, Anno 1911, Collection of Italian documents preserved in *AIH*, Report of the Italian General Consul in Shkodra to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 12 September 1911.

⁵⁴ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj. 21-6-619, Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul in Shkodra to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 9 September 1911.

⁵⁵ Nevinson 1935: 275.

⁵⁶ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj. 21-6-629, Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consulate in Shkodra to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, 5 October 1911.

⁵⁷ Nevinson 1935: 278.

⁵⁸ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj. 21-59, Report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Monastir to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Manastir, 15 April 1911; Vj. 21-7-712, Report of the Austro-Hungarian consulate’s secretary

actively engaged in this movement, and he wanted support from Great Britain for his plan for a common insurrection in the Balkans. The plan was that “Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, in collaboration with the Turkish subjects who were their kin, along with the Albanians, should declare war against the Ottoman Empire.”⁵⁹ The Albanian insurrection of Malësia e Madhe in 1911, Montenegrin involvement, Serbian propaganda, plans for cooperation between Albanians and Bulgarians, and Greece’s political approach to Bulgaria were all considered a prelude to these designs.⁶⁰

In 1912, the Balkan Committee focused its efforts on establishing contacts with the Ottoman opposition (*Hürriyet ve Itilâf*). If the latter gained power, the committee would carry out its fundamental goal to secure more national rights (various forms of autonomy but not the right of self-determination) for the peoples of the region still within the Ottoman Empire because the second point of the Ottoman opposition’s program recognized the principle of autonomy for national provinces, stipulated respect for the rights of ethnic minorities, and the decentralization of the Ottoman state, while also preserving its political unity.⁶¹ A part of the Albanian and Balkan political elite approved of the opposition party’s program.⁶² Therefore, the Albanian insurrection of 1912 received a great deal of attention.

In a dispatch sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 25, 1912, the Austro-Hungarian governor in Zara/Zadar claimed that the anticipated Albanian insurrection would be fiercer than others organized previously.⁶³ Its strength, according to the governor, depended on the well-organized actions of the Albanians and on the engagement of the Balkan Committee. The committee became increasingly involved and began distributing money and weapons to the locals. It was estimated that around 12,000 modern rifles were provided in the northern regions of the vilayet of Shkodra. Furthermore, the Balkan Committee also attempted to achieve as quickly as possible a union of the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek insurgent groups with the Albanian ones.⁶⁴ However, the available information remains too scarce to make an in-depth analysis of these attempts’ progress throughout the whole Balkans.

Ismail Qemali acted as the Albanian contact person for the committee leaders. His cooperative attitude towards the committee was due to many factors. Ismail Qemali’s notion of the Ottoman state’s political future fit in well with the Balkan Committee’s mission. By the end of the nineteenth century, he was already known in Ottoman political circles. He had held several high offices in the empire and had held positions as the general secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mayor of Ioannina, and governor of the vilayet of Beirut and Tripoli, among others,⁶⁵ but he was also known in the international arena as one of the political personalities who urged self-reformation of the Ottoman Empire by decentralizing

in Ioannina to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ioannina, 20 April 1911.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vj, 21-13-1374, Report of the Austro-Hungarian consulate’s vice-secretary in Vlora to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vlora, 25 May 1911.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Gawrich 2006: 190.

⁶² *HIA*, F. *Arhiv Vneshnjoj Politiki Rossi*, Collection of Russian documents preserved in *AIH*, R. 29, Russian Embassy in Istanbul to the 1st Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 22 January 1912.

⁶³ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj, 22-6-662. Report of the Austro-Hungarian Governor in Zadar to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zadar, 25 March 1912.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Egro 2012: 303–306.

the sultan's power.⁶⁶ This meant more autonomy for the empire's non-Turkish people. As one of the most distinguished representatives of the liberal Ottoman wing, and later on as one of the most prominent Young Turks,⁶⁷ he was an ardent advocate of the Ottoman Empire's transformation from an autocratic regime under total control of the sultan into a constitutional monarchy. According to him, the Ottoman Empire ought to be a union of nations under the flag of the constitution. This would guarantee each of them their national existence.⁶⁸ Ismail Qemali pointed out the need to adopt an Organic Statute for both Macedonia and Albania like the one foreseen by the 23rd article of the Treaty of Berlin, which granted protections and rights to Christians on the island of Crete.⁶⁹ In a memorandum sent to the Italian Riciotto Garibaldi in August 1903, Ismail Qemali expressed his opposition to the formation of a Macedonian province that would encompass territories inhabited by Albanians. He viewed the idea of a "Greater Macedonia" as nothing more than a "New Eastern Rumelia" that would pave the way for Bulgarians towards the two seas. Although he emphasized the role of Great Britain in implementing the reform program within the Ottoman Empire, Ismail Qemali still thought it necessary to affirm an Albanian nationality within the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁰

On the eve of the Young Turk revolution, in an open letter addressed to E. Grey, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs and Pichon, the French minister of foreign affairs, in April 1908, Ismail Qemali persisted in the necessity of implementing the principles of the Treaty of Berlin "for both Christians and Muslims, united by the need for a tolerable life within the Ottoman Empire and the desire to be part of the civilized world."⁷¹ According to him, it was necessary to resume reforms not just in Macedonia but in all the vilayets of Rumelia/European Turkey:

The inhabitants of Macedonia, who are made up of the ethnic groups that populate the three Balkan states and the Turkish provinces, have no right to any extraordinary preference. Only in this way, could a sustainable order be established throughout European Turkey, and at the same time, a solution could be found for the crisis that was tearing Macedonia apart.⁷²

Regarding Albania, Ismail Qemali emphasized that:

...without a well-organized, united, and strong Albania, the entirety of the Ottoman Empire could not be preserved. The balance between the Balkan peoples could not be established on a strong basis. It would be necessary to recognize the Albanian population, its national existence. The Albanians should be provided with the means of development and progress in full harmony with other racial populations, as the only way for them to advance.⁷³

⁶⁶ Çelik 2004: 94.

⁶⁷ Meta (eds.) 2017: 101, Ismail Qemali 2009: 304–305.

⁶⁸ Gawrich 2006: 146.

⁶⁹ Under the formulation of the 23rd Article "The Sublime Porte applies in the Island of Crete the Organic Law of 1868 with such modifications as may be considered equitable. Similar laws adapted to local requirements, excepting as regards the exemption from taxation granted to Crete, shall also be introduced into the other parts of Turkey in Europe for which no special organization has been provided by the present treaty..." https://content.ecf.org.il/files/M00935_TreatyOfBerlin1878ExcerptsEnglish.pdf (accessed 24 August 2023).

⁷⁰ Vlora 2012: 271–277.

⁷¹ *Central State Archives of the Republic of Albania* (AQSH), F. 19 (Ismail Qemali), D. 21, fl. 1-6.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

As part of his political strategy, Ismail Qemali envisioned the establishment of an anti-Slav front composed of Albanians and Greeks related by the same ancestry.⁷⁴ Furthermore, his perception of a Slav threat led him to adopt a pro-British stance. Ismail Qemali considered Great Britain to be the only power that had full control over the Mediterranean, and for geostrategic reasons it would prevent Slav expansion in the region. According to him, an “entente” with Britain would stop Russia from advancing towards Constantinople and the Balkans. On the other hand, Great Britain had no direct territorial interests in the Balkans and more specifically in Albanian lands.⁷⁵ These positions kept Ismail Qemali distant from Austria–Hungary, which consistently regarded him as unreliable when it came to implementing Habsburg policies in Albania,⁷⁶ while the Young Turks and Albanian nationalists, on the other hand considered him pro-British and pro-Greek.⁷⁷ The Balkan Committee also kept its distance from Austria–Hungary. Both Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule were considered by Liberals and committee members to be preventing the Balkan peoples from progressing.⁷⁸

The Balkan Committee had provided weapons and money for the 1910–1911 insurrections and urged Ismail Qemali to contact its members.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, in May 1912, he received encouraging messages from the Greek premier Eleftherios Venizelos, who desired collaboration with the Balkan Committee to secure weapons and money for the Albanian insurrection in the northern territories.⁸⁰

The Greek government’s attitude towards the Albanian insurrection and its reasons for such support might have been influenced by two possible factors. The first was the desire to control Albanian nationalism by merging the Albanian insurrection with other Balkan national movements. In this context, the Balkan Committee played a crucial role which aimed to effortlessly unite the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek insurgent groups with the Albanian ones.⁸¹ Second, by urging Ismail Qemali to maintain close contact with the Balkan Committee in London, the Greek government could exclude Italian influence on the Albanian national movement because the committee’s activities did not consider Italian involvement. Venizelos’ strategy proved successful. Ismail Qemali decided to meet first with the representatives of the Balkan Committee and later postponed a meeting with the Italian ambassador in Paris. As a result of this postponement, “Italy announced that it could no longer tolerate the presence of a rival power on Albanian shores.”⁸²

⁷⁴ For more details on Ismail Qemali’s viewpoints and on the Albanian and Greek cooperation see: Dushku 2019: 90–94.

⁷⁵ Ismail Qemali 2009: 246, 249, 279, 287, 398–399.

⁷⁶ Gostentschnigg 2018: 573–576; *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj, 22-11-1158. Telegram of Berchtold to Mery, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Rome, Vienna, 22 November 1912.

⁷⁷ Dushku 2021: 99–105.

⁷⁸ Robbins 1994: 216; Dauti 2018: 98.

⁷⁹ Nika (eds.) 2003, 218.

⁸⁰ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj, 22-12-1290. Letter of Fazil Toptani to the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, 24 May 1912.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vj. 22-6-662, Report of the Austro-Hungarian Governor in Zara to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zara, 25 March 1912.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Vj. 22-12-1290, Letter of Fazil Toptani to the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, 24

Ismail Qemali also discussed his plan with Serbian diplomats. The British foreign secretary Edward Grey wrote that in June 1912, Ismail Qemali had met with Grujić, the Serbian chargé d'affaires, in London. Ismail Qemali told Grujić that "Albania was solid" and the Albanians were "determined this time to see the thing through."⁸³ Nevertheless, the Serbian chargé d'affaires told Lord Onslow, the undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, that the Serbian government was not inclined to share Ismail Qemali's view. Grey added that the Serbs regarded the Albanian insurrection as a primarily anti-Young Turk movement and, therefore they "were not inclined to attach a great deal of importance to it."⁸⁴

Although Dauti affirms in his doctoral thesis that there is no evidence of Ismail Qemali visiting London or Britain in 1912, Austro-Hungarian documents do confirm such a visit. Referring to the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the end of June 1912 Ismail Qemali and *Ahmet Muhtar Paşa*, the leader of the Ottoman opposition, traveled to London. Among those they met, were leaders of the Balkan Committee with whom it was agreed that Ismail Qemali would be given a significant position in the government once the *itilâfists** came into power, and four representatives of the Ottoman opposition would conduct talks in London with the members of British government.⁸⁵ It can be inferred from this information that the talks guaranteed, among other things, Great Britain's privileged position in the Ottoman Empire if the opposition were to come to power.

The visit to London and the meetings held there convinced Ismail Qemali of the importance of a general insurrection. In a letter sent to his supporters in mid of July 1912, he advised:

The insurrection must be organized and progress according to a plan and the people must gather in mountains...As for the necessary means for the uprising such as: money, weapons, ammunitions, etc. and about the name of a future prince of Albania, no one should worry, as a powerful country which I do not want to name for the time being, is going to attend to it.⁸⁶

He did not specify which "powerful country," but Ismail Qemali had always favored British involvement in the Balkans. He belonged to a group of Ottoman politicians who had persistently asked and hoped for Great Britain's support and backing.⁸⁷

But how interested was Great Britain in the Balkans, and could the Balkan Committee influence British policy making? As Keith Robbins of the University of Wales mentioned, public opinion in general has traditionally played an important role in British policy making, and British leaders have openly affirmed that in Great Britain, public opinion was imperative in important matters.⁸⁸

May 1912.

⁸³ Dauti 2018: 203.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

* The Ottoman opposition

⁸⁵ *HIA*, F. HHSt.A.PA.A, Vj, 22-12-1286. Dispatch to the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 29 July 1912.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Vj, 22-1-122. Report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul in the region of Vlora-Berat to the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Istanbul, Berat, 26 July 1912.

⁸⁷ Shpuza 1997: 105.

⁸⁸ Robbins 1977: 70.

After the unrest in the vilayet of Monastir in 1903, Great Britain proposed a program of thorough reforms and put pressure on the sultan to concede more rights to the Balkan peoples.⁸⁹ Although Britain's interest in Balkans affairs was concealed within the context of the Eastern Question, it gradually departed from its traditional policy of "splendid isolation," but did not change its neutral position regarding the Balkans.⁹⁰

It engaged more actively in Balkan intervention, along with other Great Powers. In August 1907, the British and the Russians signed a treaty that led to the formation of the Triple Entente. Consequently, the British ceased to be considered the "best friend" of Constantinople, and the Sublime Porte began to look for support elsewhere.⁹¹ Germany seemed a good opportunity. The Ottoman–German alliance was strengthened considerably, and by 1910, Germany had gained significant financial and military influence in the Ottoman Empire. It had already become Constantinople's favorite Great Power and played a key role in the reorganization of the Ottoman army.⁹² Meanwhile, relations between Great Britain and Germany deteriorated as they now belonged to two different blocks, and this was also reflected in a rivalry to secure a dominant position in Constantinople. The growing influence of the Germans in Constantinople and the Albanian insurrections of 1911 and 1912 only changed British policy towards the Ottoman Empire,⁹³ but not toward the Albanians. Up until the First Balkan War, the British government continued to disregard Albanian efforts to fulfill their national ambitions.

In this context, the Balkan Committee played an important, albeit limited, role. The British government and the committee had converging interests. Hence, the British used the committee essentially as a pressure group to further its foreign policy agenda, while British imperial interests were paramount to the committee. The Balkan Committee thus did not officially represent the British government, but it did see itself as representing the best traditions of British political culture and an informed public interest in foreign affairs.⁹⁴ This was also because the British foreign secretary Edward Grey had publicly backed its establishment.⁹⁵ In his speeches, he acknowledged the importance of public opinion. Although the Albanian insurrections were perceived in Great Britain as internal issues for the Ottoman state and therefore any direct British intervention was deemed undesirable, the deterioration of the situation in the Balkans was not acceptable, as it could threaten peace in Europe. The British stance and Secretary Grey's personal attitude were founded on detailed and regular accounts British diplomacy had received from indirect sources, beginning with Edith Durham and her letters addressed to Spence, the British general consul in Trieste.⁹⁶

As a result, the British government expressed concern about the Albanian insurrection of 1911. Yet, because of the broader absence of major interests in the Balkans, Britain would not take independent action or assume the role of Albania's protector. Instead,

⁸⁹ Glenny 2000: 207–208.

⁹⁰ Guy 2012: 47

⁹¹ Sezgin 2013: 435.

⁹² Shaw, J. Stanford 2006: 5–7.

⁹³ For the British policies toward Ottoman Empire see: Feroz 1966: 302–323.

⁹⁴ Perkins 2014: 150.

⁹⁵ *Balkanskiyat Komitet v London (1903–1946)*, 2003: 329.

⁹⁶ Gurakuqi 2012: 308.

Grey favored collective action so the British government would not jeopardize its relations with the Porte. The Albanian insurrections from 1910 to 1912 also revealed that the British government had left the Balkans in the hands of the three most interested Powers: Austria–Hungary, Russia, and Italy.⁹⁷ These Powers had direct interests in the Balkans, with Austria–Hungary and Italy interested more specifically in the Albanian lands.

On the other hand, in British public opinion, basic human rights and freedoms were paramount. The political elite showed sensitivity about systematic human rights violations, as was the case with the Albanian highlanders. On July 27, 1911, in a debate in the House of Commons, Noel Buxton, the head of the Balkan Committee, declared that the Albanian situation was “the most urgent matter” they were faced with. On the same day and in the same place, the British foreign secretary spoke in support of Buxton’s arguments.⁹⁸ The Albanian question “ought to be dealt with promptly and in the spirit of conciliation.” Although the Muslims, Catholics, and Orthodox had joined in resisting the Porte, the speaker of the House of Commons did not believe that the Albanians desired separation from the Ottoman government, and “under no circumstances could the [Ottoman] government submit to the dictation of others.”⁹⁹

To conclude, in Great Britain public interest in the future of the Ottoman Empire’s nationalities remained high. The Balkan Committee’s campaign to raise awareness, especially of Ottoman Macedonia, played a significant part in this aspect. Also, it managed to sensitize British political and public opinion regarding the Albanian insurrections and especially the severe humanitarian situation created in the vilayet of Shkodra. It is worth emphasizing that the British government and the press showed an interest in such events primarily because the Albanian Catholics were Christians who were seen as suffering from Ottoman persecution. The religious dimension of the situation was still considered important, which was in line the long-standing trend of interpreting Balkan affairs through the prism of religion.¹⁰⁰ Regarding the Albanian insurrection of 1912, the Balkan Committee did not succeed in uniting the political actors in the Balkans and thus failed to organize a general Balkan uprising, an undertaking that was, in fact, beyond its capacities and outside of the British government’s interests.

5. Summary

The purpose of this paper is to present Albanian nationalists’ reactions to the homogenizing and centralizing policies of the Young Turks. In this regard, the focus was on raising awareness and securing the support of the international community for their national rights and for the difficult humanitarian situation in the vilayet of Shkodra. Albanian nationalists’ efforts converged with the Balkan Committee in London. The committee was established in the British capital in 1903 as the result of events in the Balkans after the 1903 Ilinden Uprising in the vilayet of Monastir.

⁹⁷ Dauti 2018: 215.

⁹⁸ Swire 1971: 108.

⁹⁹ Dauti 2018: 188.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 192.

Although the Albanian question was not within the scope of the Balkan Committee's direct objectives, it had reason to show an active interest in the Albanian uprisings of 1911–1912, since its aims also matched the committee's goals. Raising public awareness of the Balkans and in particular of the Macedonian Question was considered an essential goal for the Balkan Committee's work. The Albanian question was considered in conjunction with the Macedonian one. The British press played a major role in informing the public of the insurrection in the vilayet of Shkodra, and the London-based *Times* reported regularly and extensively on Balkan events, which was no coincidence. The newspaper's correspondent in the Balkans since 1892 had been James Bouchier, a member of the Balkan Committee. Furthermore, Edith Durham, an activist and member of the Balkan Committee and the Macedonian Relief Fund, published the majority of her writings in the same newspaper.

The Balkan Committee succeeded in making the British public responsive to Albanian uprising of 1911 and the humanitarian situation in the vilayet of Shkodra. The success of a fundraising campaign for relief was attributed to Bouchier, the *Times* correspondent in the Balkans, while two British members of the Macedonian Relief Fund, Henry W. Nevinson, and Edith Durham took credit for its actual distribution.

The Young Turks' centralizing policies created the preconditions for a joint resistance in the Balkans. There had been talks between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, and the Albanians and the Greeks and the Serbs to establish a common front. The prominent Albanian nationalist Ismail Qemali, who proclaimed Albania's independence in November 1912, appears to have had active contact with the Balkan Committee during the uprisings of 1912. Although the Balkan Committee's awareness campaign played an important part in sensitizing British political and public opinion to the Albanian insurrection of 1911, it did not succeed in uniting the political actors in the Balkans and thus failed to organize a general Balkan uprising, an undertaking that was, in fact, beyond its capacities and outside of the British government's interests.

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**НЕМА ВИШЕ СИРОЧАДИ!: ХОМОГЕНИЗУЈУЋА ПОЛИТИКА
МЛАДОТУРАКА, АЛБАНСКА РЕАКЦИЈА И БАЛКАНСКИ КОМИТЕТ
У ЛОНДОНУ 1910–1912**

Резиме

У раду се разматра реакција албанских националиста на хомогенизујућу и централизујућу политику Младотурака у Соманском царству. Пошто су Младотурци дошли на власт, фокус албанских националиста био је на подизању међународне свести и обезбеђивању подршке за њихова национална права. Додатно, њихова усредсређеност била је на тешкој хуманитарној ситуацији у Скадарском вилајету. Ови напори су се приближили Балканском комитету у Лондону који је основан 1903. после дешавања везаним за Илинденски устанак. У раду се истражују разлози због којих је Балкански комитет у Лондону постао заинтересован за Албански устанак у Скадарском вилајету 1911. године. Аналитичким приступом и омоћу бројних извора, у раду се закључује да је Балкански комитет успео да тешку хуманитарну ситуацију Албанаца начини пријемчивом у британском јавном мњењу. Ипак, он није успео да уједини политичке актере на Балкану и стога је био неуспешан у организацији општег балканског устанка, што је очито био подухват изван могућности Комитета, као и ван интереса британске владе.

Кључне речи: Младотурци, Балкански комитет, албански устанци, Османско царство, Скадарски вилајет, Македонски хумантарни фонд, Исмаил Кемал Влора, хуманитарна ситуација.

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SCHOOL GARDENS IN SLOVENIA AS A TEACHING TOOL, WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE CENTRAL SCHOOL GARDEN IN LJUBLJANA IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Abstract: This paper focuses on Slovenian territory. It explores the development of the idea of a school garden as a teaching tool and its practical implementation within work school principles and looks at differences between urban and rural areas. The article covers the period from the nineteenth century to the mid-1930s, with a particular focus on the interwar period. The central school garden in Ljubljana is presented as an example of a central city school garden. This particular school garden was abolished in 1934, but school gardens remained a part of the curriculum until 1941. The article draws on information from the literature and archival sources from the Historical Archives Ljubljana.

Keywords: school garden, work school, Ljubljana, Drava Banate, agriculture.

1. Introduction

The concept of a garden includes the aspects of profitability and aesthetics.¹ A school garden, however, is a specific teaching and learning tool with a particular role within children's general compulsory education. Teachers need to possess knowledge of how to maintain the garden.² In Europe, the first school gardens were created in Sweden and Belgium.³ In Sweden, the first school gardens were reported in 1842,⁴ and they gradually spread to other parts of Europe as well.

One of the first records of school gardens in Slovenia was written by Anton Martin Slomšek (1800–1862), a Slovenian bishop, writer, and poet, in an 1842 book titled *Blaže in Nežica v nedeljski šoli* (Blaže and Nežica in Sunday School).⁵ The Slovenian school system followed the structure of the Austrian model. The first Austrian Primary Education Act of 1774 made school mandatory for all children, regardless of gender, social status, or place of

¹ Bavdaž 2015: 298.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lopan 1880: 66.

⁴ Pogačnik 2013: 7.

⁵ Ribarič 2015: 263.

residence (cities or the countryside).⁶ Compulsory primary education lasted from the age of six until twelve, when children were expected to have acquired the necessary knowledge for their future role in society, according to their class.⁷ The act introduced three types of primary schools and differentiated the contents of instruction according to class: the *trivialke* for peasants, and the main schools and the *normalke* for the bourgeoisie and as preparation for further studies.⁸

In the rural areas, primary-level education was provided by two-year elementary schools called *trivialke*. Their educational objectives focused mainly on literacy and on giving helpful guidance for everyday life. In addition to religion, these schools mainly taught reading, writing, and a bit of arithmetic.⁹ To consolidate the acquired knowledge and increase literacy, in 1816, a decree by the Court Committee for Education made Sunday school compulsory for youth between the ages of twelve and fifteen.¹⁰

Slomšek, the initiator of Sunday schools, also introduced many useful teachings for the common people in *Blaže and Nežica in Sunday School* about fruit growing, which was one of the main branches of agriculture at the time. He encouraged parents and teachers to instill in children a positive attitude towards work by, for example, entrusting them with the care of a fruit tree.¹¹ Through his teachings, he sought to improve Slovene's financial situation and educational level. His encouragement of Sunday school pupils to take an interest in fruit growing can be interpreted as an attempt at the school garden idea, which was given a legal basis after the adoption of the Primary Education Act of 1869, which established the principles of teaching at primary schools.¹² Among other things, it also laid the foundations for school gardens at teachers' schools at the upper secondary level and in primary schools,¹³ introduced general compulsory education, and laid the foundations for the development of secular education.

Primary schools came under provincial autonomy. The Primary Education Act abolished the division of primary education into the three types of schools (the *trivialke*, *normalke*, and main schools). This division reflected class divisions within society and discrimination against pupils from the lower classes by denying them further education and thus the possibility of social advancement.¹⁴ The new act prescribed eight years of compulsory schooling for all children between the ages of six and fourteen but allowed the provinces to reduce this obligation to six years.¹⁵ With expanded curricula and improved teacher training, the quality of instruction improved. This act also introduced four-year teachers' schools for women and men, which provided a higher quality of general and vocational education.¹⁶

⁶ Schmidt 1963: 179.

⁷ *Ibid.* 180.

⁸ *Ibid.* 179.

⁹ Okoliš 2008: 59.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 61.

¹¹ Praprotnik 1883: 5.

¹² Heinz 1895: 13.

¹³ Bavdaž 2015: 298.

¹⁴ Protner 2020: 397.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 399–400.

The act also included several provisions relevant to school gardens: Article 27 stated that each teachers' school should have a suitable piece of land for practical training in agricultural work.¹⁷ For teachers' schools for men, Article 29 also prescribed, among other subjects, "the study of agriculture with a special focus on the soil conditions in their place of origin."¹⁸ Article 63 provided for the creation of school gardens in rural municipalities to facilitate practical training in farm work.¹⁹ Although the legislation did not provide for agricultural instruction as a separate subject in primary schools, a new subject called *pririodopis* (natural science) appeared in the primary school curricula from 1869 onwards. It was taught in the fifth grade for two hours a day.²⁰ The goal of teaching natural science was to instill in children a positive attitude towards nature; familiarize them with animals, plants, and rocks; and to put this knowledge into practice. School gardens were an excellent opportunity to do just that.

The school garden was meant to be a model for village gardens, and the teachers were respected figures among the rural population who taught how to cultivate better quality fruit and vegetables.²¹ Smart farming was meant to increase the yields of the peasant population and entire village communities.

The Slovenian provinces were agrarian with a predominantly agricultural economy. They were part of the less developed areas of the Austrian half of the monarchy, but were about average in comparison to the entire monarchy.²² In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Slovenian farmers faced issues of over-indebtedness and economic decline due to the penetration of the market economy into the countryside and the introduction of a money economy.²³

In the late nineteenth century, when the peasant economy was in decline, school gardens were seen as one way to develop agriculture in the Slovenian provinces. Particular emphasis was placed on fruit growing, which was meant to help the peasant population overcome their economic difficulties. The gardening teachers would show the pupils how to care for fruit trees in practice and distribute tree seedlings to the farmers in the villages where they worked, thus promoting fruit cultivation.²⁴

However, this was rarely implemented in practice. In the Slovenian countryside, the condition of school gardens varied. In addition to exemplary school gardens, some were neglected or did not exist at all if the land was unsuitable or if the local school councils were unwilling to purchase adequate land for a garden. The reasons for this were often financial.²⁵ Additionally teachers did not acquire enough practical knowledge at the teachers' schools, nor were they provided with any teaching aids to introduce them to school gardening. Therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture commissioned Gustav Pirc (1859–1923), the

¹⁷ Heinz 1895: 31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 49.

²⁰ Ribarič 2015: 264.

²¹ *Ibid.* 66–67.

²² Lazarevič 2009: 39.

²³ Lazarevič 1994: 14.

²⁴ Učiteljski tovariš, 1 May 1885, vol. 25, No. 9, 130, Šolski vrti.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 131.

secretary of the Carniolan Agricultural Society and a traveling agriculture teacher,²⁶ to write an professional manual on school gardening titled *Vrtnarstvo s posebnim ozirom na obdelovanje in oskrbovanje šolskih vrtov* (Gardening with a Particular Focus on the Cultivation and Maintenance of School Gardens).²⁷

Teachers learned more about agriculture at courses organized in agricultural schools by the Ministry of Education. Courses for teachers from the monarchy's Slovenian provinces were initially held in Vienna and Graz, and they were attended by teachers who worked successfully in agriculture in their home environments and reported on their efforts and experiences in educational and agricultural journals.²⁸ After the establishment of agricultural schools in the Slovenian provinces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Slovenian teachers could attend courses in Maribor, Slap (near Vipava), Grm (near Novo mesto), and Šentjur (near Celje).²⁹

According to the teachers, some school gardens were neglected not only due to a lack of agriculture knowledge but also because of inadequate financial support, which was insufficient to cover all their related expenses. Sometimes, there was no financial support at all. Consequently, many gardening teachers were forced to earn additional income or use the school gardens for their own needs.³⁰

As indicated in an article from 1912 in *Učiteljski tovariš*, a leading educational journal, teachers were also critical of agricultural courses, which often accepted young teachers without any practical experience or even a school garden at all.³¹ Although the article does not indicate the rule for selecting the teachers for the training courses, we can assume that the selection criteria varied from one primary school to another.

The Primary Education Act of 1869 focused on rural school gardens rather than urban ones. Erasmus Schwab, the author of the first practical manual about this subject (*Der Volksschulgarten. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Aufgabe unserer Volkserziehung*, 1870), which included guidelines for creating school gardens based on the provisions in the act, also discussed the importance of school gardens in the cities.³² He particularly emphasized the health, educational, and aesthetic functions of urban school gardens. Max Machanek, a Moravian member of the National Assembly, contributed plans for the "ideal school gardens" contained in the booklet.³³ The authors were aware of beautiful examples of school gardens in some primary schools that predated the 1869 Primary Education Act. What had been missing, though, was a single, systematic, carefully considered, and educationally oriented school garden design. They hoped that their work would be a step in that direction.³⁴ However,

²⁶ In 1884, Gustav Pirc was appointed as a traveling teacher of agriculture. By appointing and employing itinerant teachers, the provincial government supported the development of agriculture in its territory. Traveling teachers were appointed for a specific area or specific profession (e.g., viticulture, dairy farming, etc.). Their main task was to educate the peasant population. In: Šalehar, Rupnik, Lotrič 2011: 12.

²⁷ Levec 1888: 444.

²⁸ Hojan 2015: 347.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Učiteljski tovariš*, 19 April 1912, vol. 52, No. 16, 1, Šolski vrtovi in njih oskrbniki.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Bavdaž 2015: 299, 301. Erasmus Schwab was a teacher and district school inspector. In: *Ibid.* 299.

³³ *Ibid.* 299.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 301.

when putting the ideas of these authors into practice, it was necessary consider that the design of school gardens depended on the location, size, and soil quality of the school garden site.

Gardening teachers from the Slovenian provinces received the booklet with mixed feelings. In particular, they hoped for additional funding that would enable them to put the advice it contained into practice.³⁵

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the reform pedagogy³⁶ movement increasingly gained prominence. It advocated a balance between children's individual characteristics or abilities and their natural need to work and be active. Within reform pedagogy, various didactic approaches were developed that shared common foundations but were based on different ideas and implementation methods, and they did not all emerge simultaneously (e.g., the Maria Montessori method and the Waldorf School). However, as an alternative to the traditional school, they supported efforts for education in nature and for work schools.³⁷ The idea of work schools is based on the idea that children learn through their own activity rather than through strict frontal instruction. Work schools were therefore based on the consistent application of the principle of the pupil's activity during the learning process.³⁸ Work schools were not intended to abolish the traditional school as such, but rather only to encourage a different approach to learning. School gardens were one of the elements of work schools.

The idea of school gardens continued into the interwar period. However, in the newly established Yugoslav state, they were only required by law for rural schools, but not for urban schools. The *Zakon o narodnih šolah* (The National Schools Act of 1930) provided for the establishment of school gardens in cities only if conditions allowed for them.³⁹ In the interwar period, school gardens were also a means of learning about agriculture, fruit growing, vegetable growing, beekeeping, and floriculture. They instilled in pupils an appreciation of nature and enjoyment of and a desire to work.⁴⁰ Of course, only a well-kept and carefully tended school garden could serve as a teaching tool.

2. School gardens as a teaching tool in the interwar period

In the interwar period, Slovenia was a predominantly agrarian society in which half of the national income came from agriculture and was the primary source of income for around 60 % of the population.⁴¹ As an economic and social group, peasants were crucial for social stability. The agricultural industry faced many difficulties regarding production intensification. The main issues included the fragmentation of agricultural holdings, low productivity and consequently low return on agricultural work, and poor education of the rural population.⁴²

³⁵ Učiteljski tovariš, 1 August 1871, vol. 11, No. 15, 226, Šolski vert.

³⁶ Protner 2017: 116. In the Anglo-Saxon world the name progressive paradigm (author's note).

³⁷ Protner 2017: 116.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Official Gazette of the Royal Ban's Administration of the Drava Banate, vol. 1, No. 25, 28 January 1930, 283.

⁴⁰ Učiteljski tovariš, 19 August 1926, vol. 66, No. 2, 5, Šolski vrtovi in kmetijski pouk.

⁴¹ Lazarević 2022: 20.

⁴² *Ibid.*

The guidelines for maintaining school gardens in the Ljubljana Administrative Unit were laid down in the Higher School Council instructions of June 15, 1921.⁴³ Although there is no explicit indication in these guidelines of whether the instructions were aimed at the rural school gardens exclusively, the specified goals nevertheless suggest that the gardens located in the countryside were the primary focus of the pedagogical profession.

School gardens were the responsibility of local school boards, school administrators, and gardening teachers and had to be at least ten acres large,⁴⁴ not including the schoolyard, sports facilities, and the school building. In the autumn, each gardening teacher had to draw up a work plan, which was essentially a sketch of the school garden on a 1:100 scale.⁴⁵ The sketch had to include the locations of beds and which crops were planned for the following year. The work plans were kept in the school archives and served as a guide for future gardening teachers. School garden maintenance counted as one of the teachers' qualifications.⁴⁶ By the end of June every year, the gardening teachers had to submit a report on the state of the school gardens and land to the Education Inspector of the Ljubljana Administrative Unit.⁴⁷

With the establishment of the Drava Banate, the Ban's Administration re-emphasized the importance of school gardens as a teaching tool for agricultural and natural science education. It urged the local school boards and gardening teachers to follow the instructions for the preparation and maintenance of school gardens issued by the Higher School Board in 1921.⁴⁸ These instructions were to be brought to the attention of the members of the local school board once again at their first regular meetings, and all necessary steps were to be taken to improve school gardening. Fruit cultivation was the most important, and the Ban's Administration ordered all districts to draw up a tabular overview of all of their schools by March 1, 1931, that would indicate which schools did not have school gardens and why, which schools did, and which schools did not have a tree nursery and why. The relevant information was provided by the gardening teachers through the school administrations.⁴⁹

The archival materials do not include the results the individual districts communicated to the Ban's Administration, so the information about school gardens in the Drava Banate at the beginning of 1934 found in the February 22 edition of *Učiteljski tovariš* will be used here as an example.⁵⁰ Throughout the Banate, 705 schools had their own school gardens; 13 schools used school gardens that were owned by the administrative municipalities; 23 schools rented land for their school gardens; and 90 schools had no school garden. In terms of organization and maintenance, 211 gardens were considered excellent,

⁴³ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Poročilo o stanju in oskrbovanju šolskih vrtov, 1 May 1928. The present contribution focuses on the Ljubljana Administrative Unit. I assume that the Maribor authorities implemented similar rules regarding school gardens (author's note).

⁴⁴ *Učiteljski tovariš*, 19 August 1926, vol. 66, No. 2, 5, Šolski vrtovi in kmetijski pouk.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Poročilo o stanju in oskrbovanju šolskih vrtov, 1 May 1928.

⁴⁸ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Ureditev šolskih vrtov, 31 January 1931.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Učiteljski tovariš*, 22 February 1934, vol. 74, No. 28, 1, Šolstvo in prosveta v Dravski banovini.

309 were good, and 209 were satisfactory or poor.⁵¹ Local school boards contributed funds to improve school gardens, particularly for garden fences and the purchase of necessary tools. The Banate also contributed funds, especially for prizes for outstanding school gardens and for individual awards given to the most diligent gardening teachers. To ensure further training of teachers, the Ban's Administration organized two-day courses in each district, where gardening teachers familiarized themselves with the school gardening guidelines. At the beginning of 1934, the Ban's Administration, in a report on course attendance, noted that the courses were well attended, although the participants had to cover their own travel and food expenses.⁵² Although the number of course participants, which would indicate the level of interest among gardening teachers, is not stated in the journal, it does highlight an increase in initiative among teachers to learn about school gardening. In almost all districts, teachers organized school gardening clubs to share experiences and ensure networking and cooperation.⁵³

The National Schools Act did not make urban school gardens compulsory, but it did recommend them if the conditions were right. However, this does not mean that decision-makers in urban areas were not aware of the significance of school gardens as teaching tools.

3. The central school garden in Ljubljana

At a teachers' conference in Ljubljana in 1921, Andrej Skulj (1880–1956), a teacher, school garden supervisor, and organizer of the Fruit Growers and Gardeners Association for Slovenia,⁵⁴ put forward the idea of establishing central school gardens in Slovenian cities.⁵⁵ Many schools in the city did not have a school garden because they lacked the appropriate facilities or their gardens were not fit for the purpose. Skulj stated the educational and pedagogical reasons for creating central school gardens, and drew attention to the destruction of urban plantations and promenades by certain youth groups due to "loitering," by which he meant aimless activities that encouraged idleness, such as "bouncing balls around incessantly."⁵⁶ Skulj stressed the importance for children of exercise and play, but he believed too many children were left to the streets. Therefore, he shared the opinion of the part of the teaching profession that advocated for youth education to encourage respect for work and nature. This purpose could be achieved with central school gardens, where, under the guidance of a gardening teacher, the youth would learn about cultivating various crops and would grow them on their own while developing a positive attitude towards work and the environment. The creation of central school gardens in Slovenian towns was also important for education as a tool for teaching natural sciences.⁵⁷

Skulj adopted the idea of central school gardens in Slovenian towns from the German physician and orthopedist Daniel Gottlieb Moritz Schreber (1808–1861), who had argued

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Arko 1972: 5.

⁵⁵ Skulj 1922: 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

in the nineteenth century for reform in urban children's education.⁵⁸ One of Schreber's main ideas was to create gardens as a didactic tool for urban children and where they would take care of the plants themselves. The gardens would contribute to urban children's harmonious and healthy development.⁵⁹ At Schreber's initiative, gardens were established in some of the German cities, where they served as educational facilities and as a place for children to play in a natural environment. Gradually, urban school gardens spread to other parts of Europe and to major cities in the United States.

In 1922, "after much consultation," those in the Ljubljana municipality reached a decision to establish a central school garden.⁶⁰ Of the seventeen school buildings in Ljubljana, only one, the school in Barje (Ljubljana Marshes), had a suitable school garden, so the representatives of the Ljubljana schools, the urban municipality, and experts in education and construction chose it as the site for a central school garden for all the primary and secondary schools in Ljubljana.⁶¹ The municipality allocated two plots of land for the central school garden: one for the garden and another one for a playground, thereby complying with the stipulations of the Ljubljana Higher School Council Decree of June 15, 1921,⁶² the instructions of the Commission for Education and Worship of May 10, 1921, and the Ljubljana Higher School Council Decree of October 18, 1921,⁶³ which provided for the establishment of school gardens measuring at least ten acres near the school buildings.⁶⁴

It was impossible to set up suitable school gardens next to the existing school buildings, so the central school garden was established in the Ljubljana suburb of Trnovo.⁶⁵ It measured 1705 square meters.⁶⁶ The founders were guided by the conviction that it would be beneficial to introduce the city's youth to certain branches of agriculture because it would encourage a general appreciation of farm work and labor as well as encourage respect for nature. Furthermore, working in the school garden would discourage bad habits and satisfy the desire to exercise. In addition to the educational benefits, school gardens were also healthy, as they promoted exercising in the fresh air.⁶⁷ The health benefits were exceedingly important because of the prevalence of tuberculosis, which was also considered a social disease⁶⁸ that spread most rapidly in times of war, deprivation, and poverty. It reached its peak in the Slovenian provinces at the turn of the twentieth century.⁶⁹ At this time, the fight

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moritz_Schreber

⁶⁰ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Poročilo o centralnem šolskem vrtu, ki ga je podal upravitelj na anketi dne 10. 1. 1929 v posvetovalnici mestnega magistrata v Ljubljani.

⁶¹ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Ureditev šolskih vrtov v Ljubljani, 26 May 1928. The Barje school was located on the edge of the Ljubljana Marshes (author's note).

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Učiteljski tovariš, 19 August 1926, vol. 66, No. 2, 5, Šolski vrtovi in kmetijski pouk.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Ureditev šolskih vrtov v Ljubljani, 26 May 1928.

⁶⁶ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 1, item 1, Poročilo o ljubljanskih osnovnih šolah, mestnih otroških vrtcih, zavetiščih in šolskih ustanovah za leto 1929.

⁶⁷ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Ureditev šolskih vrtov v Ljubljani, 26 May 1928.

⁶⁸ Zupanič Slavec 2005: 77.

⁶⁹ Jaunig, Zupanič Slavec 2012: 362–385.

against tuberculosis in Slovenia was still in its infancy, but the anti-tuberculosis campaign was relatively well implemented through the use of both preventive and curative measures.⁷⁰

By combining all the components the central school garden would bring to life, the city of Ljubljana envisaged a future urban colony of small apartments with landscaped gardens.⁷¹ The municipality, in cooperation with educational experts, therefore sought to raise awareness among the youth of the importance of cultivating land in an urban environment—not only for the sake of developing a positive attitude towards work, nature, and health but also for purely practical reasons. Children were expected to bring all this awareness into their home environment.

The garden was managed by the teacher Josip Kobal, who served as the main administrator, along with the teachers Alojzij Škrinjar and Zora Rugelj.⁷² The administrator's duties were defined in a contract between the local school board in Ljubljana and the manager of the central school garden.⁷³ Of course, the contract also specified the obligations of the local school board. The latter was obliged to purchase fruit tree seedlings, herbs, and ornamental flowers. The garden was filled with fruit trees, vegetables, and flowers. Part of the vegetables were donated to the city shelter on Japljeva Street in Ljubljana, and the other part was sold at the city market, with the proceeds going to the city coffers.⁷⁴ Every year, the manager was obliged to plant, graft, and maintain 1000 trees in the nursery.⁷⁵ According to the manager's data for 1927, the tree nursery contained around 3500 grafted trees, and there were 90 apple trees in the orchard.⁷⁶ At the end of their schooling, each pupil would receive a small tree as a souvenir if they wished to have one and if their parents had a garden within the Ljubljana municipality.⁷⁷

Manual labor in the central school garden was carried out by municipal workers, and the municipality supplied manure and took care of rubbish collection. The local school board was obliged to provide the administrator with a pair of horses for plowing and transporting various supplies. At the end of each fiscal year, the administrator and the two teachers were entitled to a cash allowance of 1,500 dinars for clothing and footwear expenses.⁷⁸

Kobal's goal was to ensure that the central school garden served as a model garden for the youth and citizens in general, as well as an ornament for the municipality. This was also the expectation of the Ljubljana municipality. Archival records indicate, however, that

⁷⁰ Zupanič Slavec 2005: 77.

⁷¹ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Ureditev šolskih vrtov v Ljubljani, 26 May 1928.

⁷² SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 1, item 1, Šolstvo v Ljubljani, 1928 and SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Uprava centralnega šolskega vrta, 2 June 1926.

⁷³ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Pogodba, 31 August 1928. In the archives, I only found a contract dated 31 August 1928. As the central school garden was established in 1922, I assume that this is a renewal of the contract (author's note).

⁷⁴ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 1, item 1, Šolstvo v Ljubljani, 1928.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Uprava centralnega šolskega vrta. Proračun za leto 1928, 4 October 1927.

⁷⁷ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Pogodba, 31 August 1928.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

the garden did not completely fulfill its purpose because the city and the administrator disagreed about the financing required for its infrastructure. Kobal had warned the city's school board, government, and the finance office that a fence needed to be built around the garden to protect it from theft and damage, primarily from rabbits. For example, during the winter of 1925/26, rabbits gnawed on over 1,000 trees in the nursery, causing over 10,000 dinars in damage.⁷⁹ Thefts of vegetables and flowers were also common,⁸⁰ which most likely had been the result of vandalism and social hardship. Kobal also claimed the fence was necessary due to the nearby inhabitants who had started using the path through the central school garden to cut through to the other side. Whenever the administrator, garden workers, or teachers pointed out that the path was not public, they were shouted at.⁸¹

The fence was not the only problem. The garden lacked other necessities for proper maintenance. For example, it had no water supply,⁸² which affected the yield, especially during droughts such as the one in the summer of 1928.⁸³ At first, garden workers, teachers, and children would get water from neighbors or the nearby town knacker. However, the city health office forbade the use of water from the town knacker, probably for hygienic reasons. Meanwhile, the people in the immediate area were unwilling to provide water on the pretext that the municipality should ensure a water supply. Kobal warned the city authorities that children were unable to wash their hands or quench their thirst when visiting the garden and the playground, and that they often asked for water at the surrounding houses, which resulted in complaints from the neighbors.⁸⁴ Due to the lack of access to running water,⁸⁵ restrooms were not provided either, which only worsened the hygiene issue. Kobal proposed to the local school board in Ljubljana that it finance the construction of a plumbing system with the profits from the produce sales.⁸⁶

Another shortcoming of the central school garden was the lack of suitable storage space for seeds, tubers, and bulbs. There was also no shelter for teachers and pupils during inclement weather.⁸⁷ Kobal also proposed installing an apiary to provide the Ljubljana primary and secondary school youth with a practical introduction to economical and advanced beekeeping. Kobal had also been a beekeeper since 1911 and owned twenty hives, and he expressed his willingness to move these to the central school garden.⁸⁸

⁷⁹ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Naprava ograje, 11 February 1928.

⁸⁰ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Proračun za leto 1928, 4 October 1927.

⁸¹ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Naprava ograje, 11 February 1928.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Prošnja za dovolitev naprave gnojaka in vodovoda, 5 September 1928.

⁸⁴ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Proračun za leto 1928, 4 October 1927.

⁸⁵ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Poročilo o centralnem šolskem vrtu, ki ga je podal upravitelj na anketi dne 10. 1. 1929 v posvetovalnici mestnega magistrata v Ljubljani.

⁸⁶ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Prošnja za dovolitev naprave gnojaka in vodovoda, 5 September 1928.

⁸⁷ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Uprava centralnega šolskega vrta, 2 July 1928.

⁸⁸ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Naprava čebelnjaka, 14 August 1929.

Protecting the central school garden with a fence and setting up all the necessary infrastructure would allow Kobal to fulfill his contractual obligations to improve the garden and increase its yield to cover the municipality's related financial expenditures.⁸⁹ He had ambitious ideas regarding the garden's improvement. However, over the years, he became less willing to keep pointing out shortcomings and abandoned some of his plans. For example, he had initially planned to intensively cultivate dwarf fruit trees, ornamental shrubs, roses, and perennials, but abandoned these plans due to constant theft.⁹⁰ He acknowledged the municipality's financial contribution to the garden's maintenance but also complained about the still insufficient investments, which had forced him to "focus on primitive gardening and the simplest crops while abandoning the cultivation of all high-quality produce that would nevertheless be stolen."⁹¹

With such management, the central school garden in fact lost its essence. The city authorities insisted that its financial contribution was sufficient and expected the land allocated for the garden to be cultivated more intensively and to produce quality crops. They accused Kobal of devaluing the purpose of the school garden with his "primitive commercial methods" of growing lots of fruit trees, cucumbers, cabbage, kale, etc. He sold the produce, which was not in accordance with the mission of the teaching profession.⁹² Due to the conflict of interest between the municipality and the central school garden management, the city authorities proposed redeveloping the garden, reducing its size, and transforming the remainder of the land into a "promotional urban garden."⁹³ The latter could serve as a model for garden owners and other horticulture enthusiasts in Ljubljana. Reducing the size of the central school garden would make it easier to maintain and allow it to fulfill its actual purpose. To implement the proposal, the municipality organized a meeting at the beginning of January 1929 to discuss the issue. It was attended by the representatives of the Ljubljana Local School Board; experts in the field of agronomy; the administrator of the central school garden; Andrej Skulj, the government supervisor in charge of school gardens; the manager of the Barje primary school, which had a well-maintained school garden; and Anton Likozar, who represented the mayor, Dinko Puc.⁹⁴ During the meeting, a decision was made to divide the central school garden into two sections. One section, which was connected to the school, would be managed by Josip Kobal, while the rest of the land would be converted into a municipal garden center overseen by an expert who answered to the city authorities.⁹⁵ Both sections would be financed from the municipal budget.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Naprava ograje, 11 February 1928.

⁹⁰ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Poročilo o centralnem šolskem vrtu, ki ga je podal upravitelj na anketi dne 10. 1. 1929 v posvetovalnici mestnega magistrata v Ljubljani

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Mestni gradbeni urad Ljubljana, uradno poročilo, 8 November 1928.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Zapisnik sestavljen povodom sestanka strokovnjakov, sklicanih od Krajevnega šolskega odbora ljubljanskega, v svrhu delitve in ureditve Centralnega šolskega vrta v Ljubljani, dne 10. 1. 1929 v mestni posvetovalnici.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Naprava ograje,

The shortcomings resulting from a lack of suitable infrastructure, which Kobal had been pointing out all along, soon became apparent when the city garden center decided not to plant better high-quality ornamental plants on the unfenced plot due to theft.⁹⁷ Kobal's efforts to get a fence built stretched into the 1930s without any success. Moreover, in a letter to the Ban's Administration dated March 7, 1932, the municipality made it clear that the central school garden had always been a financial burden for the city.⁹⁸ In the fiscal year of 1931/32, it was no longer able to include it in the annual budget. It justified this decision by referring to the National Schools Act provision that did not categorically require municipalities to financially maintain school gardens if it was not possible for them to do so. However, the city authorities claimed they were unable to finance the garden due to extreme restrictions imposed on the municipal budget by the Ministry of Finance in response to the Great Depression.⁹⁹ Article 22 of the National Schools Act stipulated that municipalities had to allocate land for school gardens "according to their capabilities."¹⁰⁰ The legislation therefore provided for the possibility of allocating land rather than options for supporting the land financially. This called their argument and the different interpretations of the provision into question.

Nevertheless, the municipality's second argument was well-founded, which was also reflected in the drafting of the 1931/32 budget. During its preparation, the Ban's Administration took into account the initial consequences of the economic crisis. At the first meeting of the Ban's Council on January 20, 1931, Ban Drago Marušič presented the basic premises on which the budget for 1931/32 had been drawn up: work, austerity, and economy.¹⁰¹ Interestingly, Ban Marušič denied the city's claim that it was unable to finance the central school garden and the attached playground.¹⁰² Both facilities were of significant educational, training, and health importance, and following a decree from the Ministry of Education on February 8, 1931 and a decision proposed at the Banate School Committee session of March 6, 1931, Ban Marušič decided to maintain and improve this institution with the necessary infrastructure—first and foremost a fence. To relieve the municipality of its financial burden, he proposed that the garden be operated commercially, though not to the detriment of its fundamental educational purpose.¹⁰³

The city authorities disagreed with the decision of the Ban's Administration and the Ministry of Education, and appealed to the State Council of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which was the highest administrative court in the country.¹⁰⁴ The State Council found that

10 September 1930.

⁹⁷ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Poročilo in predlogi glede preureditve Centralnega šolskega vrta, 19 April 1929.

⁹⁸ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Ureditev centralnega šolskega vrta, 21 March 1932.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Official Gazette of the Royal Ban's Administration of the Drava Banate, 28 January 1930, vol. 1, No. 25, 283.

¹⁰¹ Dobaja 2018: 51.

¹⁰² SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Kraljevska banska uprava dravske banovine v Ljubljani, 14 March 1931.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Državni svet kraljevine Jugoslavije, 9 December 1933.

the municipality was not obliged to maintain the central school garden and playground according to the National Schools Act and ruled in favor of the City of Ljubljana. The Ljubljana municipality had voluntarily contributed land for the garden and playground in 1921. It was not obligated to do so under the National Schools Act, so its contribution and the maintenance of the garden and playground was a voluntary act that it could withdraw from at any time.¹⁰⁵ The Supreme Administrative Court's decision marked the end of the central school garden and the playground. At the beginning of 1934, the city's school supervisor informed the local school board that the central school garden and playground had been abolished.

The city authorities and all other interested parties that had contributed to the creation of the central school garden and playground in Ljubljana were aware of these facilities' general importance for the city's youth. However, their practical implementation had been accompanied by conflicts of interest and Kobal's constant pleas and efforts to ensure the required infrastructure. During this constant struggle for the garden and the playground, the educational process nevertheless proceeded. The pupils and teachers from Ljubljana's primary and secondary schools visited the garden and enjoyed the playground. The teachers Škrinjar and Rugelj, who were in charge of the playground and supported Kobal, kept warning the school board that the playground was untidy and unattractive for children.¹⁰⁶ They requested that it intervene with the city government to obtain financial resources for the playground, which was located in a meadow that flooded and became inaccessible during heavy rains. The two teachers suggested that the drains should be cleaned and the playground be covered with sand and equipped with a fence. There needed to be fruit trees planted and benches placed under the trees to provide shelter during the warmer months, and there was a plan to build a running track around the playground. City workers started building it, but it was never completed. There also needed to be gymnastic equipment in the center. Like Kobal, the two teachers pointed out the need for plumbing, sanitary facilities, a shelter in case of bad weather, and a storage room for the tools for the central school garden.¹⁰⁷ Their pleas fell on deaf ears.

3.1. The central school garden and playground attendance

These issues were also reflected in attendance. The central school garden was meant to be visited by primary and secondary school pupils starting from the fifth grade. Attendance was generally poor, erratic, and the children were unsupervised. Some of the classes did not visit the garden or would only drop by briefly, and the children were not actively involved. They would listen to the teachers' explanations and observe.¹⁰⁸ In his 1928 report, the government school garden supervisor Andrej Skulj pointed this out and suggested that pupils should be given special beds to tend to on their own, from sowing to

¹⁰⁵ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, centralni šolski vrt – ukinitev, 21 February 1934.

¹⁰⁶ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Uredba igrišča, 2 June 1926.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Uradno poročilo o stanju in preureditvi Centralnega šolskega vrta, 8 November 1928.

harvest. This would bring out their creativity,¹⁰⁹ which was also one of the primary purposes of school gardens as a teaching tool that would put the work school principles into practice.

To ensure that the central school garden actually fulfilled its purpose, in an official report on the state and redevelopment of the garden dated November 8, 1928, the municipal building office asked the local school board to ensure day-long visits by all classes at least every two weeks, weather permitting.¹¹⁰ Poor attendance was not only the result of the municipality's meager contributions but also of the schools themselves failing to properly organize visits. The local school board need to be more vigorous in organizing visits and ensuring the children participated more actively in the central school garden. The city construction office also praised the work of the garden administrator and the two teachers who were mainly in charge of the playground and rejected accusations that they were to blame for poor attendance.¹¹¹

The education department kept records of visits for each school year. The following are the figures for the years available in the archives:

In the school year 1927/28, 58 classes visited the central school garden and playground 137 times. The total number of visitors was 3,028.¹¹² The education department was pleased with the attendance and confident it would improve further once the garden and the playground were finally completed. Dr. Karel Capuder, the acting education inspector who reviewed the attendance data, pointed out lower attendance during the holidays, when mostly only those children who lived nearby visited the facilities.¹¹³ He believed that parents were mostly responsible for the poor attendance because they were not aware of the importance of the garden and the playground for education, training, and well-being. This was particularly true for those children who stayed in the city during the holidays. He hoped that after the garden and the playground were completed, the number of visitors would also increase during the holidays. He asked the education department to make the teachers aware of the importance of the school garden and to encourage youth to visit during their free time and holidays.¹¹⁴

In the school year 1928/29, 40 classes visited the central school garden and playground 174 times. The total number of visitors was 3,870.¹¹⁵ A comparison with the previous school year shows that, although fewer classes visited the garden, they did so more often. The number of visitors increased as well. This school year was more successful because of opportunities for the pupils to actively participate. The garden administrator implemented the recommendations from experts: in the spring, he allocated a twelve-acre plot of land to individual schools. The pupils independently cultivated the plot, and they actively participated in the garden activities under the supervision of their class teachers. The administrator provided the required seeds, seedlings, and tools. All the crops were their property.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Obisk centralnega šolskega vrta in igrišča, 26 October 1928.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Obisk vrta, 20 November 1929.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Sources in the archives testify to Kobal's efforts to improve the quality of the garden and contribute to the visitors' well-beings. In the 1928/29 school year, he also created a small botanical garden that included interesting plants, including poisonous ones.¹¹⁷

In the school year 1929/30, attendance was the least satisfactory compared to the other two years, with a total of only 1,638 visitors,¹¹⁸ and 55 classes visited the central school garden and playground 120 times. In his report to the education department, the administrator especially praised the teachers at the special needs school, who had taken over 1.5 acres of the garden and cultivated it together with the children.¹¹⁹ They had also visited the garden most often. Their gardening efforts were probably also a part of the educational work with children with special needs.

The administrator blamed the lack of appropriate infrastructure in the garden and playground for such poor attendance, which he pointed out every year. During this school year, he also took an innovative approach to improving the number of visits, which was comparable to modern holiday childcare. He sent a request to primary school headmasters for lists of children who would like to come to the garden and the playground during the holidays. Only the first primary school for girls responded and sent a list of 26 names with the comment that the playground was not usable due to inadequate facilities, including the lack of drinking water, toilets, and shelter in case of bad weather.¹²⁰ The special needs school saw the administrator's proposal as a replacement for holiday colonies and pointed out the social and health aspects. During the summer holidays, it was mainly the poorer children who stayed in the city, and they were malnourished and exposed to an unhealthy environment at home. Thus, the special needs school management pointed out that spending holidays in the garden and playground would be feasible if there was the necessary infrastructure and a possibility for hot meals to be served.¹²¹

According to school board records, in the school year 1930/31, 60 classes visited the central school garden and playground 174 times.¹²² The record states that 4,301 children visited the garden and the playground, with the caveat that a single class had been taken into account more than once,¹²³ meaning the garden and the playground were not always visited by the same number of children from the same class, perhaps due to their absence from school. In this school year, the administrator's report to the education department was somewhat more optimistic about the involvement of pupils and teachers. Under the guidance of their class teachers, the pupils carried out easier gardening tasks, learned about garden tools, and observed the changes in the garden during the different seasons. He especially praised the efforts of the pupils from the special needs school and the first primary school for girls, who cared for their flowerbeds even during the holidays. All the produce

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Izkaz o obisku centralnega šolskega vrta in igrišča v Ljubljani v šolskem letu 1929/30.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Centralni šolski vrt, uporaba, 7 July 1930.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Obisk vrta, 29 July 1931.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

was the property of the children.¹²⁴

The administrator's arguments that the garden and playground infrastructure needed to be completed became increasingly scarce, probably because he was aware that his requests would not be heard. During the Great Depression, which was increasingly felt in the Drava Banate as well, the prospects became even bleaker. The city's budget for 1932 reveals that the local school board was no longer including maintenance costs for the central school garden and the playground in the school budget.¹²⁵

4. Conclusion

The concept of a school garden as a teaching tool started developing in in the Slovenian region during the nineteenth century and continued to develop in accordance with European trends. As a predominantly agrarian area, this region did not lag behind the more developed countries as far as putting school gardens into practice was concerned. Rural school gardens were at the forefront. By employing work school principles, they educated future farmers and homemakers, and instilled in young people a positive attitude towards nature and work, which were seen as two of the nation's fundamental values during this period.

The urban school gardens also had an important health component: They allowed youth to exercise in the fresh air, which strengthened them against social diseases, and tuberculosis in particular. In Ljubljana, the central school garden and its accompanying playground represented an attempt to also implement this aspect. However, they failed to fulfill their purpose due to infrastructural shortcomings, which the garden administrator often brought to the attention of the municipal authorities.

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¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ SI_ZAL_LJU/0397 Krajevni šolski odbor Ljubljana, container 3, item 36, Proračun centralnega šolskega vrta za leto 1932, 7 December 1931.

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ДУЊА ДОБАЈА

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**ШКОЛСКИ ВРТОВИ У СЛОВЕНИЈИ КАО ОБРАЗОВНО СРЕДСТВО,
СА НАГЛАСКОМ НА ЦЕНТРАЛНИ ШКОЛСКИ ВРТ У ЉУБЉАНИ
У МЕЂУРАТНОМ ПЕРИОДУ**

Резиме

Овај прилог се фокусира на идеју о школским баштама као предавачком средству у области данашње Словеније од 19. века до средине тридесетих година 20. века, као и на њихову практичну примену. Рад указује да су словеначке покрајине пратиле европске трендове у погледу школских вртова у градским и сеоским срединама. Њихова сврха није била само да пружи практична упутства за природне науке, већ да у деци усаде позитивни однос према природи, послу и здрављу. У сеоским срединама, првенствени циљ био је да се едукују будући ратари и домаћице. Школски врт био је један од чинилаца у спровођењу принципа радне школе, чему су и едукатори у Словенији такође тежили. У Аустроугарској Државни закон о основним школама донет је 1869. године, а између осталих ствари је поставио темељ за школске вртове у учитељским и основним школама. На тај начин су школске баште постале део курикулума све до 1941. Државни закон о основним школама из 1869. фокусирао се на сеоске, пре него на градске школске вртове. Еразмус Шваб, аутор првог практичног приручника на ову тему, који је укључивао смернице за успостављање школских вртова, такође је разматрао важност школских вртова у градовима.

Идеја о школским баштама као наставног алата наставила је да постоји и у међуратном периоду, у оквиру нове југословенске државе. У ово доба Словенија је претежно била аграрно друштво и било је потешкоћа везаних за интензификацију производње. Једно од решења било је увођење школских вртова којима је међу младима требало усадити љубав према пољопривреди, нарочито воћарству и баштованству, знању земљорадничких задатака и позитиван однос према природи и раду. Када је основана Дравска бановина школски вртови у селима били су укључени у легислативу посредством националног Закона о школству, док су онима у градовима биле дате законске потврде једино ако је за то постојала могућност. У Љубљани већина школа није имала баште, због чега је основан централни школски врт, а потешкоће везане за њега су размотрене у раду.

Кључне школски вртови, радне школе, Љубљана, Дравска бановина, пољопривреда.

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING ON RADIO BELGRADE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Abstract: Drawing from archival documents, periodicals, and relevant literature, this paper analyzes the role and significance of educational programming broadcast by the Radio Belgrade within the broader propaganda efforts of Milan Nedić's government. The paper begins with a theoretical explanation of how media functions in education. This will be followed by the use of radio as an instructional tool in Serbian schools during the first half of the twentieth century. The analysis includes talks given during what was called *Prosvetni čas* (Educational Hour), a radio program broadcast in early 1944. Research has shown that, in a time of strong ideological influence on the educational process, the state educational authorities encouraged the use of any available means to achieve their political and propaganda-based ideological goals. Radio shows were produced for students during the 1930s and during the Second World War according to a similar model that made use of different content.

Keywords: Second World War, Serbia, Chief Council on Education, educational programming, radio, instruction, propaganda.

Historiographic and pedagogical research has shown the enormous educational potential of the mass media. Specific forms of media, including the press, radio, and television (and in modern times, the internet), convey information to a large number of recipients with whom a special kind of interaction is established. The manner and content in which a message is conveyed is generally up-to-date, immediate, dynamic, receptive, and interesting. As such, media brings a new dimension to the educational process that goes beyond what a traditional school can do.¹ It is possible to single out a few key factors for increasing the influence of the media in the process of education. Mandatory school curricula do not include everything children need to prepare themselves for life. New findings are slow to enter the curricula, yet they appear in the media before becoming part

¹ Carter 2021; Potkonjak, Šimleša 1989: 387.

of a general school education. Various forms of media present learning materials in an interesting way and make it easier to understand certain subjects. This is particularly true for those needed to reach level of operational thinking necessary for literature, history, religious instruction, psychology, political science, and the like.²

One of the most widespread means of mass communication during the early twentieth century was radio. According to the Canadian researcher McLuhan, the power of radio is its ability to “deeply engage people,” connect them with content, and evoke general widespread interest. Since the dawn of radio broadcasting, its role has been to inform, educate, and entertain. From a historical perspective, the connection between radio and schools is twofold. Radio had a significant educational component and educational needs, in turn, influenced the development of radio programming.³ Radio was first used in teaching in the United States in 1919, and the BBC’s department for education distinguished itself in terms of reach. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, educational programming began being broadcast in early 1929.⁴

Two basic aspects of educational programming were shows intended specifically for children and adults, although separating the two as distinct audiences is sometimes difficult because the educational shows are listened to with equal levels of interest, no matter the age of the listeners. In addition to educational programming, which had very specific informative and didactic functions, children’s radio programming often includes a variety of shows meant for fun and entertainment that are more free-form and flexible than shows that make up regular programming. They are also created by specific departments for children with the purpose of filling free time.⁵ Here, both types of programming will be discussed.

In the 1920s, radio was considered to be an innovative teaching tool. In addition to cost-effectiveness, immediacy, and relevance in conveying information, using it as a teaching tool enabled flexibility because programs could be replayed according to the needs of the curriculum. Radio was most often used as a teaching supplement to emotionally influence listeners by stimulating their imagination, engaging their interest, and influencing what opinions they formed.⁶ This was meant as a means of communication that needed to be “conversational rather than rhetorical” so that listeners could take pleasure in the illusion that the speaker was addressing them directly. This is characteristic of specialized programming, including educational programming. The combination of voice, music, noise, and sound in children’s shows create an auditory experience that shapes emotions, stimulates the imagination, and creates interest in the content being presented.⁷

A creator of one such method of storytelling was Rhoda Power (1890–1957), an author of children’s books and a longtime broadcaster for BBC Radio. Her professional experience strongly influenced her pedagogical ideas. In the 1920s, she worked as a writer and journalist, and prior to the Second World War, she was employed full-time by BBC Radio’s school broadcasting department. At the end of the war, she took an unpaid leave-of-absence to travel around South America, where she conducted anthropological research. She compared the

² Đurić 1997: 490.

³ *Ibid.*, 565–566; Carter 2021.

⁴ Potkonjak, Šimleša 1989: 427.

⁵ Bulatović 1979: 145; Carter 2021; Potkonjak, Šimleša 1989: 286.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 428; Đurić 1997: 566–567.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 629; Potkonjak, Šimleša 1989: 427.

study of underdeveloped civilizations to time travel and viewed historical events as a part of the *longue durée* of human culture. The question that occupied her for most of her career was how to convey history to a larger audience. The experience she gained from ethnographic observations of South American tribes helped her shape a concept of vivid storytelling she called “illustrative talking” or “an oral vision” that she applied to the history lessons she broadcast over the radio. This method essentially consisted of an understanding that storytelling could be more evocative through the use of sound effects. She therefore introduced into her broadcasts dramatic introductions, dialog, music, and various sound effects that would heighten the emotional component of her lessons in order to, as she described it, “humanize history.” This method became very popular among other broadcasters and has endured, even with the transition to the use of television as part of instruction. In 1950, Power received an award for her outstanding contribution to the teaching of history.⁸

Radio talks are prepared with respect for and the application of basic pedagogical principles. In addition to interesting facts, the credibility of the facts being presented, time limits, and age-appropriateness all must be taken into consideration. What is specific to radio is that attention must be paid to how information is communicated and to highlight important actions.⁹ Certain issues can arise when broadcasting educational programming, such as how to engage the students as active rather than passive listeners, lack of access to a teacher if instruction is given exclusively over the radio, and schools’ lack of technical equipment.¹⁰

Even from the very beginning, state authorities recognized radio as a medium that could strongly influence how children formed their opinions and attitudes toward life, social, and cultural issues. In the early twentieth century, educational radio programming played a significant role in shaping future citizens. One could say that, because of the alignment of radio show content with official ideology, “educational effort and propagandistic intent” meet one another over the radio airwaves.¹¹

Educational radio programming in Serbia has a long tradition, primarily due to Radio Belgrade, one of the oldest stations in the country.¹² The development of radio in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the 1920s did not have the support of the government or any private funding, and was instead an initiative by individuals who wanted to be among the ranks of more advanced countries. For them, radio was a means to educate and disseminate information and culture.¹³ Radio broadcasting, however, was controlled by the state, which strictly regulated it.¹⁴ There were special rules regulating licenses and owning radio receiver for both social organizations and private citizens. To be able to receive radio transmissions, listeners were required to sign an agreement with the state that defined how receivers could

⁸ Carter 2021; Cannadine, Keating, Sheldon 2011: 82–83.

⁹ Potkonjak, Šimleša 1989: 428.

¹⁰ Carter 2021.

¹¹ Potkonjak, Šimleša 1989: 286; Carter 2021; Bulatović 1979: 146.

¹² In addition to Radio Belgrade there were Radio Zagreb (1926) and Radio Ljubljana (1928). Đurić 1997: 568; Marković 1976: 77.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 73, 75, 77.

¹⁴ Radio broadcasting was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Post and Telegraph, except for the period of 1932–1936, when it was transferred to a department at the Ministry of Transportation. See also: Nikolić 2006.

be used, where they were located (which had to remain accessible and available to state monitoring), and news could not be transmitted to any third parties.¹⁵ Radio subscriptions were introduced in 1923 and were very expensive, as were radios themselves (more than three-months' salary for a teacher, according to some estimates), so the first subscribers were a small number of wealthy individuals, government ministers, bankers, and industrialists. Radio was especially popular among intellectuals.¹⁶

In the 1920s, efforts were made to create permanent programming, and there was a clear intention to create a department for educational content. The *Rules for Broadcasting Radio Station Programming* stated that broadcasts should “edify and educate the people” and required programming to “present all arts and sciences . . . of general importance in a way that is accessible, understandable, and is of interest to as many listeners as possible.” It was necessary to cultivate folk music, develop musical tastes, and to nurture literature—especially Yugoslav literature—through radio, with an eye toward purity of language and proper diction.¹⁷ In the beginning, programming was very brief—only a few short hours a day—with a basic division between musical and spoken content, which mostly contained announcements from the government. Over time, the number of listeners grew, as did the quality of the programming. Radio technology in Serbia gained momentum in 1929 when Radio Belgrade began broadcasting. Spoken word programming began to overtake musical programming, and a differentiation emerged between informative, educational, and entertainment programs.¹⁸

Educational programming changed over time but remained essentially the same. Initially, it consisted of mostly general cultural programming with information about the repertoire at the National Theater, services from the main Orthodox church, cultural overviews, and overviews of books and magazines. Radio talks were a basic part of educational programming, and it mostly included writers and poets reading excerpts from local and world literature. Lessons also appeared alongside talks as a specific type of program. They differed from the talks in that they were intended for a specific age group or for specific professional and social groups. Programming included different types of shows, including lessons on health, lessons for homemakers, and lessons for farmers. Foreign languages lessons, particularly French and German, were especially popular.¹⁹

¹⁵ Bulatović 1979: 257–259; Jokić 2004: 108.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 41; Marković 1976: 74, 77, 78; Bulatović 1979: 38.

¹⁷ *Prosvetni glasnik*, 4, 1933, 357–358; Bulatović 1979: 79.

¹⁸ Zec 2019: 223; Marković 1976: 79, 80; for more detail on changes in the number of subscribers, see Simić 2006. The emergence of radio service in Serbia was determined by the needs of High Military Command during the Balkan Wars and First World War. The construction of a radio-telegraph network in the Yugoslav kingdom was entrusted to a French company. Radio Belgrade was founded in 1929 and was managed by the company Radio AD, which received a concession from the state for fifteen years. The main shareholders were the British company Marconi and the Yugoslav state. The president was Milan Stojadinović. Danilo Kalafatović, a retired army general, served for as the general director of Radio Belgrade for many years, and the programming service was headed by Veljko Petrović, a writer and academician. When the international crisis leading up to the Second World War intensified, all of the country's radio stations were nationalized. Radio Belgrade was placed under the complete control of the state, which was headed by a pro-Fascist group led by Stanislav Krakov. Đurić 1997: 562; Zec 2019: 223; Marković 1976: 73–74, 76–77, 82.

¹⁹ Bulatović 1979: 145–148, 173–174.

In the 1930s, special lessons for schoolchildren were added. Radio Belgrade broadcast them on Wednesdays and Thursdays as supplements to content taught as part of subjects taught in schools. The Yugoslav Teachers Association participated in designing these lessons for students. At first, these lessons were meant exclusively for elementary school students, but programming was later expanded to include a wider student audience. Content for secondary school students mostly included additional material and dramatic interpretations of literature for young adults. Some topics were later presented as part of an educational program called *Jugoslovenski nacionalni čas* (*The Yugoslav National Hour*) which left its mark on educational programming during the interwar period. The show had a decidedly ideological and political significance that aimed to bring Yugoslav schoolchildren and young adults closer together, both spiritually and culturally. Teachers were encouraged to make as much use of these shows as they could as part of their lessons.²⁰

Radio Belgrade's prewar broadcasting was interrupted on April 6, 1941, when the wing of Serbian Royal Academy where the station's studio was located was damaged in an air raid. It was reinstated immediately after the German army entered Belgrade on April 20, 1941, under the name *Sender Belgrad*.²¹ After the occupational regime was established, the German military government's main priority was to normalize everyday life. The population needed to be persuaded to accept a state of occupation and to maintain law and order. All of public life was strictly controlled, sweeping censorship was instated, and various forms of coercion, repression, and propaganda were employed. Scholars of social and cultural history in Serbia during the Second World War generally agree that radio was the most important propaganda tool exploited by the occupiers.²²

The Second World War marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of Radio Belgrade. The radio station's place in occupied Serbia was determined by the role radio played as part of the Third Reich's propaganda efforts in occupied territories.²³ When it seized control of Belgrade, the German military leadership was given clear directives for taking over the radio station: It needed to remain intact to resume broadcasting on a limited scale as soon as full control was established.²⁴ Radio Belgrade was placed under the complete control of the German authorities. The number of institutions tasked with this

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 148; „Radio-sekcija Beograd. učitelj. zbora”, *Učitelj*, 3, 1931, 559; M. R. M., „Jugoslovenski nacionalni čas”, *Učitelj*, 9, 1934, 79–80.

²¹ Nikolić 2010; Mraović 2019: 215; Zec 2019: 224–225.

²² Mraović 2019: 214; Milosavljević 2006: 46; Petranović 1992: 424; Vasiljević 2013; Id., 2015.

²³ According to a study by a research associate Maja Vasiljević, at the time Nazi ideology was strengthening in the 1930s, radio was being promoted as “the media of the German future.” Goebbels's daily notes indicate its importance during the Second World War, according to which airplanes and radio were among the most useful German conquests. Vasiljević 2015: 55–56.

²⁴ The occupying forces easily assumed control of Radio Belgrade. At the time of the March 27 coup, the new management that took over the radio station, headed by Stevan Jakovljević and included Veljko Petrović and Vladimir Ćorović, retreated with the government and the High Command. They tried at first to continue broadcasting, but when the evacuation began, they chose to destroy the transmitter to keep it from falling into enemy hands. German troops then transferred the surviving radio equipment to the building that housed the prewar Central Press Bureau's shortwave radio station. Franja Mozer, the technical director who retained his position during the occupation, arranged the radio equipment for broadcasting. Jokić 2004: 291–295; Marković 1976: 82–83; Zec 2019: 224–225.

shows just how important propaganda was for the occupying forces. These primarily included the Southeast Department for Propaganda (*Propaganda-Abteilung Südost*), housed in the same building as Radio Belgrade, and the S Propaganda Department (*Propaganda-Abteilung Serbien*), headed by a select group of officers under the command of Lieutenant Reintgen, who was directly in charge of the Belgrade radio station. The formal director was Robert Vege, a local ethnic German.²⁵

The radio station was transformed into an effective tool for propaganda through a series of administrative measures. In May 1941, the military commander issued an order that permitted listening to all German radio stations along with Radio Belgrade and Radio Zemun. In cities' main squares and in some villages, loudspeakers were installed that carried news from the fronts, government announcements, and propaganda messages. At the same time, a ban was instated on listening to radio stations from Allied countries (primarily Radio London and Radio Moscow) that threatened to "break through the Nazi media blockade" and present a clearer picture of the situation in the country and the rest of the world.²⁶ During the occupation, Radio Belgrade became a significant broadcaster for the Balkans, Southeast Europe, and North Africa, and was used by the Third Reich to "demonstrate and implement" its supremacy.²⁷

They were assisted in this by the local authorities, who regulated radio service through various orders and directives. Mandatory radio subscriptions were introduced, and failing to pay would result in permits for owning a radio being revoked and fines amounting to the cost of three years of radio subscriptions.²⁸ An ordinance mandating radio broadcasting and listening in public places came into force.²⁹ The local authorities had no influence over how radio service was conducted without German approval.³⁰ All decisions were made by the occupying German authorities. However, the occupiers' goal in Serbia was not to ideologically reshape the population, but rather to economically exploit and make available all human and material resources in support of the German war effort. Because of this, certain freedoms related to propaganda were permitted to collaborationist governments. The only government body in this area was the Department for State Propaganda at the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, within which was an office for the press and, after 1942, an office for film and radio. The head of the department was Aleksandar Stojković, who, by order of the minister of education, Velibor Jonić, also oversaw radio talks.³¹ The local authorities exercised their influence over radio programming through their involvement in the department that created Serbian language programming. This influence was used to place content that supported Milan Nedić's government.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 32; Borković 1979: 19–24; Kreso 1979: 74–75; Zec 2019: 225. Interestingly, Robert Vege had an interest in Serbian history: „Uspelo delo jednog Nemca o srpskoj istoriji: Inž. Robert Vege o srpskoj prošlosti i osobinama srpskog naroda”, *Novo vreme*, 20–21. 5. 1944, 3.

²⁶ Zec 2019: 233; Mraović 2019: 216; Petranović 1992: 132, 114; Kreso 1979: 112.

²⁷ Nikolić 2015: 159.

²⁸ Mraović 2019: 217; „Saopštenje radio-pretplatnicima”, *Novo vreme*, 7. 2. 1942, 5.

²⁹ *Službene novine*, 44, 4. 6. 1943, 1; *Novo vreme*, 5. 6. 1943, 3.

³⁰ Mraović 2019: 216.

³¹ Stojanović 2015: 101–102, 194; Borković 1979: 25–84; Vasiljević 2015: 57; Hermann Neubacher, a special representative for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, advocated a policy of concession and certain cooperation with the local administrative apparatus. See: Nojbaheer 2004.

Programming at Radio Belgrade was created by a group of officers from the S Propaganda Department in accordance with the headquarters of the Serbian commander and other parts of the government. The programming had a distinctly propagandistic role and was meant to achieve several goals. These included creating an impression that Germany was invincible and persuading the population to accept its state of occupation. Musical and entertainment content was broadcast to offer a form of escapism from the everyday reality of war and create an impression that the country was finally stable.³² Radio Belgrade's programming was initially intended exclusively for German soldiers, and it was centered around a show called *Beogradski mladi stražar* (*The Young Belgrade Guard*). Over time, the basis for programming was expanded and enhanced with new content.³³ The station's programming was published in the daily newspapers. The occupational government extended its influence over the finalized broadcasting schedule to include as many listeners as they could. Broadcasting began early in the morning before work, and evening shows were scheduled until late in the evening during curfew.³⁴ The information and music departments and the postal service were in charge of implementing the programming. Programming consisted of short news reports in German and Serbian, reports from the High Command, commentary on current events, and German military songs. Later, shows directed at the Serbian population were added. At first, they were broadcast several times a day and then continuously between five and seven o'clock in the evening. There was ample musical programming³⁵ and dramatic content. Also worthy of note was the show *Čas nemačke nacionalne grupe* (*The German National Group Hour*), a political and informational show that introduced German soldiers to the customs of the local population. As part of a segment called *Zarobljenički pozdravi* (*Greetings from the Imprisoned*), each day a dozen messages from prisoners of war were sent to families in Serbia. Free-form programs and radio addresses from Serbian collaborators (mostly ministers and the president of Milan Nedić's government), which were later published in the daily press, played a particular ideological and propagandistic role.³⁶

Radio Belgrade's programming was expanded in 1942.³⁷ From then on, there were many programs that included content related to Serbian history and culture, and there were offices for art, literature, and children within the Serbian language department. Propaganda was spread through talks. Prominent experts from various fields were needed for these popular talks for the nation. There are numerous accounts of university instructors who were unwilling to participate.³⁸ Judging by what was written in the press, on-air German lessons

³² Nikolić 2015: passim.

³³ Milosavljević 2006: 47; Nikolić 2010: 71–88.

³⁴ Zec 2019: 226; Nikolić 2010: 36–42.

³⁵ At first classical music was played, and then operettas were added later. As programming began to include more music, German *schlager* and folk music were played more often. Serious music was first played from records but was later broadcast from concert halls. Live entertainment was provided by ensembles hired by the radio station. For details on how programming was structured, along with special reference to musical programming, see Vasiljević 2013.

³⁶ Nikolić 2015: 153; *Srpski narod*, 24, 26. 6. 1943; 1, 1. 1. 1944, 12; *Kolo*, 35, 29. 8. 1942, 14.

³⁷ Nikolić 2002: 157; „Dva sata samo srpske emisije: reorganizacija programa radio-stanice”, *Novo vreme*, 24. 5. 1942, 5.

³⁸ DAS, G–208, f. 20, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Rektorat, br. 5122, 23. 11. 1943.

were particularly successful. As during the interwar period, there were specialized broadcasts with economic lessons. A segment called *Literarni čas* (The Literature Hour) was highly popular and it featured readings from *Đulići*, a collection of poems by the children's writer Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, that were accompanied by classical music.

Another new 1942 addition to Radio Belgrade was the launch of a children's program. This and similar programs became part of a wider propaganda effort by the Ministry of Education and Religion in cooperation with the State Propaganda Department. The program was called *Dečji čas* (The Children's Hour) and was first broadcast on September 1, 1942. It was a collage-type show with children as the hosts and guests. The show was run by members of Radio Belgrade's children's group, and they were joined by performers from the Serbia Children's Theater. They were managed by Aca Pavlović, a Belgrade journalist. Children on the show sang songs, gave recitals, and played musical instruments. According to the daily press, the children's broadcasts were full of good cheer and optimism, and they offered fun and relaxation. They were so popular that the shows were recorded on records so they could be replayed.³⁹

In order to have a more successful impact on education, in early 1944, the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs decided to include broadcasts for children on the Belgrade radio station as part of the radio talks. This was described as "a plan to prepare and educate schoolchildren in the national spirit."⁴⁰ The initiative had originated at the Chief Council on Education in November 1943. The directive was justified by the need for something to replace regular classes during the winter, especially in schools that could not operate due to the cold and lack of fuel for heating, so there would be no interruption in schoolchildren's national indoctrination.⁴¹ Otherwise, students would be left "to their own devices and unintended consequences." As a memorandum from the rector of Belgrade University stated, "This must be avoided at all costs. All means at our disposal must be made available to direct schoolchildren along the only Serbian path."⁴²

Management at the Belgrade radio station accepted the council's proposal to broadcast short educational talks three times a week in the afternoon as *Prosvetni čas* (the *Volkserziehungsstunde* or Educational Hour). The Ministry of Education maintained strict control over radio talks. The Chief Council on Education, and more specifically its General Secretariat, was responsible for all the preparations. There, the review and selection of talks was undertaken very "seriously and attentively." As was written in one of the reports about the General Secretariat's work, only the best and those that could be used "to properly inform young people" were selected from a large number of talks. Special care was taken to keep the topics varied so that all areas needed for popular education were covered.⁴³

³⁹ „Mališani pred mikrofonom: prvi dečji čas na beogradskom radiju”, *Novo vreme*, 30. 8. 1942, 8; Mraović 2019: 224; Nikolić 2010: 77.

⁴⁰ „Radiopredavanja za školsku omladinu”, *Novo vreme*, 7. 2. 1944, 3.

⁴¹ DAS, G-3, f. 162, 22-37-43, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet, s. br. 2144, Izveštaj o radu Generalnog sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta 15.11-15. 12. 1943, g., 15. 12. 1943.

⁴² DAS, G-208, f. 20, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Rektorat, br. 5342, 6. 12. 1943.

⁴³ DAS, G-3, f. 136, I pov. br. 429/41, Ministarstvo prosvete i vera, Glavni prosvetni savet, Izveštaj o radu Sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta u vremenu od 15. 1. do 15. 2., s. br. 363, 15. 2. 1944.

University professors and teachers from secondary and vocational schools all took part in assembling the programming content. At the beginning of December, the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs issued official instructions defining the criteria for selecting topics and the length and form of the talks, which was sent to the Rectorate at Belgrade University and published in the daily newspaper *Novo vreme* as an open call to educators:

During these lessons, which will last for about fifteen minutes each day, students will be instructed on how to behave outside of school; proper hygiene; certain school subjects; options for enrollment in various schools, with specific propaganda for vocational schools; our history; the beauty and value of folk poetry and its meaning and importance for many past, present, and future generations; our national ethics and traditions; the role of certain vocations and national and state life; the role and importance of individuals in service of the common good of our entire nation; *srpstvo** and *Svetosavlje*** and other topics. Talks can be in the form of scientific explanations, dialog, or personal experience illustrated with examples, and they can be imbued with a sense of irony about negative things around us. Because these talks should be instructive, they must be interwoven with clear examples and be convincing, accessible, and as interesting as possible.⁴⁴

In a memorandum sent to the Belgrade University Rectorate on December 1, 1943, professors, assistant professors, and research assistants were called on to design talks according to a set of instructions and in a form of their choice that would, in their opinion, best influence young people. In the memorandum, the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs expressed its high expectations for these university professors, and stated that, due to broader interests, they were not limited to only one topic. They were permitted to work with several related to the same cultural area and their particular research interests. Talks in the form of “three typed or four handwritten pages” were to be delivered directly to the Chief Council on Education by the fifteenth of each month, starting from the current month. At a meeting on December 3, 1943, the University Senate in Belgrade considered and then adopted the directive to invite regular and adjunct teaching staff to prepare and submit talks in response to the ministry’s request.⁴⁵

School principals were directed to organize listening to radio broadcasts and were given more detailed instructions on how to respond to the ministry’s directive. It was recommended that instructors “approach the preparation of these talks with the highest degree of seriousness and analysis.” These instructions also applied to school principals, who were required to distribute topics among the teachers, make sure deadlines were met, and sanction those teachers who did not obey these orders. The principals sent all talks directly to the Chief Council on Education by the fifteen of every month with a list of all the teachers and some basic information about them. The first deadline was December 20, 1943, for schools in Belgrade and December 25 for schools outside it. Each school needed to cover at least three topics.⁴⁶

* a sense of Serbian national identity and belonging to the Serbian people—Trans.

** a concept that equates the Serbian Orthodox confession with Serbian ethnic identity—Trans.

⁴⁴ „Predavanje za đake preko radija”, *Novo vreme*, 10. 12. 1943, 4; DAS, G-208, f. 20, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Rektorat, br. 5342, 6. 12. 1943.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ DAS, G-3, f. 162, 22-37-43, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet, s. br. 2144, Izveštaj o radu

These talks were featured within the spoken part of the radio station's programming, but they were also the most common forms of influence on public opinion. They were given almost everywhere: in schools, at the Kolarčev People's University, in villages, and even in the concentration camps. In some cases, these live readings were broadcast over the radio. The Ministry of Education made sure the talks were of high quality. According to an announcement in 1942, it was suggested to teachers that they prepare their students in advance so they could understand the main idea of the talks, and that the texts should be read "close together" so that a "conceptual link" could be maintained. The expectation for this approach was that for the to find a "central focus" for building a view of the world based on the "best, national, spiritual, and moral values."⁴⁷

Special attention was given to narration as part of the *Prosvetni čas*. The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs gave authors the freedom to read the talks themselves or have them read by someone else. The criteria a good on-air speaker had to fulfill can be seen in a 1942 call for submissions for candidates to fill this role. Radio Belgrade's listeners were asked to choose which speakers would be hired, as was laid out in an article published in *Novo vreme* containing suggestions for how to make their selections. First of all, one needed to choose a voice that sounded "the most pleasant," "the warmest," and "the most engaging," and that would inspire "the greatest trust." The person had to speak in such a way that "every word can be understood" in the best and "most impeccable" Serbian and "without a harsh accent." Their diction must be such that listeners could easily follow the content of the talk and its meaning. "The ideal speaker for a radio station must read before the microphone as if addressing each and every listener individually—as would a good friend."⁴⁸

The first talk included as a segment in *Prosvetni čas/Kulturni čas/Ministarstva prosvete* (Education Hour/Cultural Hour from the Ministry of Education) on the Belgrade radio station was held on February 6, 1944. The deputy minister of education, Vladimir Velmar Janković, opened the program with a talk on the Serbian cultural plan. In his ten-minute presentation, he talked about coordinated work on a cultural and educational plan as being "the most significant modern-day task." Work on the Serbian cultural plan was to begin immediately, despite difficult times and the ongoing war. In his view, the key prerequisite for the survival of a nation was to preserve its "historical character." He then emphasized the role of young people, who would be the ones to bear the plan's implementation. Accordingly, one of the goals was to give young people a foundation and support for further progress. Proper upbringing in schools was a particularly important element of this. He emphasized the responsibility students had, first and foremost, to themselves and then to the community and its future development and their contribution to maintaining law and order.⁴⁹ This was

Generalnog sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta 15.11–15.12. 1943. g., 15. 12. 1943; f. 136, I pov. br. 429/41, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet–Opštem odeljenju, Izveštaj o radu Sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta od 15. 2. do 4. 3, s. br. 593, 4. 3. 1944; „Predavanje za đake preko radija”, *Novo vreme*, 10. 12. 1943, 4.

⁴⁷ DAS, G–3, GPS, f. 8, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet, pov. s. br. 39, 29. 12. 1942.

⁴⁸ „Konkurs za najboljeg radio-spikera”, *Novo vreme*, 21. 6. 1942, 5; The effectiveness of the educational message depended on authority, emotional charge, and how well it was adapted to the language of the listeners. On the persuasiveness of the message conveyed, see: Šušnjić 2011: 67–82.

⁴⁹ „Radiopredavanje za školsku omladinu”, *Novo vreme*, 7. 2. 1944, 3; Škodrić 2011: 156.

meant to draw students to the policies of Milan Nedić's government, engage all available forces to implement the Serbian cultural plan, and to prevent young people from approaching "harmful ideologies" such as communism. An analysis of talks given during *Prosveti čas* suggest the ministry's intention was for this educational program dedicated to students to be a type of propaganda for the Serbian cultural plan.⁵⁰ The first set of talks broadcast up until mid-February clearly demonstrate this.

By February 15, four more talks for students had been given: "The Serbian National Community," by Dr. Žarko Stupar, an assistant professor at the university; "Love for the Fatherland" by Jelica Vlahović, a professor; "The National and Artistic Significance of our Medieval Art" by Mirjana Ljubinković, a professor; and "Notable Serbian Physicists" by Radmila Marjanović, a teaching intern.⁵¹ According to a report by the General Secretariat of the Chief Council on Education, all of the talks were a resounding success with the public and the audience accepted them with great interest, which was evident from the crowd that had gathered in front of the loudspeakers for them.⁵² *Dnevni list Novo vreme* praised the ministry's initiative because the selection of educational talks were properly directing Serbian youth on a path leading to a national life.⁵³

Talks dedicated to young people were held regularly according to a set schedule prepared by the Chief Council on Education and sent to the department for children's programming at Radio Belgrade.⁵⁴ They were broadcast three times a week on Mondays and Wednesdays from 5:30 to 5:40 p.m. and on Sundays from 4:50 to 5:00 p.m. By the middle of March, seven more talks had been given: "Serbian Mining in the Past," by Ružica Tomić, a professor from Smederevska Palanka; "The Importance of Saint Sava," by Predrag Stojaković, a teacher; "Two Important Values from our National Poetry," by Svetozar Dimitrijević, a teacher at the Normal School in Užice; "The Spiritual Qualities of our People," by Rade Perović, a teacher at the Higher Commercial School in Niš; "The Need for Work and Law and Order," by Ljubomir Janković, a teacher from Belgrade; "Protecting Birds," by Ivan Lovše, a teacher from Kuršumljija; "Our National History through Embroidery," by Jelena Đorđević, the principal of the Normal School for Girls in Belgrade; "The Importance of Vitamins," by Radivoje Marinković, a professor at the *Realka* school in Belgrade; "National Poems about the Marriage of Milić Barjaktar," by Dr. Relja Popović, a professor at the university.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ For more on the Serbian Cultural Plan, see: Stojanović 2015: 329–362.

⁵¹ *Novo vreme*, 12. 3. 1944, 3; DAS, G–3, f. 136, I pov. br. 429/41, Ministarstvo prosvete i vera, Glavni prosvetni savet, Izveštaj o radu Sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta u vremenu od 15. 1. do 15. 2, s. br. 363, 15. 2. 1944; F. 14, 2128/43, Nacionalni i umetnički značaj naše srednjovekovne umetnosti.

⁵² *Ibid.*; DAS, G–3, F. 14, s. br. 2209/1943, Ž. Stupar, docent Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu, Srpska narodna zajednica.

⁵³ *Novo vreme*, 7. 2. 1944.

⁵⁴ DAS, G–3, f. 22, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet, Predavanja za prosvetni čas, S. br. 638, 10. 3. 1944; Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet, Radio predavanja, S. br. 758, 24. 3. 1944; r. 370/1944, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet–Upravi radio stanice, S. Br. 879, 7. 4. 1944.

⁵⁵ *Novo vreme*, 12. 3. 1944, 3; 27. 2. 1944, 3; 28. 2. 1944, 3; 5. 3. 1944, 3; 6. 3. 1944, 3; DAS, G–3, f. 136, I pov. br. 429/41, Ministarstvo prosvete, Glavni prosvetni savet–Opštem odeljenju, Izveštaj o radu Sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta od 15. 2. do 4. 3, s. br. 593, 4. 3. 1944; Izveštaj o radu Sekretarijata Glavnog prosvetnog saveta od 5. 3. do 5. 4, s. br. 862, 5. 4. 1944; F. 14, S. br. 2163/1943, Predrag D. Stojaković, Značaj Svetog Save za nas Srbe.

The collaborationist press published articles celebrating the first month of *Kulturni/Prosvetni čas*. *Novo vreme* ran an article describing the talks as brief, very interesting and useful, and designed to spark young people's interest in their cultural heritage, while also informing them about current issues. Each talk dealt with a topic related to social life, history, science, or practical knowledge, in a way that was well-laid out and easy to understand. The goal was to illuminate a set of values the Serbian people needed to respect. In the article's estimation, the talks were well-received, not just by young people but by the broader public: "This is a kind of people's university through a microphone, a school that should prove useful to all young people no matter their class or level of formal education." According to this observation, the expectation was that the broadcast would be a useful addition to the education and upbringing of young people and of the nation.⁵⁶

During March and the beginning of April, nine more talks were held: "Behavior outside of School," by Lazar Đurđić; "Work and Joy," by Dragutin Milojković, a professor; "Serbian Hospitality," by Ljubinka Stokić; "The Need to Produce Technical and Skilled Workers to Develop the Serbian Economy," by Dragutin Đurić; "Popular Beliefs and Religious Customs among Belgraders," by Veselin Čajkanović, a university professor; "Getting better acquainted with Serbia," by Pavle Sokolović; "Education"; "Employment of Parents and Raising Children"; and "Hygiene and Ignorance."⁵⁷ All of the talks were meant to be published in the *Education Gazette*, which was generally common practice for all types of public and radio speeches in order to preserve them and make them available to the broader public. However, this did not happen. The talks are instead preserved in the Serbian State Archives as part of the fond for the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (1941–1944).⁵⁸

Except for some longer interruptions due to Allied bombings, Radio Belgrade continued broadcasting until the end of the occupation. In May 1944, it broadcast exclusively musical content. For reasons of security, the minister of education issued a directive for a break in the school year for students to prepare for their final exams. Radio programming was also suspended during the summer months of June and July. In August, *Novo vreme* announced that radio broadcasts through loudspeakers and spokespeople would resume. The only parts of the educational programming that resumed were *Dečji čas* and *Literarni čas*.⁵⁹

During the Second World War, Radio Belgrade had an important place in the propaganda efforts of the occupying and collaborationist governments. Spoken word programming in the form of direct addresses and radio talks were particularly effective in creating a desirable image of reality. There were high hopes for *Prosvetni čas*, despite it being cut short by the approaching end of the war. The show was meant to achieve a few aims: to preserve continuity for national education due to school instruction frequently being suspended, to educate and enlighten the wider population, to present a particular type

⁵⁶ „Narodni univerzitet preko mikrofona: kratka, ali poučna radio-predavanja za omladinu”, *Novo vreme*, 12. 3. 1944, 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; *Novo vreme*, 15. 3. 1944, 3; 19. 3. 1944, 3; 20. 3. 1944, 3; 22. 3. 1944, 3; 27. 3. 1944, 3; 29. 3. 1944, 3.

⁵⁸ DAS, G-3, GPS, f. 8, 14, 24–26.

⁵⁹ *Novo vreme*, 28. 4. 1944; 21–22. 5. 1944, 3; 20–21. 8. 1944, 3; „Zmajev čas na beogradskom radiu”, *Novo vreme*, 6. 4. 1944, 3.

of preparation for life in accordance with ideas propagated by the Serbian Civil Plan, to build a new system of values, and to support the policies of Milan Nedić's government. It also demonstrated heightened propaganda efforts in late 1943 and early 1944 by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs directed at the student population, who would be the citizens of the future.

Translated by *Elizabeth Salmore*

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ОБРАЗОВНИ ПРОГРАМ РАДИО БЕОГРАДА ЗА ВРЕМЕ ДРУГОГ СВЕТСКОГ РАТА

Резиме

Радио је једно од најраспрострањенијих средстава масовне комуникације у првој половини XX века. Радио програм је од почетка имао истакнуту образовну функцију. У оквиру образовног програма постојале су посебне емисије намењене деци. Посматрано у ширем смислу, поред емисија са образовном и васпитном функцијом, у дечји радио-програм се убрајају и емисије забавног типа, слободније и флексибилније по својој форми, чија је сврха да употпуне слободно време. Радио је широко употребљаван у школској настави. Захваљујући својим карактеристикама – директно обраћање слушаоцу услед чега се појачава убедљивост преношења васпитне поруке, аудитивни доживљај који изазива емоције и подстиче машту - радио је као наставно средство омогућавао лакше савладавање градива и развијао мотивацију за учење. Поред осталог, нова сазнања се појављују у медијима пре него што постану део редовног образовања. Државне власти су препознале овај потенцијал и подстицале употребу радија као медија путем кога су покушале да утичу на формирање система вредности и ставова ученика.

Образовни програм у Србији има дугу традицију за шта је заслужан Радио Београд. Од његовог оснивања 1929. године, повећава се број претплатника, поправља се квалитет програма, шири се програмска шема у оквиру које се јављају културне и образовне емисије. У оквиру радио-предавања све чешће се уводе емисије у виду часова намењених деци школског узраста. Тридесетих година XX века у школама у Србији почиње употреба радија као наставног средства. С обзиром да је то било време снажног идеолошког уплива у наставни процес, радио-програм је такође стављен у функцију остваривања пропагандних и политичких циљева државних власти. По сличном моделу је развијан образовни програм за време Другог светског рата, када је Радио Београд стављен под потпуну контролу немачких окупационих власти и наставио рад под новим називом Sender Belgrad. Утицај колаборационистичких власти на радиодифузну делатност је био ограничен. Немачке војне власти су им дозвољавале деловање у оквиру редакције програма на српском језику која је креирала емисије путем којих је ширена идеологија владе Милана Недића.

У вршењу пропаганде међу ученичком популацијом учествовало је Министарство просвете и вера. Почетком 1944. године донета је одлука да се преко радија уведу емисије за ђаке чији је циљ „планско просвећивање и васпитање у националном духу”. Целокупан посао у вези са припремом предавања био је у надлежности Главног просветног савета. У реализацији образовног програма је требало да узму учешћа професори универзитета и средњих школа. Одзив просветних радника није био задовољавајући, упркос великим очекивањима власти. Циљ образовног програма је био изграђивање система вредности, буђење интересовања за српске културне тековине и информисање о савременим проблемима. Заступљене су биле разноврсне теме из друштвеног живота, историје, науке и практичних знања. Анализа предавања која су емитована показала је сличност са идејама садржаним у пројекту Српског цивилног плана. Образовни програм је у колаборационистичкој штампи оцењен као веома

успешан и слушан не само међу ученичком популацијом, него и ширим слојевима становништва. Емитовање програма прекинула су савезничка бомбардовања у пролеће и лето 1944. године. Иако се емисија *Просветни час* није дуго одржала (трајала је од од фебруара до априла), колаборационистичке власти су полагале велику наду у њену делотворност у креирању пожељне слике стварности.

Кључне речи: Други светски рат, Србија, Главни просветни савет, образовни програм, радио, настава, пропаганда.

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**REGIONALISM AS AN ALTERNATIVE DIRECTION
IN BELARUSIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH:
BETWEEN RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAST
AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE FUTURE**

Abstract: The relevance of the study of regionalism in historical research is due to the active processes of territorial and transnational regionalization. In the modern world, regionalism appears in two forms: at the subnational level (territories within the structure of a state) and at the supranational level (interstate associations). In both cases, the main subject and reference point in the construction of a region is the nation-state. Thanks to historical research, regional projects undergo reification and begin to position themselves as objectively existing and self-sufficient spaces. Unfortunately, the reverse process associated with criticism and rethinking by historians of certain regional projects in modern historiography has not been observed. Deprived of access to the sea, small landlocked states are, more than others, forced to take part in regional associations, which suggests their historical grounding. The problem is that regional projects (concepts) are developed by philosophers, writers, and diplomats of hegemonic countries. Modern national historiographies of small European countries are forced to adapt their national historical narratives to regional projects imposed from outside. For the Republic of Belarus, a young landlocked European state, this means a difficult choice between five regional projects developed by European or Russian philosophers and writers that are associated with the concepts of Eastern Europe, the Western Rus', Eurasia, Central–Eastern Europe, and the Eastern European borderland.

Keywords: regionalism, social constructivism, Belarus, Eastern Europe, choice of a regional project.

1. Introduction

The concept of region is one of the most common in modern humanities and social sciences: from the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl and territorial development strategies to local history, popular science works, and tourist guides. This popularity has an inevitable negative side. The concept itself turns out to be unusually vague and is applied to various levels of social reality. A region can be understood as being some part of the territory of a unitary or federal state—a district, region, territory, land, state, province,

etc. (the subnational level). In the system of international political and economic relations, however, a region is usually considered to be a group of neighboring states that, to one degree or another, pursue a common foreign policy and carry out deep economic cooperation, at least within a free trade regime (the supranational level). European historical schools and national historiographies began addressing regional issues in the second half of the twentieth century. Prior to this, the most requested by readers of historical genres were the stories of rulers, wars, states, and nations. A social demand for regional histories emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century within the context of integration processes and a global world. By this time, most of the regional concepts—Western Europe and Eastern Europe, Central Europe, and the Balkans—had already been developed by philosophers, writers, and politicians. European national historiographers faced the problem of adapting or integrating national historical narratives to the influential external regional concept and the discourse of regionalism.

2. The genesis of the European discourse of regionalism

Ambivalence within the understanding of region makes it possible to clearly indicate the reference point relative to which the intellectual or administrative process of regionalization of a social, cultural, political, or economic space is carried out. This reference point is a modern state that officially delegates part of its powers either to the subnational level of territorial-administrative units, or to the supranational level of international associations. As a result, each region acquires a certain subjectivity, which is at the same time dialectically limited and enhanced by the economic and military-political potential of a particular state. As the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann noted, the main reason for modern regionalization is the ever deeper “functional differentiation” of society, which determines such multidirectional processes as “internal segmentation” and “functional crossing of territorial boundaries.”¹ As a historical analysis of the genesis and early evolution of the concept and socio-political practice of regionalization in European history shows, initially the concept of region was in opposition to the concept of the province. In ancient Rome, a region was understood as being a part of the original ethnic and state-political territory (e.g., the regions of Italy). Provinces were territories conquered and submitted to Roman power. Roman colonies were brought into the provincial territories with varying degrees of intensity. Over time, colonies of Roman citizens had an increasing influence on the social structure and political and cultural life of the provinces. The gradual Romanization of the provinces turned them into *de jure* regions of the Roman Empire, although *de facto* they continued to be called provinces. During the decline of the Roman Empire, the settlements in the barbarian federates on the lands of the Romanized provinces began to be perceived as special territories. Like the early Roman provinces, they differed from Roman settlements, but unlike provinces completely subordinate to Roman power, they had broad autonomy.² In medieval feudal Europe, the concept of region lost its meaning because each region was a unique province, and there was no normative or unifying state

¹ Luhmann 1997: 808–811.

² Donskih 2021: 6–8.

center. The Holy Roman Empire was too weak and amorphous. The Holy See (through the *Romanus pontifex*) was inclined to follow political changes when creating new dioceses rather than impose fundamentally new spatial structures.

The concept of region was again in demand in the nineteenth century, with the formation and strengthening of nation-states. It is significant that Paul Vidal de La Blache, the founder of French historical and humanitarian geography, was the first to solve this problem. He drew attention to the fact that dozens of small departments into which the French Revolution had divided the historical provinces of the Bourbon's Kingdom did not form effective and viable territorial-administrative units. The development of France began to be reduced to the glory and success of the capital Paris alone. Vidal proposed forming larger regions on the basis of common geographical and historically developed economic and cultural features, from which an "ensemble of France" should be formed and should be characterized by the "harmony and balance of parts." It is noteworthy that, having devoted his main work to the subnational level of regionalization, Vidal also touched upon the problem of the supranational level. According to Vidal, France is located at the junction of two macro-regions that are unique in all respects: the Mediterranean (southern Europe) and the Continent (northern Europe) as historical and geographical regions.³

Thus, the concept of region acts, historically and functionally, not so much as a descriptive concept but as a normative one and as an instrument of sociocultural constructivism. Within this context, a significant problem implicitly emerges. Regional zoning is based on a set of features that are recognized by scientists as being significant and sustainable. This is the fundamental difference between regionalization and the usual allocation of certain areas according to one attribute (artifact, cultural form, social institution, etc.). This kind of simple regionalization is a priori functional and does not pretend to reveal root causes or entities. The complex nature of regionalization involuntarily endows allocated and designated spaces with deep meaning. There is an involuntary reification or "objectification" of the intellectual construction, which begins to be perceived as a real object. If the construction of this or that region turns out to be productive, then soon administrative practices, narratives, and intellectual traditions endow the region with its own history, cultural identity, and even political subjectivity. A striking example of this kind of reification is the regional concepts of Europe and the West. It is noteworthy that the complementary Other for the concept of the West—the East—can be deconstructed as an intellectual phantom, but the "Western World" is already an undeniable political, economic, and cultural reality for most politicians and journalists whose ideas, to a greater or lesser extent, influence public opinion in Third World countries.⁴

It is obvious that the process of regionalization is a process of development and appropriation of a certain space by the "center"—a dynamically developing large city and/or region (the subnational level), or an influential state claiming hegemony in the emerging region (the supranational level). At first, regionalization is an exclusively intellectual and symbolic project. At this stage, "conflicts of regional identities" are often observed when several "centers" try to draw peripheral territories into the orbit of their regional projects.

³ Vidal de La Blache 1979: 29–38.

⁴ Ferguson 2011: 294 – 299; Said 1995: 32–35.

Over time, successful regional projects are institutionalized through legalized territorial-administrative divisions or international treaties, and failed regional projects are “surrendered to the archives” of world or national history.

It is noteworthy that in European international relations between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, blocs and alliances were often built not regionally but transnationally, with distant states pitted against neighbors with whom there were territorial conflicts. As examples one can point to the famous Franco–Turkish alliance against the Habsburgs formed in the early sixteenth century, or to attempts to establish an alliance between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Russian Tsardom against the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the mid-sixteenth century. Relatively stable and effective regional blocs emerged in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries due to the processes of globalization. In the context of global competition, the old territorial disputes of nation-states have become too small, and the need to jointly defend similar interests is urgently needed. On this basis of joint opposition to global challenges and threats, regional blocs have begun to form which the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas has aptly described as “continental regimes.”⁵ An acute awareness of the commonality of interests within the framework of such associations makes it possible to predict a trend toward the development, substantiation, and implementation of new supranational regional projects in the mass consciousness.

In the early twenty-first century, Jürgen Habermas proposed a distinction between two levels within the world system: the high or supranational level and the middle or transnational level. In this context, it can be assumed that the lowest level is still that of the nation-state. According to Habermas, the transnational level of the world system is based on a complex system of agreements that coordinate joint actions and long-term cooperation between several nation-states. The supranational level presupposes the presence of global organizations that limit and direct national sovereignty. Habermas admits that, at present, the supranational level remains wishful thinking. It has been replaced by the hegemony of one state: the United States. Real integration processes for the formation of regions take place only at the transnational level through interstate agreements.⁶ Thus, when speaking about the construction or formation of regions, it is necessary to consider the interests of the main actors in this process, which include around two hundred nation-states and only one global hegemon. Since the economic, technological, and demographic capabilities of individual states are not comparable with each other, the process of forming regions within a global world will include cultural export and economic and technological co-optation among the leading “global players,” and adaptation and compromise among the majority of nation-states.

3. Reception of the discourse of regionalism outside the Western core of Europe

In my opinion, it is a mistake to consider regionalization from the point of view of the primordialism of regions that, in the process of historical development, reveal their original essence. It is more productive to analyze regionalization from the point of view of

⁵ Habermas 2004: 135.

⁶ Habermas 2004: 134–136.

the subjects and initiators of this process. This makes it possible to clearly identify political, economic, and sociocultural centers that form a regional structure around them. For example, in recent Belarusian historiography, one can find a number of works, including monographs and collections of academic articles following the results of conferences focused on the Western region of Belarus, Western Belarus, Eastern or Western Polesia, or Belarusian Polesia.⁷ However, there is not similar body of work devoted to Eastern Belarus. It can be concluded that, in Belarusian historiography, there is an unspoken consensus on the representation of Brest, Gomel, and Grodno as regional centers (the regions of Western Belarus, Western Polesia, Eastern Polesia). With regard to the Brest region, one can even speak of “double regionalization,” since its territory fits into both current subnational regional discourses in Belarus: Polesia and Western Belarus. At the same time, Eastern Belarus is not perceived and is not represented as a region. For Belarusian historiography, the lands around Polotsk, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Mstislavl and Minsk are the historical and ethno-cultural “center” of Belarus and its foundation as a sovereign state and a modern nation. The historical and cultural heritage of this territory is primarily national rather than regional.

A similar “subjective approach” to regionalization at the supranational level makes it possible to point to the Western Europe of the Enlightenment as a historical entity interested in the formation of its Others: Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, and most other macro-regions. These mental constructions are necessary not only for cognition, but also to serve as “Others” in opposition to Western Europe.⁸ The emergence and rapid development of the German Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave rise to a need for the formation of the concept of Middle or Central Europe as a space for German political, economic, and cultural hegemony.⁹ The defeat of Germany in two world wars led to the decomposition of the concept of Central Europe and the integration of Germany into Western European structures. Middle or Central Europe was cut by the notion of the Iron Curtain, which deprived the concept of an obvious referent.

The historical realities of the European continent during the second half of the twentieth century was often interpreted as a confrontation between the capitalist West and the communist East. In order to break out of the symbolic circle of Eastern Europe, from the 1950s to the 1970s opposition-minded groups of Hungarian, Polish, and Czech intellectuals attempted to justify the existence of a third European historical region—Central–Eastern Europe—that gravitated toward the West, but periodically fell under the influence of the East. The most correct Hungarian version of this concept recognized that the social structures of Central and Eastern Europe were rather Eastern European, but the cultural influence was predominantly Western European. Together with a lack of natural resources, which was a significant factor for development after the start of the Industrial Revolution, this led to many tragic pages in the history of the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰

In the early twenty-first century, a process of rethinking and reformatting the concept of Central–Eastern Europe began after the post-socialist states of Eastern Europe entered

⁷ *Zahodni ryegiyon Belarusi vachyma gistorykau i krayaznaucau*: 11–18.

⁸ Wollf 1994.

⁹ Naumann 1917.

¹⁰ Szücs 1983: 176–178.

the European Union. The region began to be positioned as a basis for the “New Europe” (as opposed to the “Old Europe”). This region is based on the common historical and cultural heritage of the medieval “Little Europe” (referred to as *Europa Minor*, meaning the kingdoms that adopted Christianity around 1000) and the close international cooperation between Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia (the countries of the Visegrád Group, or the V4). In this new model of regional differentiation in Europe, Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine began to be interpreted as a “borderland,” which pushed the borders of Eastern Europe on the new mental maps even further to the east. This process essentially equated the Russian Federation with Eastern Europe.¹¹ It is significant that the concept of Central–Eastern Europe had to compete to some extent with the Scandinavian or Baltic regional projects but not with the project of a new Eastern Europe, which remained a typical colonial object of representation and interpretation without its own voice.

It should be emphasized that the centers of the global world do not suffer from the problem of “regional creation” as a means of self-understanding and positioning. In an era of globalization, this particular occupation is the lot of outsiders. As the German scholar Sebastian Conrad has aptly noted, in regard to the narratives of global history, the problem of one’s own uniqueness is the concern of researchers from countries such as Germany, Russia, and Japan, which largely develop in their own way. Scholars from the USA or Great Britain, on the other hand, are more interested in the question of their exclusivity—a complex of geographical, historical, and sociocultural reasons that allowed these countries to “create the modern global world.”¹²

For Second and Third World countries, the inevitable process of regional identification is primarily concerned with the choice between presentation and representation. We talk most often about the need to adapt a previously articulated representation to one’s current interests and goals. In the case of a presentation, the construction of a region is a creative process of local (national and regional) elites, who thus try to position, defend, and promote their national and/or regional interests. In the case of representation, the model for and image of the region are often brought in from outside and are followed by the reception and appropriation (internalization) of a particular regional discourse by the local community.

As a rule, old imperial discourses are what is behind the representation, and which are rejected by national elites but are based on such a deep historical tradition that it is not possible to quickly eliminate them from the public consciousness. For example, for modern Russian socio-political thought, the concept of the “Near Baltic Region” (*Прибалтика*) as a subregion consisting of three states (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) is still relevant. At the same time, the intellectual and political elites of these states clearly define their regional affiliation as the Baltic. It is obvious that participation in the Baltic region allows Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia to position themselves as proper European countries, and the concept of the Near Baltic Region correlates them with the space of Eastern Europe, which the national elites of these countries would like to distance themselves from as much as possible.¹³

The problem often lies in the fact that for states with relatively low economic and

¹¹ *Cywilizacja europejska: różnorodność i podziały*: 157–162.

¹² Conrad 2016: 41.

¹³ Valodz’kin 2022: 349–360.

demographic potential, the number of “regional projects” of their own identification is much greater than for “major players” on the regional and global stage. For example, for Sweden, the regional choice is limited to just two projects: Northern Europe (“Nordism”) and/or the Baltic region.¹⁴ For Poland, the problem of regional identity has been closely connected with the concept of “Central–Eastern Europe” for the last thirty years. It has allowed the country to distance itself from the classical Enlightenment concept of the ever-lagging-behind Eastern Europe (a sphere of permanent Russian influence), and to also join forces with its neighbors (the Visegrád Group: Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic). It is noteworthy that British discourse still emphasizes the eastern vector of this region—“East Central Europe” (rather than “Central and Eastern Europe”), which is an obvious tribute to the classical established discourse of Eastern Europe.¹⁵

The issue of choosing a regional project and its adaptation to national historical and cultural traditions and the priorities of socioeconomic development is especially acute for small states that are deprived of access to the sea. Even theoretically, landlocked countries do not have the opportunity to form direct global links (transnational network cooperation) and are doomed to deep regional integration with their neighbors. Under these conditions, the most effective strategy for small landlocked states is to interact with several regional associations, which would allow them to maintain a greater degree of national independence.

4. Belarusian historiography before choosing a regional project

The Republic of Belarus is a vivid example of a complex search by a landlocked country to position and integrate itself into the global world while taking into account its national, historical, and cultural characteristics and development priorities. Belarus is a small European state that gained independence in 1991 after the collapse of the USSR. The case of Belarus is interesting because the country has a rich historical past but does not have a clear and widely known historical narrative about its national statehood. Between the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries, Belarusian lands were part of multinational states: Ancient or Kievan Rus' (also known as the Rurik Empire), the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Empire, and the Soviet Union. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, all these states had disappeared from the political map of the world, but they have generally recognized political heirs: the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Poland, and the Russian Federation. Therefore, as a nation-state, the Republic of Belarus forms its own historical narrative through understanding the role and place of the Belarusian lands in the large multinational states of the past.¹⁶

It is possible to escape from under the umbrella of historical narratives of neighboring countries with the help of a regional project that reveals the meaning and role of Belarus in a broader historical context. With regard to Belarus today, there are around five more or less well-known regional projects that perceive, explain, and determine the context of the country’s positioning in the European arena in their own way:

¹⁴ Makarychev 2003: 149.

¹⁵ Wolff 1994.

¹⁶ *Istorija belorusskoj gosudarstvennosti*, Tom 1: 5.

1) Belarus as part of Eastern Europe: In this project, Eastern Europe is seen as a historical region lagging behind and/or catching up with the classical West (Western Europe). Historically, this is the first and most influential form of regional discourse, which relies on the high authority of the social philosophy of the Enlightenment. Since the late eighteenth century, liberal, Marxist, and neo-liberal intellectuals comprehended the past, present, and future of Belarus through the concept of “Eastern Europe” as something that needed to be overcome and modernized.¹⁷ There is a full-fledged discourse regarding Eastern Europe that is based on an almost three-hundred-year-old intellectual tradition of opposition between the West and the East of Europe. This axiom has inspired so much historical research that Western and Eastern Europe are perceived by most scientists, politicians, and journalists not as products of reification but as objectively existing entities. For example, the well-known British historian Norman Davies quite reasonably mapped at least seven borderlines dividing the west and east of Europe, ranging from the limes of the Roman Empire and Christian denominations to the industrialization of the nineteenth century and the Iron Curtain during the Cold War. Only in one division was Belarus included in the western part of the continent: beyond the line of Ottoman advance and the spread of Islam.¹⁸

2) Belarus as Western Rus' and as a part of a unique East Slavic Orthodox civilization: The discourse of “Western Russianism” (*Западнорусизм*) has been known since the late nineteenth century. Initially, it was aimed at the revival of “primordially Russian principles” in the Western Territory of the Russian Empire (the Russian World in the modern interpretation) through a strengthening of East Slavic unity.¹⁹ Currently, Western Russianism as a regional project is presented in Belarus in the academic community at less generously funded universities outside the capital city seeking financial support from Russian academic networks and funds, and by active internet resources (Regnum, Western Rus', etc.), most of which were blocked by the Belarusian authorities in early 2020.²⁰

3) Belarus as a member of the Eurasian project: Eurasianism as an ideological trend emerged in the 1920s and 1930s among Russian emigrants and became widely known in the post-Soviet space by the late twentieth century. It was based on the idea of the uniqueness of the “Great Steppe,” which was neither Europe nor Asia and had followed a special path of historical development. Paradoxically, the Eurasian discourse, which occupies a marginal position in the Belarussian intellectual space, correlates perfectly with the republic’s foreign policy in the early twenty-first century. For example, in *The History of Belarusian Statehood in Five Volumes*, prepared by the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus (2018–2020), the concept of Eurasia was never even mentioned!²¹

4) Belarus as part of Central–Eastern Europe: The regional concept of Central–Eastern Europe was developed in the late twentieth century by emigrants and dissidents, mainly of Hungarian and Polish origin from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Central–Eastern Europe was seen as the real Europe, which, as a multinational region and

¹⁷ *Istorija beloruskoj gosudarstvennosti*. Tom 2: 198–209.

¹⁸ Davies 1996: 18.

¹⁹ C'vikevich 1993.

²⁰ *Sovremennyye global'nyje transformacii i problema istoricheskogo samoopredelenija vostochnoslavyanskikh narodov* 2009.

²¹ *Istorija beloruskoj gosudarstvennosti*. V 5 tomah.

a long-standing target of aggression from the German and Russian empires, had fallen behind the communist Iron Curtain by sheer force of historical circumstances.²² At present, this discourse has become widespread, even to the point of institutionalization within the Visegrád Group and the EU Eastern Partnership program. Up until 2020, the concept of Central–Eastern Europe was often used by Belarusian diplomats, journalists, and activists from non-profit organizations. Belarusian historians have occasionally used this concept but have not tried to uncover its historical content.

5) Belarus as a part of the Eastern European borderland: This is the only regional project that was developed in the early twenty-first century by scholars associated with the European Humanities University (Minsk, after 2004 in Vilnius) with the participation of Belarusian intellectuals organized around Pavel Tserashkovich and Ihar Babkou. They considered Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova to be a unique “large borderland” located between Europe and Russia with its own historical destiny.²³ This project did not find sympathy or support among Belarusian political elites, who took chose to follow various vectors of integration into broader regional associations within the global world: the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (official vector), or the European Union (opposition vector).

It is significant that all of these regional concepts were developed by philosophers and writers from Europe or Russia. When summarizing the historical path of the Belarusian nation, Belarusian academic historiography uses exclusively classical Enlightenment concepts of Europe, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe. In the general publication *The History of Belarusian Statehood in Five Volumes* (2018–2020), Europe is mentioned 146 times, Eastern Europe 71 times, Western Europe 27 times, and Central Europe 20 times.²⁴ The concept of Central–Eastern Europe was used by Belarusian historians only four times and only in the second volume, which is dedicated to the history of Belarus during the Russian Empire (from the late eighteenth until the early twentieth century). Briefly explaining this position, the editors of the publication noted that the Belarusian people are an East Slavic community living in the “geographical center of Europe, on a civilizational fault line, and at an important geopolitical crossroads.”²⁵ The concepts of the Western Rus', Eurasia, and the Eastern European borderland have therefore remained unclaimed by Belarusian academic historiography.

Thus, regionalism in historical research is primarily an important element of constructivist practices that seek through historical arguments to position regional structures as objectively existing sociocultural phenomena, inextricably linked (relative to the subnational level) or organically interconnected (relative to the supranational level) with a certain state. This fact does not detract from the obvious heuristic potential of the regional approach to historical research (at least as a promising hypothesis) and its ability to identify stable connections and mutually beneficial relationships in the past within certain sociocultural spaces. National historiographies very often neglect or underestimate this

²² *Historia Europy środkowo-Wschodniej* 2000; Szücs 1995.

²³ *Crossroads. The Journal for the Studies of Eastern European Borderland* 2006; *После империи: исследование восточноевропейского Пограничья* 2005.

²⁴ *Istorija beloruskoj gosudarstvennosti. V 5 tomah.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1: 4.

aspect. Unfortunately, for most countries the choice of a regional project does not mean substantiating their own presentation but instead adapting to a representation imposed from outside. All significant regional projects have been developed by philosophers, writers, and politicians from the leading Western states. Another significant issue is related to the fact that all regional historical research is aimed at proving regional concepts developed outside of historical science. In this case, political order consistently prevails over historical analysis. To date, there is not a single historical study worthy of mention on the basis of which this or that regional project could be rethought or adjusted. There is no “feedback” when, according to the results of historical research, there is revision, criticism, or rejection of any regional project as being inconsistent with historical tradition. Post-colonial criticism reveals the cultural and historical conditionality of various kinds of regional projects, but this does not mean that regions do not have cultural and historical foundations and socioeconomic prospects. Moreover, small countries are interested in the formation of effective and equal regional associations that will allow them to go beyond the negative discourse of peoples “forever dependent” on their more successful coastal neighbors.

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СЈАРГЕИ ДАНСКИХ
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**РЕГИОНАЛИЗАМ КАО АЛТЕРНАТИВНИ ПРАВАЦ
БЕЛОРУСКИХ ИСТОРИЈСКИХ ИСТРАЖИВАЊА:
ИЗМЕЂУ РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЈЕ ПРОШЛОСТИ
И КОНСТРУКЦИЈЕ БУДУЋНОСТИ**

Резиме

Релевантност проучавања регионализма у историјским истраживањима је последица активних процеса територијалне и транснационалне регионализације. У савременом свету регионализам се јавља у два облика: на субнационалном нивоу (територије у структури државе) и на наднационалном нивоу (међудржавна удружења). У оба случаја, главни субјект и референтна тачка у изградњи региона је национална држава. Захваљујући историјским истраживањима, регионални пројекти пролазе кроз реификацију и почињу да се позиционирају као објективно постојећи и самодовољни простори. Нажалост, у савременој историографији не уочава се обрнут процес везан за критику и промишљање историчара појединих регионалних пројеката. Лишене излаза на море, мале „без копнене“ државе су више од других принуђене да учествују у регионалним асоцијацијама, што указује на њихову историјску утемељеност. Проблем је што регионалне пројекте (концепте) развијају филозофи, писци и дипломате хегемонистичких земаља. Савремене националне историографије малих европских земаља су принуђене да своје националне историјске наративе прилагођавају регионалним пројектима наметнутим споља. За младу европску државу без излаза на море – Републику Белорусију – ово имплицира тежак избор између пет регионалних пројеката које су развили европски или руски филозофи и писци, а који су повезани са концептима Источне Европе, Западне Русије, Евроазије, Централно-Источна Европа и источноевропска граница.

Кључне речи: регионализам, друштвени конструктивизам, Белорусија, Источна Европа, избор регионалног пројекта.

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**“TRADITIONLESS SUPERSTITION”:
HISTORICAL NOVELTY
AND THE EARLY CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS**

Abstract: To be disinterested in any historically approved tradition while also promoting oneself as a new, exclusive religion in terms of soteriology was something quite unacceptable to the mindset of antiquity. Nevertheless, this is exactly how Christianity was perceived in the *Imperium Romanum* as a historical novelty, an anti-traditional, ethnically unrooted, overbearing, and in fact superstitious religious movement which, to say the least, was a disturbing and subversive social phenomenon. Given the seriousness of these perceptions and accusations made by both pagans and Jews, early Christian apologetics focused on several key topics that lie in the background of this issue. First of all, apologetics focused on relativizing an alleged contradiction between the historically new and the truth. Moreover, they worked on a reinterpretation of the term new in the context of the Christian relationship to the Old Testament tradition and especially to its prophecies. Also, early Christian theology made it clear that novelty actually represented the timeliness of the divine revelation, as implied by the term *καιρός* in relation to the incarnation of the Logos. Moreover, this should not be understood in terms of the protological, but rather in terms of an eschatological perspective. Interpreted in this way, Christianity manifests itself as simultaneously old and new, as a phenomenon that inevitably bases its existence on an appreciation of History, within which the successive divine epiphanies took place and tradition (old and new) formed in connection with these epiphanies.

Keywords: Historical novelty, antiquity, Golden Age, truth, tradition, religion, superstition, Old Testament, proof from prophecy, *καιρός*.

1. Introduction

One of the accusations against the early Christians articulated the position that Christianity was a *new* historical phenomenon that was not deeply rooted in historical traditions, or that it had completely severed ties with such traditions.¹ To

¹ The position on this matter depended, to some extent, on whether the accusation was made by pagans or by followers of Judaism. Види: Jacobsen 2009: 85–110. For other reasons and excuses for the disparagement and

the contemporary eye, this accusation about the recent origin of a social phenomenon does not seem particularly serious, simply because respect for antiquity and tradition is significantly less present in the modern mentality than it was in the Old World. In classical times, if something was older, it was more respected. This is also a common perspective in our contemporary reflections on the culture of that time.² What was ancient and had withstood the test of time for several centuries, had an advantage in relation to that which was new or recent, and consequently, still untested by the experience of historical trials and turmoil.³ The customs of ancestors in Roman culture,⁴ for example, was a crucial concept for the preservation of traditional values. It had to be respected and transmitted through generations as a norm that compensated for the shortcomings of written laws, and had paramount value, and disciplinary and practical prerogatives. In his *Library of History*, Diodorus Siculus (Διόδωρος Σικελιώτης, 90-30 BC), an ancient Greek historian and writer, offered a concise description of the ancient mentality and its fascination with antiquity as a crucial foundation of identity:

“Again, with respect to the antiquity of the human race, not only do Greeks put forth their claims but many of the barbarians as well, all holding that it is they who are autochthonous (ἐαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες) and the first of all men to discover the things which are of use in life, and that it was the events in their own history which were the earliest (ἐαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες) to have been held worthy of record”.⁵

Fascination with ancient times was certainly linked to the widespread myth of a so-called Golden Age belonging to a fictitious, ancient historical past. More specifically, the Golden Age signified the notion of a mythological period at the beginnings of humanity, which was glorified as an ideal existential condition, when humanity was supposedly morally blameless, carefree, and all its needs were easily met due to universal abundance and fertility. This kind of representation is vividly depicted in Hesiod's poetry:

Golden was the race (χρύσειον μὲν πρότιστα γένος) of speech-endowed human beings which the immortals, who have their mansions on Olympus, made first of all ... just like gods they spent their lives (ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον), with a spirit free from care, entirely apart from toil and distress. Worthless old age did not oppress them, but they were always the same in their feet and hands, and delighted in festivities, lacking in all evils; and they died as if overpowered by sleep. They had all good things (ἔσθλα δὲ πάντα τοῖσιν ἔην): the grain-giving field bore crops of its own accord, much and unstinting, and they themselves, willing, mild-mannered, shared out the fruits of their labors together with many good things, wealthy in sheep, dear to the blessed gods.⁶

persecution of early Christians in the Roman Empire, see: Croix 1963: 6-38; Hargis 2001: 1–16.

² Cf. Edlund-Berry 2014: 321–325. For a more comprehensive overview of the construction of the value system in the Old World in a multicultural perspective, see: Papadopoulos, Urton (eds.): 2012.

³ For more information on respect for antiquity, see Peter Pilhofer's comprehensive study. He provides a detailed account of the connections between Greco-Roman, Judaic, and early Christian intellectual history in the context of this topic. Herodotus' historiography, for example, tended to enhance the reputation of Greek history and culture by showing its supposed multiple connections with ancient Egypt and the wisdom that characterized its ancient culture. An argument like this provided Christian apologists with pre-existing paradigms for proving antiquity. Pilhofer 1990: 34–49.

⁴ Summarized by concepts such as: *mos maiorum*, *mos patrius*, *mos antiquus*, *mos traditus a patribus*, etc.

⁵ Diod. Sic. *Bib. hist.* 1.9.3; Oldfather (transl.) 1989⁴: 32–33.

⁶ Hes. *Op.* 109–126; Most (transl.) 2006: 96–97. Cf. Baldry 1952: 83–92.

Within the setting of such an understanding of the mythological, romantic “Golden Age”, each successively younger historical period was perceived as a departure from original chastity and abundance.⁷ Each subsequent epoch represented a decline and degradation in comparison to the original perfection.

2. Religion and Antiquity

In this context, the accusation that Christianity was a new religion, lacking in roots or respect for ancient traditions, sounded extremely serious and discrediting in Roman society, which greatly respected tradition and antiquity, but also, for the most part, tolerated religious pluralism.⁸ Nevertheless, after initially being identified with Judaism,⁹ which was tolerated to a considerable extent *due to its antiquity*, Christians in the Roman Empire were increasingly perceived as a religious community that had broken ties with Jewish piety.¹⁰ The conviction that Christians had parted ways with their own Jewish tradition is discussed, for example, in Origen's polemic with the philosopher Celsus.¹¹ Citing Jewish objections to their compatriots who had converted to Christianity, this philosopher accused Christians of disrespecting their own paternal traditions and deviating from their own heritage.¹² Answers to similar accusations can be found in Tertullian¹³ and Lactantius among others.¹⁴

⁷ About the so-called “primitive man” see in: Boys-Stones 2001: 1–27.

⁸ Smallwood 1976: 124.

⁹ The Jews resided in many cities of the Roman Empire and were easily recognizable by specific religious traditions, related to their own calendar, dietary regulations, and denial of pagan religions. However, their relatively small interest in proselytizing and converting their contemporaries and fellow citizens to their religion, additionally marked them as a religious community that differs from Christianity. See: Cohen 1989: 13–33, 20; North 2000: 72. For more information on missionary tendencies in Judaism, see: Bird 2010: 77–132; Goodman 1992: 53–78; Feldman 1992: 24–37; Riesner 2000: 211–20; Bedell 1998: 21–29; Paget 1996: 65–103; Dickson 2003: 11–85.

¹⁰ Josephus recorded that the Jews could boast of the antiquity of their religious traditions and the wisdom associated with them, to the extent that even the great Pythagoras is said to have admired it. “Pythagoras the Samian... not only knew about our customs but was also especially keen in his emulation of them” (Πυθαγόρας τοῖνον ὁ Σάμιος... οὐ μόνον ἐγνωκῶς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν δῆλός ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὴς αὐτῶν ἐκ πλείστου γεγενημένος), Joseph. *Ap.* 1.162.1–1.163.1; Barclay (transl.) 2007: 95–96. In addition, the narratives that even Alexander the Great offered gifts and sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple to the Jewish God greatly strengthened the reputation of the Jewish people and their religion. Cohen 1989: 16.

¹¹ Wilken 1984: 112–117. Julian the Apostate even held that Christian deviation from Judaism was actually the most vulnerable point in their system of thought and action. See: Jul. *Gal.*, 163233. Cf. Riedweg 2020: 245–266.

¹² “What happened to you, citizens, that you abandoned the law of our fathers ... (Τί παθόντες, ὦ πολῖται, κατελίπετε τὸν πάτριον νόμον...)”, Origen. *Cels.* 2.1.66–2.1.70.

¹³ “Now, first, when you bring against us the general charge of breaking away from the institutions of our forefathers ... (iam primo quod in nos generali accusatione dirigitis, *diuortium ab institutis maiorum* ...)”, Tert. *Ad nat.* 10.3.

¹⁴ “... and to ensure that the Christians too, who had abandoned the way of life of their ancestors (*qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam*), should return to a sound frame of mind; for in some way such self-will had come upon these same Christians, such folly had taken hold of them, that they no longer followed those usages of the ancients (*non illa veterum instituta sequerentur*) which their own ancestors perhaps had first instituted, but, simply following their own judgement and pleasure, they were making up for themselves the laws which they were to observe and were gathering various groups of people together in various places”, Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 34; Creed (transl.) 1984: 52–53.

As confirmation that such an opinion existed even before, although promoted mainly by Jewish contemporaries, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (ca. 150–160), Justin the Philosopher presents the words of condemnation addressed to him by his interlocutor:

But this is what we are most puzzled about, that you who claim to be pious and believe yourselves to be different from the others do not segregate yourselves from them, nor do you observe a manner of life different from that of the Gentiles, for *you do not keep the feasts or Sabbaths, nor do you practice the rite of circumcision...* But you, forthwith, *scorn this covenant, spurn the commands* that come afterwards, and then you try to convince us that you know God, when you fail to do those things that every God-fearing person would do. [emphasis added]¹⁵

The severity of Trypho’s accusation seems to be supported by the choice of terminology in the previous verse, which further reinforces his irony. Trypho speaks here of the wonderful and exalted “precepts” (τὰ παραγγέλματα) that can be found in the “so-called Gospel” (ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ), which would seem to be so wonderful and exalted because no one can fulfill them - and it is impossible to fulfill them because they were deliberately made not in accordance with normal human capacities but allegedly in accordance with extreme ascetic imperatives. Or alternatively, in order to intensify his irony and make his disparagement of Christians more visible, Trypho chooses the term τὰ παραγγέλματα, even though it can be found only once in the texts of the Septuagint (1 Sam 22:14), nowhere in the New Testament, and only once in Justin himself, in this very place. The regulations and commandments of Old Testament Law are indicated mainly by these approximately synonymous terms: τὰ ἐντάλματα (commandments), τὰ ἐντεταλμένα (commands), τὰ προστάγματα (orders, commands), τὰ νομῖμα (customs, habits, institutions, usages), τὰ διαταχθέντα (commands, prescriptions), and αἱ ἐντολαί (commandments, injunctions). What Trypho was quite possibly drawing attention to was their allegedly conscious and erroneous disregard of the importance of Mosaic Law, which was essentially a rejection of their own sacred historical tradition.

3. The Relationship between Historical Novelty and Truth

The mindset of the Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds perceived historical novelty as lacking a foundation in old traditions and devoid of wisdom. It also grappled with a fundamental question: Is it even possible for something new to also be true? For the early Christian apologetic theology of the second century, this was a topic of exceptional importance. More specifically, if one accepts the thesis that what is new *ipso facto* cannot be true, on what grounds is it possible to establish a Christian mission at all? In other words, how is it even possible to achieve a successful kerygma (κήρυγμα) of the Gospel, if new and true are viewed as mutually exclusive? In this context, it was obvious that the task of Christian theology and the success of the Christian mission depended largely on the ability to relativize, or even show it to be completely false. This endeavor was even more urgent considering the fact that

¹⁵ “Μήτε τὰ σάββατα τηρεῖν μήτε τὴν περιτομὴν ἔχειν ... ταύτης οὖν τῆς διαθήκης εὐθέως καταφρονήσαντες ὑμεῖς ἀμελεῖτε καὶ τῶν ἐπειτα, καὶ πείθειν ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε ὡς εἰδότες τὸν θεόν”, Justin. *Dial.* 10.3–4.

Christianity was perceived not only as a new religion, but also as an “exclusive” religion, or rather a religion that aspires not simply to reveal a partial metaphysical truth but which also claims to represent itself as the revelation of Truth in its entirety.

To the contemporaries of the early Christians, the view that a new religion represents the final revelation of the entire truth about divinity, the cosmos and humankind all at once seemed, at the very least, to be extremely pretentious and lacking any foundation in the centuries-old perception of reality that was predominant in the ancient world. This is evident in several extant testimonies about the ideas contemporaries had about early Christianity. For example, Suetonius, Tacitus and Pliny the Younger all describe Christianity as “superstition,”¹⁶ which was an extremely serious and discrediting perception that could easily be associated with widespread accusations against Christians as alleged atheists.¹⁷ In the context of such perceptions of early Christianity, theologically articulated answers can be found very early in patristic literature. For example, in the *Epistle to Diognetus* it is possible to find a statement about the existence of a dilemma regarding the “late” appearance of Christianity on the historical scene and an attempt to explain this phenomenon:

... just why has this *new race* (καινός γένος) or way of life (ἐπιτήδευμα) come into being *now and not before* (νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον).¹⁸ [emphasis added]

It was necessary to point out and discuss this dilemma precisely because the criterion of antiquity was often used as proof of authenticity and truthfulness.

4. Reinterpretation of Historical Novelty

4.1. Sacred Books of Ancient Israel

One of the most effective strategies used by early Christians to counter accusations that their religion was a novelty that lacked ancient wisdom was to refer to the Law of Moses and the Prophets. This apologetic strategy suggested that respect for historical continuity and tradition was unequivocally demonstrated by recognizing the authority ancient Israel’s sacred

¹⁶ “A new and harmful superstition” (*superstitionis novae ac maleficae*), Suet. *Ner.* 16.2; “pernicious superstition” (*exitiabilis superstitio*); Tac. *Ann.* 15.44; “distorted and unrestrained superstition” (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*), Plin. *Tra. Ep.* X 96.8.

¹⁷ Plutarch (ca. 46–127) in his text Περί δεισιδαιμονίας (On superstition), an integral part of his *Morals*, described the understanding of his contemporaries regarding the topic of the relationship between correct traditional piety and superstition, which must be avoided in every way because it represents: “distorting and sullyng one’s own tongue with strange names and barbarous phrases, to disgrace and transgress the god-given ancestral dignity of our religion (ἀτόποις ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι βαρβαρικοῖς καταισχύειν καὶ παρανομεῖν τὸ θεῖον καὶ πάτριον ἄξιωμα τῆς εὐσεβείας)”, Plut. *De superst.* 166b.5–7; Babbitt (transl.) 1962³: 490–491. Moreover, adds Plutarch, the superstitious man simply does not understand and therefore rejects the common tradition and “enjoys no world in common with the rest of mankind (τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι κοινὸς οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ κόσμος)”, 166c.8–9. Bearing all this in mind, Plutarch is explicit in his assessment that, in the final analysis: “the atheist has no part in causing superstition, but superstition provides the seed from which atheism springs, and when atheism has taken root, superstition supplies it with a defence (ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία τῇ ἀθεότητι καὶ γενέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀρχὴν καὶ γενομένη διδῶσιν ἀπολογία), not a true one or a fair one, but one not destitute of some speciousness”, 171a.2–3. For more information on this issue, see: Jovanović 2022: 5–26.

¹⁸ *Diogn.* 1.1.8–10.

texts had in the preaching of Jesus Christ and the apostolic communities of the early Church. In this sense, this new faith manifested itself through the acceptance and relevant interpretation of a collection of Old Testament texts that were at least a millennium old. This process of interpretation was two-pronged from the beginning: Faith in Christ as the incarnate Logos and Son of God had to be justified by referring to the Old Testament and its messianic prophecies. It was also equally important to demonstrate through theological interpretation that the Old Testament was still relevant to the new faith by referring to the Gospel of Christ. In this context, early Christian writers primarily pointed to the historical continuity of God's self-revelation in the Old Testament and the New Testament as well as, to their own right to adopt ancient Old Testament texts, given that they believed only Christ's Church had a true understanding of their content. In fact, Justin the Philosopher unequivocally emphasized that the Church was in fact "the true, spiritual Israel".¹⁹ Justin reinforced this position by pointing out that the true message of the prophecies actually referred to Christians and the Christian Church, and that, consequently, Christian wisdom was essential historically older than all others.²⁰

4.2. Affirmation of the New People of God

An important step in the apologetic strategy, therefore, was to point out the *original meaning* from the Old Testament narratives. The essence of this hermeneutic approach, which should convincingly show pagan interlocutors the absurdity of their accusations against Christians, is that the person of Jesus Christ and everything related to his earthly life - preaching, teaching, suffering, resurrection, the foundation and rise of the Church - can be identified as the *fulfillment* of the promises and prophecies contained in the scriptures of ancient Israel. The Jews had simply failed to recognize Jesus as the promised Messiah, and the Christians had taken their place as the new People of God. Therefore, when responding to objections about being uprooted from tradition, apologetics emphasized that Christianity represented the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies and that consequently insinuations that it was a new religion without its own historical tradition were simply factually incorrect.

The Christian apologetics' response to the problem of the relationship between old and new in the domain of axiology was therefore formulated by a reinterpretation of the concept of novelty as being necessary negative. In this context, very early on, a self-understanding was articulated that Christians were taught by Christ to worship God in a new yet also traditional way. Specifically, in the pseudonymous writing of *Kerygma Petri*, probably written at the beginning of the second century, fragments of which have been preserved to us through quotations cited by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, a thesis about Christians as a "third genus or race" was developed:

He made a new [covenant] with us: for the ways of the Greeks and Jews are old, and we are those who worship him in a *new way*, as a third race (third genus, τρίτον γένος) as Christians.²¹ [italics added]

¹⁹ Cf. Justin. *Dial.* 11.2; 11.4.

²⁰ Norris 2004: 71–90.

²¹ "Νέαν ἡμῖν διέθετο· τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιά, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί", *Ker. Pet.* 21–22. Emphasizing a *new way* of worship is a key term for understanding the concept of the third race. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.5.41. More on "third race" and ethnic identity as a topic in early

Thus, Christians understood themselves to be a new and distinct race, separated from the others.²² In a similar way, the early Christian apologist Aristides responds to these objections and accusations with a reinterpretation of the term new, from which he removes the pejorative connotation and argues that just as Barbarians and Greeks can trace their origins back to a real or mythological ancestor and progenitor of their race, so too can the Christians, with the difference being that their origin is in a pre-existing Christ.²³ Aristides says:

The Christians, then, reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named Son of God most High.²⁴

In Aristides' *Apology* the concept of genus or race (γένος) is used as a tool for the construction of a Christian identity based on spiritual rather than biological genealogy.²⁵

For it is manifest to us, O king, that there are three races of men in this world. These are the worshippers of your so-called gods, the Jews and Christians.²⁶

In this way, early Christian apologetic literature relativized accusations about its own recent historical origin by seeing them as irrelevant to its own historical identity. Furthermore, Christian apologetics relativized appeals to antiquity as being completely insignificant because it did not represent any value in and of itself unless one could come closer to reliable knowledge of truth through it. The polemical response is summarized by Aristides with his position that Christians, unlike their pagan and Jewish contemporaries, are the only ones close to knowing the truth.²⁷

Similarly, Justin's apologetic relativization is based on pointing out the discontinuity that can exist between antiquity and truthfulness. Quite simply, these two do not stand in any apodictic cause-and-effect relationship. What is old may be true, but it does not necessarily have to be.²⁸ Therefore, those who consider themselves wise should give priority exclusively to the truth, even in cases where it conflicts with what the ancients said on a certain subject. Empty and trivial opinions expressed in the past should be rejected without hesitation. Therefore, Justin wrote the following to the emperor Antony Pius the following:

“Reason prescribes (ὁ λόγος ὑπαγορεύει) that those who are truly pious and philosophers

Christian apologetics see: Lieu 2004, 98–146, 239–268, 305–310; Buell 2005, 63–137; Frensdorff 2006, 1–15; Antonova 2019, 129–211.

²² Harnack 1908: 240–278.

²³ Gruen 2013: 1–22.

²⁴ Arist. *Apol.* 2.29–30. Harris (transl.) 1893: 36.

²⁵ Gruen 2017, 235–249; Horrell 2012: 123–143.

²⁶ “Φανερόν γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τρία γένη εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ. ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταὶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Χριστιανοί”, Arist., *Fragm.* 2.2.1–3. According to Aristides, pagans are further divided into three races - Chaldeans, Greeks and Egyptians: «Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους», 2.2.3–5. In the Syriac recension there are actually four races - Barbarians, Greeks, Judeans and Christians: “This is plain to you, O king, that there are four races of men in this world; Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians”, Arist. *Apol.* 2.16–17.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 16.11–15.

²⁸ Nyström 2016: 249–259, 254.

should honor and hold in affection the truth alone, refusing to go along with the opinions of the men of old (παραιτουμένους δόξαις παλαιῶν ἐξακολουθεῖν), should these be of no value (ἂν φαῦλαι ᾤσιν).²⁹

On the other hand, Justin sought to show that the Christian teachings cannot be seen as completely new and different from the teachings previously presented by, for example, Plato, the Stoics and other philosophers³⁰ or even mythmakers.³¹ With all this in mind, Justin raises the question of the real or unspoken reasons for the accusations against Christians:

“If therefore we say some things similarly (ὁμοίως) to the poets and philosophers whom you respect, and some things that exceed them and are divine, and for which we alone offer proof (μόνοι μετὰ ἀποδείξεως), why are we unjustly hated more than all?”³²

Moreover, the wisdom uttered in ancient times by mythmakers, poets, statesmen, philosophers, and others actually borrowed heavily from the writings of Moses and the prophets. However, and in this statement from Justin one can actually find the key to his argumentation - the wisdom written down by Moses and other prophets like him did not speak for themselves. In other words, they did not articulate the conclusions they reached solely on the basis of their own perception, observation and analysis. According to Justin’s opinion, and this is part of his renowned teaching about the Logos, they spoke wisely because they were moved by the pre-existent Logos of God.

“But when you hear the phrases of the prophets spoken as though from a character, do not suppose that they were spoken as from the inspired ones themselves, but rather from the divine Logos moving them (ἀπὸ τοῦ κινούντος αὐτοὺς θείου λόγου).”³³

In the context of the question posed in the *Epistle to Diognetus* as to why Christianity appeared so late in history, Justin’s indirect answer is that Christianity emerged as the *final of many* historical manifestations of the Logos. Moreover, the incarnate Logos is actually the pre-existent Son of God³⁴ who showed himself repeatedly in history through the “seeds of Logos”³⁵ in practically all ancient manifestations of wisdom. This wisdom was present in an altered, corrupted and partial form in the statements of mythmakers and philosophers, but its final and complete revelation came with the incarnation of the Logos.³⁶ In this sense, any characterization of Christianity as a new religion is virtually impossible because it is virtually older than all religions and wisdom systems. Consequently, Justin’s perspective implies a somewhat paradoxical view that Christianity is both old and new at the same time old, because the partial manifestation of the Logos in history began long before the historical appearance of Christianity, but also new, because only with the complete revelation of the

²⁹ Justin. *1Ap.* 2.1.

³⁰ See chapters: *Ibid.* 8.3-4, 18.5-6 and 20.3–21.1.

³¹ *Ibid.* 21–22.

³² *Ibid.* 20.3.

³³ Justin. *Dial.* 36.1.

³⁴ Justin. *2Ap.* 5.1–5.

³⁵ “Σπερματικός λόγος”, *Ibid.* 9; 13. Cf. Holte 1958: 109–168.

³⁶ Fédou 2009: 145–158.

Logos, i.e. - with its incarnation, did it become definitively shaped over the course of history.³⁷ The paradoxical presence of the old and the new in Christianity is depicted in the most striking way in the verses in which Justin contrasts the behavior, understanding and scope of the old pagan man and the ethos of the new man completely transformed by Christ's entry into the world of history.³⁸

5. Prophecy and Truth

5.1. Proof from Prophecy

The foundation of Christianity's antiquity built on Old Testament prophecies that chronologically predate the Greek writers was of exceptional importance for apologetic argumentation. Moreover, in the context of Justin's apologetics, "proof from prophecy" is inextricably linked to "proof from antiquity". For without evidence of antiquity, the persuasiveness of arguments based on "proof based on prophecy" would be drastically reduced, if not completely ineffective. This is the reason why he repeatedly insists on this insight. For Justin, Plato's philosophy is dependent on Moses and his wisdom, and Greek myths are often nothing more than misinterpretations of the Old Testament. This illustration of his position on this issue, is worth reading:

So when Plato said – "blame belongs to the one who chooses; God is without blame",³⁹ - he spoke taking this from Moses the prophet. For Moses is older than even all the writers in Greek (πρεσβύτερος γὰρ Μωυσῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισι συγγραφέων). And everything whatever both the philosophers and poets said concerning the immortality of the soul or punishments after death or contemplation of heavenly things or similar teachings they were enabled to understand and they explained because they took their starting-points (τὰς ἀφορμὰς) from the prophets.⁴⁰

This insight from Justin was one of the reasons why he developed his teaching of the "seeds of truth" that were present among ancient philosophers and poets.⁴¹

Justin emphasized that he did not want to convince his interlocutors simply by referring to ancient people who had made various claims. He says instead that they should be "persuaded of necessity (κατ' ἀνάγκην πειθόμενοι) by those who foretell things before they happen (τοῖς προφητεῦουσι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι),"⁴² and that these prophets deserve trust⁴³ and must be believed "because we can see things with our own eyes" in the historical present, "things that have happened and are happening as they were foretold." Compared to such prophetic testimonies and proofs, everything is pale and arbitrary because, quite simply, prophecy represents "the greatest and truest proof" (μεγίστη καὶ ἀληθεστάτη

³⁷ Barnard 1971: 132–141.

³⁸ Cf. Justin. *I Ap.* 16.4, 25.1–2, 39.3.

³⁹ "Αἰτία ἐλομένον· θεὸς ἀναίτιος", Plat. *Resp.* 10.617e.

⁴⁰ *I Ap.* 44.8–9.

⁴¹ *Μαρτυρέλος* 2014: 359–378.

⁴² *I Ap.* 30.1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

ἀπόδειξις).⁴⁴ Justin’s argument is well known in scholarly literature as “proof from prophecy” and it permeates all of his preserved works.⁴⁵ This proof, which convincingly refutes the objection that Christianity is not rooted in ancient history is also one of the foundations of Justin’s anti-Jewish polemic.

5.2. The Enigmatic Nature of the Prophecies

Justin was certainly aware that prophecy and prophets were known and recognized among his interlocutors.⁴⁶ Moreover, he was also aware that his interlocutors were well aware that the prophecies were often enigmatic and stated in an insufficiently clear and obvious way. Consequently, for the sake of authentic understanding, it was necessary to have a reliable interpreter. It is for this reason that he emphasizes that it was impossible to understand the prophecies until the appearance of “Jesus Christ, our teacher and interpreter of unfathomable prophecies.”⁴⁷

Given that Justin spoke elsewhere of the Logos inspiring the prophets,⁴⁸ it is clear that he wishes to suggest that it is natural for all to agree with Christians that authentic prophecy is always of divine origin and this is precisely what also makes such origins distinct from various other predictions, conjectures, and false prophecies. Justin expresses his general principle for identifying authentic prophecy as follows: “inspired by nothing other than divine utterance (λόγω θείῳ).”⁴⁹

5.3. Two Types of Prophecy

Justin also wanted to introduce his interlocutors to an important distinction regarding prophecy. According to him, it is possible to distinguish between two types of prophesied events. The first type are those events that have already occurred and had been prophesied in a true way, regardless of the fact that at one time the prophecies about those events were not properly understood (until such an understanding was made possible by Christ).⁵⁰ The second type of prophecy, analogous to the first model, concerns events that have been prophesied but have not yet occurred. Regardless of the fact that now many do not understand them, and do not believe in them even though all that is required for understanding now exists (because Christ became incarnate), those prophecies will turn out to be true.⁵¹ Justin bases the fulfillment of both types of prophecies on the fact that both are of divine origin. However, the basic condition for any discussion of the prophecies is, first of all, an *appreciation of the ancient writings* in which they are recorded. This is followed by contextualization and the careful process of interpretation follow. Consequently, the extraordinary interest of Christians in the Old Testament prophecies and the context in

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ See important study: Skarsaune 1987.

⁴⁶ About prophecies in the ancient world see: Kelly 2018; Nissinen 2019; Woodard 2023.

⁴⁷ “Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου καὶ τῶν ἀγνωστούμενων προφητειῶν ἐξηγητοῦ” (1Ap.32.2).

⁴⁸ 2Ap. 10.8

⁴⁹ 1Ap. 33.9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 32.2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 52.2.

which they were uttered clearly testifies to the *importance of historical tradition* for them. Bearing this in mind, any objection to Christians representing a new, recent phenomenon with no roots in ancient traditions, simply has no objective foundation.

6. Eschatological vs. Protological Perspective

In relation to the question of why the final divine revelation came so late in history, the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* argues that it is a question of divine permission that, according to our free will and the choices we make, we are “drawn by our lawless aspirations” (ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι) and fueled by “passions and lusts” (ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίασι).⁵² Therefore, God certainly knew our choices we make over the course of history do not actually lead us anywhere, and that, in an existential sense, they are a failure because they do not lead to eternal life. That being the case, God allowed it to be shown that the human race, in accordance with its own choices and actions, is unworthy of eternal life and entry into the Kingdom of God. However, precisely at that historical moment when the hopelessness and unworthiness of humankind’s historical iniquities had become apparent, humanity was “now” (νῦν) saved and considered “worthy of life” (ἀξιωθῶμεν ζωῆς),⁵³ thanks solely to the goodness of God.

By no means did the historical moment of God’s self-revelation come too late. This is the case simply because the measuring scale or reference point is not a mythological perfect past, as in the notion of a Golden Age, but the future, that is, the metahistorical eschatological Kingdom of God. In the context of the eschaton, the historical manifestation of God’s revelation in Christ came at the right time, a time when “our injustice was fulfilled” (πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀδικία) and when it became unequivocally clear that injustice could only result in “torture and death” (κόλασις καὶ θάνατος),⁵⁴ and a complete existential collapse. Just then, the “time” (καιρὸς)⁵⁵ had come for God to intervene in the course of human history and to “reveal His goodness and power” (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύναμιν).⁵⁶ In response to this soteriological initiative by God, the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* utters in admiration “Oh, how great is the love for humanity” (<ὦ> τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας).⁵⁷

⁵² *Diogn.* 9.1.1–4. On the identification of sin with desires and pleasures, see: Mel. Sard. *Pasc.* 357–370; cf. also Plato’s *Laws*: “Now at this point I would clearly define for you what I say is the just and the unjust (δικαίον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον), without complication. The tyranny in the soul of spiritedness, fear, pleasure, pain, feelings of envy, and desires (τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ φόβου καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ φθόνων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν ψυχῇ τυραννίδα), whether it does some injury or not, I proclaim to be in every way injustice.”, Plat., *Lg.* 863e5–8; Pangle (transl.) 1988: 257.

⁵³ *Diogn.* 9.1.8–9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 9.2.1–3.

⁵⁵ Cf. Gal 4:4. The term καιρὸς denotes a decisive, crucial historical moment in which God undertakes certain activities and self-revelation in the context of his soteriological intentions. This term is also used in the New Testament literature to denote the coming of Christ and the Kingdom of God. As far as man is concerned, this term implies a kind of “critical situation” that he must recognize as such and not miss the opportunity to direct his actions in accordance with it, which fit into the plan of divine soteriological Providence.

⁵⁶ *Epistula ad Diognetum* 9.2.3–4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 9.2.5. An interesting juxtaposition could be found with Clement of Alexandria who uses the same phrase, albeit not in a decidedly soteriological, but in a pedagogical key. “Ὁ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας”, *Protrepticus* 9.82.2, in: Clément d’Alexandrie, *Le protreptique* (C. Mondésert, trad. & ed.), Sources

Precisely in the context of the New Testament notion of *καίρως*, which finds its usefulness in later apologetic literature, the most significant and most authentic strategy for refuting objections to Christianity as an allegedly unrooted historical novelty is what seems like, what we would call an eschatological perspective. In comparison to these other strategies that emphasized the existence of prehistoric or historical antiquity that are proven by referring to the appropriation of Old Testament writings, the true meaning of the prophecies, or to the pre-existent Logos who sowed the seeds of truth in the past, it would appear that the eschatological perspective relativized the supposedly inseparable connection of historical antiquity and truth in such a way that it subordinated the entire historical process to its final completion or fulfillment. In other words, what had become crucially significant in the context of the relationship between the terms “old”, “new” and “truth” should not be sought in any specific phase or instance of the historical process in which the world was created and humankind developed. What is decisively significant is the intrusion of the eschaton or personal God and the Kingdom of God over the course of history, whose inauguration Christ brings with him. The glorification of mere antiquity and the historical process isolated from its eschatological completion and the final revelation of its intended goal, meaning and truth could not encompass or disclose the fullness of the personal revelation of Truth in the Person of the incarnate Logos who, with his “goodness and power” brought the entire historical process into the Kingdom of God. It seems that this dynamic eschatological perspective among early Christian apologists within the process of refuting accusations about the so-called “novelty” of Christianity should have been more strongly emphasized in the otherwise brilliant and lucid reviews of scholars in the context of this topic.⁵⁸

7. Conclusion

The apologetic strategy that determined the early Christian arguments, quotations, allusions, and appeals was primarily aimed at creating a discourse that would shape a reevaluation and positive perception of Christianity. Moreover, the apologists were interested forming a public perception that Christianity was superior to polytheistic religions. Within this frame of reference, accusations that Christianity was a novelty or a faith uninterested in historical roots and tradition was a very serious burden that early Christian apologetics had to address. As part of a widespread respect for antiquity in the Old World, any neglect of historical tradition in the sphere of religion would mean relegating oneself to the realm of superstition in the form of quite arbitrary conceptual constructions completely uninterested in the true wisdom that had been accumulated and preserved for centuries.

In the face of these accusations, early Christian apologetics relativized the supposed contradiction between the notions of new and the true, and they pointed out that what is

Chrétiennes 2, Paris: Cerf, 1949², 149.

⁵⁸ With the partial exception of Brian E. Daly (who analyzes Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus), it seems that among other scholars who addressed this topic, an apologetic strategy based on eschatology had not played a decisively prominent role in clarifying the tension between the concepts of “antiquity”, “history”, “novelty”, and “truth”. Cf. Daly 1991, 20–24. Compare also the following important works: Pilhofer 1990, 293–303; Young 1999, 81–104; Fiedrowicz 2000³, 13–23, 49–60; Jacobsen 2009, 85–110; Nyström 2016, 249–259.

ancient does not necessarily reveal the truth. In addition, apologetics offered a reinterpretation of the term new by indicating that, in the case of Christianity, it includes a connection with the ancient Old Testament, or even with ancient Greek wisdom, through the Logos, who has actually sown the “seeds of truth” from the very beginning of history of the humankind. The final revelation of the truth was accomplished by the incarnation of the Logos himself, who also represents the only true interpreter of the ancient wisdom uttered by the prophets and the philosophers and sages who only partially knew the truth. In this sense, Christianity, connected to the incarnated Christ, i.e., the pre-existent Logos, is not at all unrelated to history and tradition, but actually precedes all religions and philosophies known up to that time. Consequently, the historical novelty of Christianity should not be understood as a belated historical appearance and disregard for tradition, but rather the opposite - a manifestation in accordance with the notion of *καιρός*, which implies timeliness or rather a decisive historical moment within the context of divine providence. In this context, probably the most significant apologetic strategy that was constructed to refute charges of the so-called novelty of Christianity linked the notion of *καιρός* to the timely intrusion of the eschaton in the matrix and flow of history. Therefore, an eschatological perspective becomes crucially important for an authentic interpretation of the early Christian understanding of the relationship between the terms antiquity, novelty, and truth. In this context, the dynamic eschatological perspective that was so prominent in the New Testament writings and functioned as a key to understanding the significance of humanity’s entire historical experience remained fundamentally significant in the post-apostolic period and the apologetic literature of the second century.

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ЗДРАВКО ЈОВАНОВИЋ
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**„СУЈЕВЕРЈЕ БЕЗ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ“:
ИСТОРИЈСКА „НОВИНА”
КАО ТЕМА РАНОХРИШЋАНСКЕ АПОЛОГЕТИКЕ**

Резиме

Бити незаинтересован за традицију и истовремено промовисати себе као нову, искључиву и у дотадашњој историји неукорењену религију, представљало је феномен који је био у потпуности неприхватљив за менталитет античког човека. Управо на такав начин они су перципирали Хришћанство – као историјски нов, антитрадиционалан, препотентан, а заправо сујеверан религијски покрет који, као такав, представља, у најмању руку, узнемиравајући и субверзивни друштвени феномен. Имајући у виду озбиљност ових перцепција и упућиваних оптужби од стране пагана и Јудеја, ранохришћанска апологетика се фокусирала на неколико кључних тема које се налазе у позадини ове тематике. Пре свега, апологетика се усредредила на релативизовање наводне противречности између историјски „новог” и „истине”, затим на реинтерпретацију појма „ново” у контексту хришћанског односа према старозаветном предању и нарочито према пророштвима. Такође, ранохришћанско богословље је учинило јасним да новина, а заправо правременост божанског откривења описана појмом *καιρός*, у контексту оваплоћења Логоса, не би требало разумевати у контексту протолошке, већ у контексту есхатолошке перспективе. Протумачено на овакав начин, Хришћанство се манифестује као феномен који своје постојање неизоставно утемељује на уважавању Историје у оквиру које се дешавају сукцесивне божанске епифаније, као и Предања (старог и новог) које је у вези са овим епифанијама оформљено.

Кључне речи: Историјска новина, антика, златно доба, истина, традиција, религија, сујевеље, Стари завет, доказ из пророчанства, *καιρός*.

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REVIEWS

Charles Ingrao¹, *The Habsburg Monarchy: 1618–1815* (Third Edition), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 310 pp.

The revised third edition of *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815*, written by Charles Ingrao and published in 2019, is divided into eight chapters. In the preface (xi.–xv.) the author explains that he decided to publish a revised edition due to the many new perspectives and understandings of the Habsburg Monarchy by a new generation of historians from Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the former Yugoslavia, which had emerged over the previous decade. As a result, the chapters were amended and expanded.

In the first chapter, “The Distinctiveness of Austrian History” (p. 1–24), Ingrao writes that the history of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century, with all of the differences that led to its dissolution, cannot be understood without considering its first centuries. According to Ingrao, during its early years, the dynasty was able to conduct successful diplomacy, encompass a diverse number of states, and build strong ties with the German lands. The monarch was also able to play a key role as a symbol of continuity and security. Ingrao explains that, starting with Maximilian I, the Habsburg rulers created the basis for a future state in central Europe by continually expanding their territory through war or politically advantageous marriages. This led them to pursue a balance of power.

The second chapter, “The Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648)” (p. 24–58), begins with the state of the economy in the monarchy in the seventeenth century. It explains that the Habsburg estates in central Europe became somewhat isolated as trading centers shifted from the Mediterranean to

the Atlantic and northern European harbors. However, the price revolution and better placement of agricultural products pushed the Hungarian nobility of this period to become more actively engaged in commerce. The downside of this was insufficient investments in manufacturing, which created a dependence on imports of manufactured goods.

As Ingrao points out, Matthias I (1612–1619) and Ferdinand II (1619–1637) were able to maintain their positions only through great effort and with the help of allies, who were assembled around a goal of halting the spread of Protestantism. Ferdinand II then embarked on a period of Catholic responses. Jesuit seminaries were founded in Upper and Lower Austria and were given freedom to act against the Protestants. Despite the success of the Counter-Reformation in the Austrian lands, the emperor had to proceed with caution in Hungary and Transylvania, where Protestantism had become more deeply entrenched. Ingrao claims that it was not in the Habsburgs’ interests for the Croatian nobility to convert the Serbs to Catholicism, but it was also clear that it would be difficult to govern these areas without the help of the nobility. For this reason, they instead favored placing Catholic nobles in positions previously held by Protestants, particularly in Bohemia. The war had serious consequences for the Habsburg lands, both demographically and economically. Around 50,000 Protestants abandoned their land, which had a negative effect on the economy.

Ingrao begins the third chapter, “Facing East: Hungary and the Turks (1648–1699)” (p. 58–118), with Poland, which had been attacked by Sweden and Transylvania. The new emperor Leopold I also had to set aside large sums of money to secure the crown of the Holy Roman Empire for himself. He

¹ Born in 1948, Charles Ingrao is an American historian and professor of history at Purdue University. He focuses on the history of central Europe. He has written six books on the history of Central Europe and around forty articles on modern ethnic conflicts in the

Balkans. He was the editor of *Austrian History Yearbook* from 1997 to 2006. Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815* (Third Edition), Cambridge 2019, 1.

was fortunate that the Czech nobility paid for part of the standing army and two-thirds of all taxes. Leopold I was also occupied with the Ottoman Empire, and above all the defense of Vienna. Ingrao argues that if the Ottomans had succeeded in taking Vienna, they would not have been able to hold it, because all of Christian Europe, led by France, would have entered the war under against them. The Great Turkish War created a sense of unity among the Germans, which had a positive effect on the Habsburgs' standing in the Holy Roman Empire. There was, however, an increasingly clear anti-Hungarian policy that included the settlement of Serbs, Germans, and Slovaks in the southern parts of the country.

The fourth chapter, "Facing West: The Second Habsburg Empire (1700 – 1740)" (118–168) describes the War of the Spanish Succession. After Charles II of Spain died, the Habsburgs went to war against France over the succession. Things became more complicated with Rákóczi's uprising in Hungary, although Rákóczi eventually failed to gain the support of all the Transylvanian nobility, and especially the Catholics. Although the dynasty lost the crown, the new emperor Charles VI (1711–1740) proved to be a worthy successor when he won a new war against the Ottomans (1716–1718). Because Karl VI had no male heir, the issue of succession was raised in the first few years of his reign. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1713 allowed for all Hapsburg domains to handed down to a female heir in their entirety. Ingrao further writes about War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), in which the dynasty gained Russia as an ally in another war against the Ottomans (1737–1739), which they eventually lost. This motivated Charles VI's enemies to attack the Habsburg domains when Maria Theresa ascended the throne.

Ingrao begins the next chapter, "The Prussian Challenge: War and Government Reform (1740–1763)," p. 168–198, with the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), in which several European countries became involved. Maria Theresa only regained her political prestige with the coronation of her husband, Francis I of Lorraine, as Holy Roman Emperor. Ingrao argues that the most important outcome of this conflict was that she succeeded by force of will to preserve the integrity

of the empire, and this enabled her allies to place their trust in her. The reforms she implemented later on were more focused on the return of Silesia than on disseminating the values of the Enlightenment.

The chapter "Discovering the People: The Triumph of Cameralism and Enlightened Absolutism (1765–1792)," p.198–249, begins with the second period of Maria Theresa's reforms, which were led by the count of Kaunitz. Cameralism was implemented, which limited the nobility's financial interests in favor of the court. From 1765 on, Maria Theresa governed with the help of her son Joseph II, and together they focused on reform. They did much in particular to improve conditions for peasants. Ingrao notes that Maria Theresa was aware that her intolerant policies were pushing her Orthodox Christian subjects closer to Russia and the Protestant subjects closer to Prussia. Because of this, she permitted Protestants to practice their faith in certain places.

Emperor Joseph II was the true Enlightenment ruler. A Patent of Toleration was issued in 1781, which gave Protestant and Orthodox Christian subjects in the Habsburg Monarchy equal standing and granted them some civil rights. Due to the considerable obstacles Joseph II faced in implementing reforms, by the end of his life he was convinced the reforms had failed and he rescinded most of them, even though it was clear that some had had positive effects on society. Cities had expanded and the population had grown. These positive outcomes established the state as a Great Power, which would enable it to cope with the new European crisis brought about by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.

In the chapter "The Age of Revolution (1789–1815)," p. 249–273, Ingrao touches on the consequences of the French Revolution for the monarchy's international and internal positions. Although Leopold II continued with Joseph II's policies, there was a feeling throughout the monarchy that reform and the ideas of the Enlightenment were what could in fact lead to revolution. As a result, Francis II (1792–1835) resisted further reform. Napoleon's coronation as emperor brought Vienna closer to Russia, yet the only result of this was an attack by Napoleon in 1805 and his conquest of the Habsburg capital. In

the period after 1805, Austria was led by two significant figures: Count Johann Philipp Stadion, the minister of foreign affairs, and Klemens von Metternich, who was initially ambassador to Paris. In 1813, through Metternich's diplomatic efforts, the monarchy changed sides and stood at the forefront of a victorious coalition led by Russia. Ingrao claims that Metternich had drawn up the declarations two years earlier, and the Congress of Vienna only confirmed them. These outcomes suggest a return to the balance of power that had existed before Napoleon. This was followed by a long period of reactions that would determine the fate of the monarchy a century later.

In the concluding chapter "Decline or Disaggregation" (p. 273–280), Ingrao provides some general thoughts about the reasons behind Austria's decline. There were attempts by the Habsburgs to homogenize its territories, but they were never completed. Ingrao argues that the monarchy survived its last century only because its survival was beneficial for the balance of power in Europe. Its collapse left a power vacuum that other Great Powers aspired to, including the Fascist states, the Soviet Union, the United States, and today the European Union.

Charles Ingrao's book, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, shows how the Habsburgs created a state that even today many still remember and are conscious of through the historical processes that gave it a shape in the nineteenth century that would endure until its final collapse in the First World War. Furthermore, it offers clear insight into the development of an empire in which different peoples were incorporated, who then began their own cultural development and later established themselves as nations.

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Steven Beller², *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, 315 pp.

Steven Beller's *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918* contains an introduction, conclusion, and seven chapters. In the introduction (p. 1–25), Beller asserts that Austria-Hungary collapsed in part because it was unable to resolve the national question. It is for this reason that he thinks it should be studied as a blend of different peoples and territories with different economic, social, and cultural foundations. The state's geographical position—between Eastern and Western Europe—naturally left it open to western, Baltic, and Mediterranean influences. Beller notes that the Habsburg Monarchy has been long and unfairly dogged by the "black legend," which began spreading in the seventeenth century, mostly through Protestant thought. This legend held that the Habsburgs were perceived as strict Catholics and oppressors; it was not until later that well-founded criticism emerged concerning its unwillingness to resolve the national question as a reason for its demise.

In the first chapter "1815–1835: Restoration and Procrastination" (p. 25–54), Beller writes about Francis I and Clemens von Metternich's response to the new challenges facing the monarchy. France's defeat came at the right time for the Habsburgs because they again found themselves at the center of diplomacy. Beller also emphasizes that Metternich put foreign policy ahead of domestic policy. The regime's fear of revolution was created by secret associations such as the Carbonari in Italy that created a negative perception of the Metternich regime. Also during this period, there was a cultural direction that, by the end of the nineteenth century, would be referred to as the *Biedermeier*, during which there was an increased interest in German culture, particularly in cities such as Vienna and Prague. Other peoples lacking freedoms also concentrated on developing their own cultural

² Steven Beller was born in London in 1958 to an English father and an Austrian mother. He studied history at the University of Cambridge, where he wrote his first book, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938*

(Cambridge 1989). In 1991, he moved to the United States, where he researches Jewish history and the history of Central Europe. Steven Beller, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918*, Cambridge 2018, 1.

institutions. It was through these efforts that different provinces in the monarchy defined their political nationalism.

Beller begins the second chapter, “1835-1851: Revolution and Reaction” (54–87), with the death of Francis I, a conservative ruler whose policies were not abandoned in the following period, which was characterized by Austria's continued decline abroad. According to Beller, this period of peace and industrial development influenced the genesis of political consciousness, regardless of widespread censorship. Beller argues that a serious commercial and economic crisis combined with burgeoning liberal political movements, and especially those in Hungary, led to the revolution of March 1848. The elites who launched the uprising in various provinces expressed loyalty to the dynasty but also a desire for political emancipation. The Habsburg court saw in this a danger of the state collapsing. In the spring of 1849, there were discussions in the Reichstag in Kremsier (now Kroměříž in the Czech Republic) about power being divided into three parts: a central part, parliaments for the historical provinces, and counties that would be divided along ethnic lines. However, Schwarzenberg and the emperor chose not to resolve the national problem, and, according to Beller, missed a historic chance. *The Sylvesterpatent*, enacted on New Year's Day 1851, contained three edicts annulling the full scope of the Revolution of 1848/49, with the exception of emancipating the peasants from their feudal obligations.

Beller begins the next chapter, “1852-1867: Transformation” (p. 87–128), with a biography of Franz Joseph. Born as Franz, he would later add the name Joseph upon his accession to the throne to send a clear message that he would rule as an absolutist, but he would follow the example of the eminent reformer Joseph II. He had a very conservative upbringing, which would later be reflected in the way he governed and in his understanding of imperial rule. The language of administration remained German, but there were no attempts at Germanization. The regime's influence was particularly visible in religion and economic. All of the regime's weakness would

rise to the surface after the Battles of Magenta and Solferino in 1859. Franz Joseph realized that his absolutism had lost its luster, and in 1869 the October Diploma was promulgated, which retained the emperor's prerogatives in foreign affairs and the army, but the rights the Hungarian Diet had during the *Vormärz* period were restored. Beller argues that a centralized monarchy thereby ceased to exist in 1860 rather than in 1867. The February Patent followed in 1861, which merged two of the most important issues: the emperor's desire to prevent full parliamentarism and to acknowledge the historical rights of the Crown of St. Stephen. After the Habsburg loss to Prussia in 1866, the most pressing issue became the resolution of the Hungarian question. Finally, in July 1867, dualism was established with a new name: Austria-Hungary. Hungary was united with Transylvania and joined with the Military Frontier, while Croatia preserved its autonomy. Beller points out that this dual solution neutralized the threat of federalism.

In the chapter, “1867-1879: Liberalisation” (p. 128–160), Beller points to the optimism in the Austrian half of the monarchy, despite the lack of full parliamentarism. At this time, in the Hungarian half, the concept of one political nation and the compulsory use of the Hungarian as the bureaucratic language began emerging. Equality before the law was proclaimed, which meant that every individual had the right to his or her own nationality. In Cisleithania, the Czech's dissatisfaction with the new system became an issue, given Bohemia's economic wealth. Attempts at federalization were spurned by the Hungarians, who believed that after Prussia's victory, they should not be so cavalier and self-assured as to grant autonomy to the Slavic peoples. In this, Gyula Andrassy led the charge. Certain Czech politicians such as František Palacký already saw this as a threat to Austria's survival. Beller explains that the economic crisis in Austria-Hungary in 1873 had a specific impact on the middle class, which led to new restrictions on rights. In Hungary, Kálmán Tisza renounced some of the more radical approaches to power and united his Left Center party with the ruling majority. At the same time, Andrassy decided to

occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, first so it would not be given constitutional standing, which would destroy dualism, and second so the number of Slavs in the monarchy would not increase significantly. The monarchy reoriented itself toward the Balkans after its suppression by central Europe and Italy.

The next chapter, “1879–1897: Nationalisation” (p. 160–192) deals with the liberalism from which nationalism emerged as the primary form of politics for the middle class. While the Czechs were given rights regarding their language, Tisza attempted to continue Magyarization, especially in Croatia through Ban Héderváry. Interestingly, the Hungarian liberals had somewhat different views regarding Jews, given they were the state's primary financiers. As a result, anti-Semitism was not so pronounced. It was, however, the foundation of Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party. As the Balkans became the main sphere of interest for Vienna, Franz Joseph relied on Germany, even though it was often an economic competitor. The second crisis occurred when the political faction the Young Czechs (left-wing radicals), were able to obtain a parliamentary majority over the German liberals and the moderate members of the Old Czechs. They immediately began agitating for the use of the Czech language, so that by 1901, if the Germans wished to maintain their positions in Bohemia, they would have to master it.

The penultimate chapter, “1897-1914: Modernisation” (p. 192–241) begins with the assertion that Austria-Hungary underwent modernization in tandem with political crisis. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it was apparent that Franz Joseph was attempting to implement full electoral reform and incorporate the broader masses. He believed peasants would be more loyal to the dynasty and the state than the nationalist middle classes. Apponyi's 1907 law, as the author argues, was completely chauvinistic toward other nationalities. Nevertheless, the country was economically on par with other western European states, which allowed it to dodge a more serious social crisis.

In this chapter, Beller also returns to the Bosnian question and the monarchy's awareness

that, after the coup of 1903, the Bosnian Serbs were trying to lean more heavily on Serbia. With the arrival of Karađorđević dynasty, Serbia ceased to be a client state of the Balhausplatz, which raised fears of it becoming a Russian protectorate in the Balkans, all to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire and the monarchy. In response, Austria-Hungary launched a trade war and imposed an embargo on livestock imports from Serbia; Belgrade, however, turned to Germany as an alternative. This continued after 1908 and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and after the Agram trial was launched based on forged documents, which compromised the state as being one of lawlessness.

Beller continues in the next chapter, “1914-1918: Self-Destruction” (p. 241–273), writing that today, there may be different perceptions about what caused the outbreak of the First World War, but choosing war was most certainly a decision made by Vienna. There were many in Vienna who believed that war was the only way to rally the country around a common cause and resolve the political crisis. Beller then argues that Franz Ferdinand had positive ideas about how to resolve the South Slavic question, while Emperor Karl wrestled with old problems. He may indeed have followed the liberal principle in reforming the monarchy and hoped for a constitution, yet doing so at the height of an oppressive regime had been a mistake. This then convinced the allies that only solution was the disintegration of Austria-Hungary based on nationality.

Finally, in “Conclusion: Central Europe and the Paths Not Taken” (p. 273–287), Beller writes that two peace treaties determined the fate of the dynasty: one in Saint-Germain and the other in Trianon. By taking territory from Hungary, this agreement created from it a nation-state. The states that emerged from the ruins of the monarchy, such as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, were multinational. The monograph concludes with the assertion that Vienna ultimately failed to create a single supranational identity, which was one of the reasons why the peoples of Austria-Hungary were so alienated from the dynasty and the state in the Great War.

The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918 tells of this multi-ethnic state's final century. It could not meet the challenges brought by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, internally and externally. Unwillingness to completely emancipate nationalities within its system created deep dissatisfaction, which resulted in devastating consequences during the First World War. Within it, both the Habsburgs and Austria-Hungary disappeared from the political map of Europe.

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Goran Vasin³ and Nenad Ninković⁴, *A History of the Karlovci Metropolitanate*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2022, 342 pp.

(Goran Vasin i Nenad Ninković, *Istorija Karlovačke mitropolije*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2022, 342 str. (Serbian Cyrillic))

A History of the Karlovci Metropolitanate, written by Goran Vasin and Nenad Ninković, was published by Prometej as part of the series *Serbs Outside of Serbia Before the Collapse of Austria-Hungary*. It contains an introduction followed by four chapters, with period up to 1836 written by Ninković and the period after by Vasin.

The Introduction (p. 7–9) briefly presents the Karlovci Metropolitanate as one of the most important institutions for Serbs living in the Habsburg Monarchy. From the early eighteenth century until 1919, it witnessed or was involved in the most significant processes in Serbian history of the modern age, and it was the bearer of Serbian statehood.

In the chapter “A Framework for the History

of the Karlovci Metropolitanate” (p. 9–26), Ninković provides the historical context within which this institution was founded. It was an autonomous unit in the Patriarchate of Peć, whose dioceses in southern Hungary were mostly founded after its restoration in 1557. When the Great Turkish War resulted in a shift in the border between the Habsburgs Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, the Serbs who had sided with Vienna during the war migrated under the protection of Leopold I, who issued three Privileges granting them religious rights. Even though they had the same freedom to openly practice their faith as the Catholics, they nevertheless struggled for respect throughout the following century.

The second chapter, “From the Krušedol Assembly to the Reforms of Maria Theresa” (p. 29–109), explains how the institution of the metropolitanate was constructed and how it functioned. After the death of Patriarch Arsenije III, the national assemblies were the most important ecclesiastic and political courts of first instance the Serbs had. At the first such assembly, held in Krušedol in 1708, Isaija Đaković, the bishop who had led negotiations with Vienna and was responsible for the Serbs obtaining the Privileges, was selected as the patriarch's successor. His election depended on the hierarchy through an emphasis on canonical unity with the Patriarchate of Peć, which remained in place until 1766. Ninković states that a new stage for metropolitanate began with the Austro-Turkish War (1716–1718), which was followed by the formation of the Belgrade Archbishopric/Metropolitanate, which encompassed Banat and Serbia. The Karlovci and Belgrade Metropolitanates were two autonomous areas within the Patriarchate of Peć, and efforts to unify them begin in 1722. This was done in several stages. The first was in 1722 when

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Mojsije Petrović, the metropolitan of Belgrade, became the coadjutor for Vikentije Popović, the metropolitan of Karlovci. Then after Popović's death the Assembly of 1726 elected Mojsije Petrović as the next metropolitan of Karlovci. This stage ended in 1731, when the Viennese Court recognized the election of Vikentije Jovanović as the Belgrade-Karlovci metropolitan.

Ninković argues that the frequent conflicts among the bishops in the first half of the eighteenth century were harmful for the Karlovci Metropolitanate and the Serbs, but Serbian culture and education also developed during this period. As he traces the development of the Karlovci Metropolitanate, Ninković notes that several resolutions regarding the Serbs were adopted during Pavle Nenadović's tenure as metropolitan. These narrowed the scope of the Privileges and would later become an integral part of Maria Theresa's acts of reform. Ninković further argues that Metropolitan Nenadović worked for the betterment of Serbian community, and this was reflected not only in the number of schools that were founded but also in reforms for monastic life, acts of patronage, and increased awareness of the value of hygiene and children's education.

The next chapter, "From the Reforms of Maria Theresa to Church and School Autonomy" (p. 119–233), begins with the Assembly of 1769, which announced reforms for the Serbian community. The next year, the First Regulation was adopted, which defined the Karlovci Metropolitanate as the only spiritual leader of the monarchy's Orthodox subjects. Next, at the request of the Viennese court, the 1776 Monastic Rules were adopted, and reforms continued with a reduction in the the number of religious holidays and changes to education. According to Ninković, within the Serbian community, these reforms had both detractors and supporters (Zaharije Orfelin, Jovan Muškatirović, and Dositej Obradović). The most important metropolitan in the post-reform period was Stefan Stratimirović (1790–1836), who contributed to Serbian education by founding a seminary and gymnasiums in Karlovci and Novi Sad. There were two other important events related to the administration of the Metropolitanate: the Serbian

Revolution and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's language reforms. Ninković points out that there was another side to the well-known conflict between the metropolitan and Karadžić, because Stratimirović was guided by a desire to defend the Serbs' Orthodox Christian identity, and he doubted that the language reformists, including Karadžić, looked favorably on the Catholic Church and the Eastern Catholic Churches. The importance of his advice for the construction of a modern Serbian state, especially during the First Serbian Uprising, is also highlighted.

Vasin then points to the importance of the 1837 and 1842 assemblies—and especially the latter because it set a precedent when the new metropolitan, Josif Rajačić, was elected through arbitration by the emperor rather than unanimously, which was useful for the rulers in the second half of the nineteenth century when he wished to impose his own will during elections of the first hierarch. Josif Rajačić led the metropolitanate through one of its most difficult periods resulting from the Revolutions of 1848/49. Because he had been elected patriarch at the May Assembly, in the future, he advocated for the idea of a Serbian Vojvodina as a historical aspiration among Serbs in the monarchy. The Serbian elites, along with the hierarchy, thus tried to resolve this national question within a state of disorder that had gripped the state. The demands were revised again at the Annunciation Assembly of 1861, during which Svetozar Miletić had already become active. Over the next few decades, he would have a significant influence on church affairs. After Josif Rajačić's death, the Karlovci Metropolitanate lost its spiritual jurisdiction over some most of the Orthodox Romanians, who had their own ecclesiastical organization, also over most of the Serbs in Dalmatia. Vasin argues that the start of the conflicts among civil parties destroyed the metropolitanate's standing along with the Serb's autonomy.

In the fourth chapter, "The Age of Religious and Educational Autonomy (1868–1912): Hardship and the Great War" (p. 247–329), Vasin writes about the national assemblies at which there were struggles between the hierarchy and civil parties over precedence in leading the Serbian

movement. The monarchy wanted to take political issues out of the hands of the metropolitanate, yet educational and ecclesiastical issues were inseparable from political issues, which made matters even more complex. For four decades there was a rift in the Serbian movement, which ultimately resulted in autonomy being revoked in 1912. Vasin argues that a precedent was set at Long Assembly of 1869-1871, at which, for the first time, the patriarch was not chosen as chair of the assembly, but instead the liberals, led by Svetozar Miletić, asked for a majority vote. The episcopacy responded to Miletić's Constitution, which included some Protestant principles for church leadership (such as, for example, that secular representatives participate in selecting the patriarch), with a *Separate votum* in defense of church canon. Vasin points out that this dispute was destroying the power of the Serbian elite, and it gave the government an opportunity to accelerate the process of Magyarization. Things became further complicated when the Viennese Court and the Hungarians began to make use of the disputes at the assemblies and impose their choice for patriarch, which is what happened with German Andelić in 1882. Even more formidable opponents of the church were the radicals led by Jaša Tomić, who used their positions on socialism and anti-clericalism to attack the hierarchy. Vasin notes that the status of Serbian schools and the Cyrillic alphabet in Croatia and Slavonia was poor, so Patriarch Georgije Branković worked to preserve schools and seminaries as a means of halting the denationalization of the Serbs. Interestingly, he was also concerned about the religious status of Serbs in the United States, who were seeking a Serbian priest in Chicago without having to rely on Russian jurisdiction.

A relative and successor of Patriarch Georgije—Lukijan Bogdanović—assumed the office of metropolitan/patriarch during the Annexation Crisis of 1908 and a time of strained relations between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. After autonomy was rescinded and the constant attacks from the radicals, his health deteriorated, and this ultimately led to his disappearance and eventual death in 1913. Vasin explains that, after this scandal, a new patriarch was not elected, but

on the eve of World War I, Bishop Miron Nikolić of Pakrac was chosen as the administrator for the metropolitanate. He would cautiously guide the metropolitanate through the First World War and would remain loyal to the Habsburgs in order to protect the position of the clergy and the Serbs. After a period of hardship, the Karlovci Metropolitanate came to an end in 1919 when the Serbian Orthodox Church united under Patriarch Dimitrije. The Karlovci Metropolitanate's place in the history of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and also of the Serbian people, remains one of its most valuable chapters and a worthy research topic.

A century after the Serbian Orthodox Church was restored and unified, the authors of *A History of the Karlovci Metropolitanate* have presented its past, which speaks to a long period when there were Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy, an institution that influenced not only faith but also the genesis of a Serbian national identity and the creation of an educational system. This institution was a guardian for Orthodoxy, not only for the Serbs but also for the Romanians, Greeks, and Aromanians living under Viennese rule.

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Slobodan Bjelica, *Disputes over the autonomy of Vojvodina: book 2. 1974–1988*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2021, 568 pp.

(Slobodan Bjelica, *Sporovi oko autonomije Vojvodine: knjiga 2. 1974–1988*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2021, 568 str. (Serbian Cyrillic))

The two books by Slobodan Bjelica, which deal with disputes about autonomy of Vojvodina, together comprise wholesome historical research on complex problems. Prior to Bjelica's work these questions has been mostly left intact, except for few cases (mentioned in the author's introduction) such as *Biography of Stevan Doronjski* (Ranko Končar and Dimitrije Boarov), *Study of Serbian statehood* by Ljubodrag Dimić

and few articles. The value of this demanding work is not just in enlightening question of understanding genesis of Vojvodina's autonomy, its moving forces and the political and economic forces which have actively co-created dynamics of this multicultural and multi-ethnic region; it also brings to the table new pieces of mosaic which shed multiple lights on how socialist Yugoslav politics on regional, republican and federal level have functioned; on the other hand, it further helps in understanding the history of socialist Yugoslavia, its processes and its disintegration. What contributes to the value of the book is the usage of vast archival material from Belgrade and Novi Sad archives and new, previously not researched materials (fond Pokrajinskog komiteta). This is complemented by memoirs and interviews of many political actors who were involved or present during period of political clashes on autonomy of Vojvodina, as well as by the analysis of two established newspapers - *Дневник* (Daily news), from the province of Vojvodina and *Политика* (Politics) from Belgrade. Putting the book in a wider temporal and spatial context (both throughout history and in contemporary world), the autonomism, separatism and tensions via centralist and provincial authorities seem like the worldwide phenomena worth of research. This is obvious if we have in mind contemporary similar experiences such as tensions in EU and member states' relation, or republic versus province confrontations as in the cases of Great Britain and Spain. As the author also concludes in the epilogue, the idea of autonomism of Vojvodina still lives and it might become more serious political subject in the future.

The initial chapter of first book gives reader a brief but concise overview about well needed earlier history of Vojvodina, as its legacy has resonated in incoming historical periods. The "autonomous spirit" can be traced to Serbian struggles to gain autonomy inside the Habsburg monarchy during 17th and 18th centuries which brought some success with various privileges being issued, with Serbs choosing their own *vojvoda* (duke) as a representative of profane authorities, and with the establishment of the

Metropolitane of Karlovci as a religious aspect of autonomy. The year of 1848 when revolution spread throughout Europe, influenced Serbian population to demand their own autonomous unit inside the monarchy, which would encompass territories of Banat, Bačka, Baranja and Srem. As a reward of opposing Hungarian uprising, the short lived Voivodeship of Serbia and Tarnish Banat was proclaimed in 1849 stretching over regions of Bačka, Banat and Srem. Nevertheless, this was a brief episode, and it was abolished by the emperor in 1860. On the other hand, it also did not satisfy Serbian national demands as it did not encompass all the territories settled by Serbs, whereas the German population held upper hand in administration. With abolition of short lasting voivodeship, and the establishment of dual monarchy in 1867 the Serbian population has been pressured by Hungarization until the end of First World War. After the First World War, the leading Serbian politicians organised Assembly of Serbs, Bunjevci and other Slavs which declared its decision to unite regions of Banat, Bačka and Baranja with Kingdom of Serbia. The territory of Srem remained part of Croatia and entered Yugoslavia through political decision of short-lived state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. The so called autonomist tendencies have not been present at that time when the territory called Vojvodina became part of kingdom of Yugoslavia. It is important to explain that earlier autonomist tendencies had a Serbian nationalistic character, as author puts it, and being united with other Serbs in Yugoslavia it seemed that those tendencies have fulfilled its job. The new autonomist tendencies in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not come from many different non-Serb ethnicities, which rather anticipated border changes, but from Serbian and Bunjevci landowners as a reaction to the ill economic situation of the region after the unification and formation of kingdom of Yugoslavia (Kingdom of SHS). It is important to mention this essential fact as these autonomisms had different moving powers - the first one national and the second economical. These differences resonate throughout the period covered by the book and are therefore important to understand further

developments. With economic stagnation and exploitation of territory of Vojvodina, first political initiatives have been born that saw solution to the economic issues in gaining certain degrees of autonomy, but they were marginal at that time. The powerful counter to constituting Vojvodina as an autonomous territory was fuelled mostly by the fact that Serbs comprised only third of population and therefore mostly supported centralistic governing under the Karadorđević dynasty. Even so the idea of autonomy has gained certain popularity. During and after the Second World War communists, whose resistance movement took main initiative in the liberation of Yugoslavia, decided to transform the state, based on federalist approach, and to solve national issues unaddressed in the first Yugoslavia. The population of Vojvodina was comprised of various ethnic groups with Serbs, although most numerous, still representing just one third of it, while there was a significant Hungarian minority, but also Romanian, Croatian, Slovak and many others. Prior to the war the local Germans also presented a significant population, but as a main culprit of World War II they have been mostly forced to leave, while their estates and wealth has been confiscated by the authorities. The solution for Vojvodina in the after-war plans predicted possible forming of separate republic, but it was decided that Vojvodina and Kosovo will take the role of autonomous provinces within the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It is important to mention that decision to include Vojvodina in the Socialist republic of Serbia has been made through various representative bodies of communist authorities of Vojvodina, which were supposed to represent the democratic will of its population. The formation of autonomy might have been powered by various reasons but it was mostly considered to be solution to the multi-ethnic character of Vojvodina and had its foundation in socialist self-governing. Through this configuration the possible inter-ethnic tensions would, according to authorities, be overcome, while the rights of numerous minorities would be better protected.

The topic is not divided into two books provisory. Even though the central question in both periods nevertheless remained the degree and

existence or possible nonexistence of autonomy of Vojvodina, the political and constitutional realities were different and so were therefore the dynamics. The period covered by first book 1961–1974 is characterised by initiative from provincial politicians of Vojvodina to gain higher degree of autonomy while central/republican politicians of Serbia took conservative stance in this regard, considering that the relation between two autonomous provinces and central authorities should be tightened. In a similar manner as political parties in Vojvodina during the first Yugoslavia have been divided about question of autonomy, with majority supporting unitarist and centralistic approach and minority agitated for certain degree of autonomy, the early decades of socialist period were marked by the same internal division among representatives of autonomous province of Vojvodina, where one group leaned towards centralism and other demanded deepening of Vojvodina's autonomy (which are colloquially referred to as "autonomaši"). The second book which covers the period after new federal, republic and provincial constitutions in 1974, which configured much looser relation between "narrow Serbia" and its provinces, examines a dynamic of political clash between provincial and central authorities around those constitutions and their interpretations and eventual revision of the arrangements. The provincial authorities in Vojvodina, enjoying vast autonomy took a defensive stance protecting the constitution while the central/republican took initiative to undermine the existing constitution. The clash revolved not just around the reformation of constitution but was marked by different interpretations of certain parts of it, more precisely paragraphs 300 and 301. The author does not leave out the personal careerist ambitions and personal political and statehood views of both republican and provincial politics which provide us with more complex interpretation than just bipolar antagonism between two political camps. Nevertheless, especially because of the discourse that was prescribed by the state ideology in the "top to bottom" manner, the statements which uncover either separatist, nationalistic, centralistic or any other tendency are almost always wrapped in politically acceptable vocabulary. In the same

fashion politically discrediting either side was done mostly in a false or honest defence of the so-called foundational pillars of Yugoslavia like federalism, self-governing, internationalism, democratic centralism etc. One cannot miss to notice how dispute influenced wider political processes in Yugoslavia, where the “Yoghurt revolution” and political liquidation of Ivan Stambolić by Slobodan Milošević were definitely in correlation by the dispute. On the other hand, the influence of events in the province of Kosovo can be clearly seen in the dynamics between the republic and province of Vojvodina, especially in 1980s.

Getting back to the first book, after aforementioned short genesis of history of Vojvodina, the author presents first years of political activity in the central and provincial institutions and organs, marked by ethnic and economic issues in Vojvodina. The already complex national composition was burdened by events during the war and war crimes committed by various factions like Hungarian fascists and later retributions by Yugoslav partisans. Propagating internationalism and “brotherhood and unity” authorities had difficulties in extinguishing different local excesses of chauvinism and disproportioned national composition of Communist party where Serbs and Montenegrins were far most numerous ethnic groups and many minorities were initially not motivated to participate. Even in communities where minorities prevailed, mostly Serbs took over local positions as representatives of authority. Trying to focus on class rather than nation and actively working on balancing the national composition authorities have been partially successful. The issues were further complicated after clash in Cominform in 1948 which resulted in Yugoslavian split with Eastern Bloc. Consequently, that further complicated ethnic relations as relations deteriorated with neighbouring communist states like Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia whose minorities were concentrated in Vojvodina. Nevertheless the economic situation in socialist province of Vojvodina presented much more troublesome question which revived autonomist tendencies and question of constitutional reforms. The

province of Vojvodina has entered second Yugoslavia as one of the most developed regions together with Slovenia and Croatia. The Yugoslav focus on investing in base industry left Vojvodina, predominantly agrarian region, neglected. Serious portion of Vojvodina’s industry has been moved outside the region due to its border and multi-ethnic character. Along with these contributors, non-modernizing remaining industrial infrastructure in the region left the province lagging behind. The distribution of funds on federal and republican level has throughout years made provincial authorities more and more displeased and has contributed to popularizing of idea of systematic changes which would let province of Vojvodina to control its own investing and financing more independently especially in regard to republican institutions. The mentioned problems that gain momentum in the 1950s slowly transcended into the question of constitutional reforms which would give province more autonomy and therefore secure economic growth. The mobilisation of autonomist representatives in Vojvodina and symbolical beginning of decades lasting conflict started with publishing of the article by Miloš Minić “Prilog diskusiji o novom ustavu”. By that time the question of constitutional rearrangements has already become a topic of discussion between political authorities of provinces and central political leaders. The article of Minić analysed the roots and genesis of existing Vojvodina’s autonomy considering that it has contributed to significant improvement in inter-ethnic relations and advocated its existence in population, historical and economical specifics of the region. His opinion was that the autonomy is and should be based as republican and not federal category, while he suggested that the autonomy should be further developed and deepened (but based on republican constitution) as he noticed the lack of realisation of possible right, especially on the field of lawgiving and also executive, where it remained merely symbolical. For some reason this article has mobilised political leaders of the province of Vojvodina who considered it to be an attempt of annulment of autonomy of the province. Different political actors like Geza

Tikvicki, Šoti Pal, Radovan Vlajković, Jožef Nad and Đuro Jovanović, who in the meeting of the Secretariat of Provincial Committee criticised mentioned article considering it first step of reduction of autonomy. Their main disagreement with the central authorities originated from the belief that autonomy of Vojvodina should be organised and developed via federal constitution, exactly contrary to the concept in Minić's article that conformed to the opinion of most representatives of the republican authorities. From this conflict originated different interpretations of genesis of autonomy of Vojvodina as well. After this event the political clash between provincial authorities and central ones gained momentum with multiple meetings and discussions through various organs and institutions of both provincial and central and even federal level. The provincial politicians of Vojvodina were divided into two fractions: one considered pro-centralist i.e. loyal to the Belgrade authorities, and the other autonomist who considered themselves Vojvodina's "patriots". The division is embodied in two leading figures: Stevan Doronjski as the leader of the so called "autonomaši", and Jovan Veselinov Žarko, highly ranking politician from Vojvodina who served as a leader of Serbian party organisation and president of republican Assembly, and embodied the centralistic stance which leaned towards reduction of provincial self-governing rights. Veselinov was considered to be the one of Ranković's people. Aleksandar Ranković, who in earlier years used to advocate the provincial autonomy but afterwards considered it to be redundant, was one of the most influential Serbian politicians at the top of the political elite, serving as organisational secretary of the central committee of League of Yugoslavia. The clash was deep at many levels as it was not just the thing of few political disagreements, but the matter of understanding of source, reason, and legitimate base of Vojvodina's autonomy. He perceived demands by part of provincial Vojvodina's authorities to be a step towards creating separate Vojvodina nation and fear of Vojvodina becoming a republic or semi republic. For Veselinov the question of Vojvodina was

essentially a Serbian question and not Yugoslavian and therefore should be addressed on republican and not federal level, especially considering that Serbs were the most numerous ethnic group in the province. The echoes of past can be well traced in this clash which is also characterised in different understanding of genesis of the autonomy and the purpose of its existence. Veselinov perceived the autonomy as a struggle of Serbian nation in 18th and 19th century and had according to him no practical use in existing circumstances. The members of provincial committee have also been divided about the issue. Opposed to aforementioned Vojvodina politicians with autonomist tendencies and their leader Doronjski, some of them like Đorđe Nikšić, Petar Relić, Đura Jovanović etc, supported the stance of central authorities. Nikšić, Relić and Jovanović criticised Doronjski leadership favouring Hungarians and his decentralist self-governing initiatives – he called them centralists and unitarists – saying that Great Serbian nationalism has been revived. Throughout the whole period of the clashes similar statements can be found on both sides to delegitimize each other: calling each other centralistic, etatist, Serbian nationalistic, separatist etc. With the influence of Ranković and Veselinov, Doronjski and part of his followers have been substituted in 1963 by new secretary of provincial committee Jojkić but the autonomist tendencies have been far from extinguished and persisted to live on as many of its idea carriers remained in provincial institutions. The majority of "autnomaši" remained and have exploited their prevalence: through the principle of position rotations they degraded their factionist opponents to less significant position, which has produced new crisis as they have swept the ranks of centralist leaning politicians in both 1963 and 1965 rotation. The author also gives us an overview of influence of various events and crisis in Yugoslavia on the province of Vojvodina. MASPOK or Croatian spring influence, student protests in 1968 and political liquidation of Aleksandar Ranković and his circle had its echo also in Vojvodina. The Matica Hrvatska as a central cultural institution had a significant role in

MASPOK which involved top tier politicians of Socialist republic of Croatia and had its impact in Vojvodina especially in certain areas where Croatian minority was concentrated in Vojvodina, where different nationalistic excesses took place. In regard to Brioni plenum which as a political consequence meant political liquidation of Ranković and his circle, politicians of Vojvodina mostly confirmed the opinions formed on Brioni plenum and also evaluating the role of their regional branches of secret services which allegedly resisted tendencies by Ranković and his people. The fall of Ranković in 1966 symbolised the victory of “autonomaši” faction and presented important step towards deeper and wider autonomy of Vojvodina.

The displeasure with economic lagging of Vojvodina remained as well, and was a subject of debates and discussions in 1960s with various analyses and comments where a minimum consensus existed that lack of investments, non-modernisation of existing industry and mostly agrarian economy, small portion of industry, unused oil and natural gas potential etc. The debate revolved around seven years plan for period of 1964 to 1970. The question of petrochemical and oil industry divided Vojvodina internally as it also caused tensions with Belgrade in regards of where the petrochemical plant and oil refinery is going to be constructed. The other pressing issue was the subject of culture, education and science as republic assembly once again confirmed controversial law which would grant only half of funds accumulated in Vojvodina for that matter and redistributed it to other regions in 1967. Similar but even worse was the situation with cinemas of Vojvodina that of all the funds they contributed to the treasury got back merely 10 percent. This mobilised authorities in Vojvodina in initiative to protect their financial interest and make more firm step against centralization.

The end of 1960s was marked by constitutional changes. The new constitution form 1963 brought changes but has not satisfied ambitions of provincial leaders. With approval and initiative of certain federal high ranking politicians like Kardelj through amendments in 1967 and 1968 significantly stretched the

autonomy and new federal, republican and provincial constitutions de facto made both provinces of Serbia almost republic being tied to central authorities very loosely. Nevertheless the last years of 1960s up until 1972 have been a period of somehow almost idyllic relations between the province of Vojvodina and central authorities, both having colloquially called “liberal” leadership but which were both politically swept in 1972 together with the leaders of MASPOK in Croatia.

The second book starts where the previous left, with constitutions proclaimed in 1974. The impact of them was immense and has caused the displeasure and initiatives of republican authorities as early as 1975. If we simplify the content of the second book, it can be said that it covers dynamics of the period marked by constant attempts of republican authorities to address the issue of political realities created by 1974, where in almost all aspects both provinces resembled separate federative units, with their own supreme courts and own representatives on federal level and presidency. Provinces enjoyed such autonomy that they lead their own international relations, had their own supreme courts, enjoyed intellectual independence as VANU (Vojvodina’s academy of art and sciences) was created and republican/state level law giving and executive power seemed reduced to symbolical minimum. When the military practice of TO (teritorijalna odbrana - territorial defence) of Vojvodina was organized without any cooperation with same organisation in the republic, this sure raised red flag especially as the Croatian TO was invited. There have been many similar cases where the republican authorities suddenly felt ignored. An unclear specification in the constitution about the competence and jurisdiction level of socialist republic of Serbia was the important contributing factor to this situation. Under the empty phrase of unity and wholeness of the republic which should be pursued, both sides had different interpretation what does that mean and the same was applied to the 300 and 301 paragraphs of constitution which was defining the legal matter and domain that should be addressed by republican laws. As we follow political development, we see first

republican initiatives addressed more concrete and specific application of constitution with the accent on realisation of unity and wholeness of the republic (even though as mentioned consensus about what that means between provincial and republican leaders was not achieved except for more trivial areas). The author than sheds light on previously unknown details of very influential and controversial incident colloquially referred to as “Plava knjiga” (The Blue book). Incident started in 1975 with the initiative of republican leadership of making an analysis of how well the realization of cooperation and unity between provinces and republic is going, as well as of practical aspects of application of constitution of SR of Serbia. The colloquial name “Plava knjiga” came from the blue covers of the book itself. The formed commission that was put in charge compiled vast material on constitutional position and practice of Socialist republic of Serbia and its autonomous provinces. The conclusions of the commission evoked negative reactions in provincial leaderships as they claimed that constitutional solutions are not applied in practice as they should be, while also claiming that autonomy of the provinces is developing on expense of republican sovereignty. The repetitive pattern of cliché like discredit phrases was once again used by provincial leaderships which called conclusions tendentious, nationalistic, centralistic etc. That was the first serious attempt of undermining and revising political realities by republican leadership even though due to the political climate have not seriously gone in way of challenging constitutional solutions as much as it insisted on different application and realisation. In 1977 with interference of top tier federal politics the conceptions of “Plava knjiga” have been marked as unacceptable and temporarily the republican initiatives have been put to stop. The political issues in the province of Kosovo with the rise of nationalism and disorder in 1981 presented a chance for republican leaders to try once again to address constitutional issue. The republican leadership interpreted problems in province of Kosovo as a direct result of constitution of 1974 position of provinces and the unresolved issues

rooted in it, especially the unclearly defined jurisdiction of republican authorities, which served them as a new base to readdress the same matter as few years earlier. Naturally, provincial authorities of Vojvodina fiercely opposed that interpretation disqualifying republican claims of disintegration, and claiming that inter-ethnic relations in Vojvodina are on very good level. This started new political discussions which echoed both in media and spilled into territory of culture and science. The antagonism was further fuelled through newspapers *Politika* and *Dnevnik*, first promoting republican and second Vojvodina’s views. The issue of Vojvodina making its own Encyclopaedia of Vojvodina was in eyes of the republic’s representatives seen as another step in creation of separate Vojvodina nation while the conflict also spread to question of how should both provinces of Serbia be marked and presented in the Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia. The theatre show *Golubnjača* which dramatizes Croatian-Serb relations in hinterlands of Dalmatia after the World war II and massive Ustasha crimes, became another subject of dispute which communist authorities of Novi Sad considered controversial, nationalistic and against the parole of “brotherhood in unity” and have forbid it. This was just another issue which media used to further fuel the antagonisms. Even though the republican representatives officially avoided any stance, this definitely mobilised cultural workers in fierce debate. With shorter periods of alleged approximation towards political consensus which mostly touched less important fields, the representatives could not reach agreements on most important questions. The pressure of unresolved issues has in 1985 put in motion the presidency of League of communists of Yugoslavia which leaned more towards republican side. The discourse of reforming or changing constitution has during those years remained mostly peripheral and tabooed. The important step in the development represents 1986 political change of generations in SR of Serbia. The wind of changes brought two hardliners Ivan Stambolić and Slobodan Milošević with definite centralistic and nationalistic views. Their political rise brought

more direct addressing of possible constitutional changes which have for years been considered anti federalist, centralistic etc. Stambolić was later politically removed in 1987 by the same person he brought into politics - Milošević. The event is controversial especially because of the still not completely clear role of present Vojvodina's provincial politicians on the 8th meeting of League of communists of Serbia. Abstaining voting was considered highly unorthodox, but that was precisely what Vojvodina's representatives did. Author presents us with different interpretations of what was happening: from rationalisations that they would not want to interfere into internal republican political clashes, up to the fact that they considered Stambolić to be the one embodying centralistic and nationalistic tendencies. This event meant further rise of Milošević and consolidation of his power. The next step in relations between Vojvodina and the republic was once again influenced by the province of Kosovo. With the so called "meetings of solidarity" where Serbs of Kosovo try to inform people and authorities of Vojvodina of their problems, pressuring the leadership of Vojvodina to succumb to demands of republic leadership, and claiming that constitutional change is the solution. The "meetings of solidarity" with Serbs from Kosovo and numerous local population in different cities and villages in Vojvodina became a regular thing and pressure was increasing for the autonomist leadership until the "Yoghurt revolution" where the leadership of Vojvodina was forced by the aggressive mass to resign in 1988. This process made it possible for Milošević to install leadership loyal to him and consolidated his strength and revising the constitution.

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