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VIRGINIA GRIGORIADOU
National Technical University of Athens
Department of Humanities Social Sciences and Law
0000-0002-0940-1922
virgi.grigoriadou@gmail.com

FEMALE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Abstract: In this paper, I discuss an important knowledge gap observed in Greek philosophical research and historiography, which reflects some well-established social circumstances and beliefs: the absence of systematic and extensive research on the theories of ancient Greek female philosophers and their exclusion to some extent from the historical frameworks. This issue shows that nowadays in Greece history is still being misread. It also highlights the need for a new start for research into the contributions of ancient female philosophers, for the historical framework of human intellectual activity of antiquity to be reformed, and for a revision of our cultural and intellectual habitudes. This paper provides a list of ancient Greek women thinkers as a starting point for more in-depth research. I have compiled an extensive list presenting fifty-four women philosophers from classical antiquity, including information about the period and the city they lived in; their field; the philosophical school, community, or academy to which they belong; and other relevant information such as whether their texts have survived.

Keywords: Greece, female philosophers, classical antiquity, historical framework, list.

1. Introduction

Nowadays, issues concerning the role and the contribution of women in science are widely discussed in intellectual circles and researched at several universities worldwide, and there is an increasing number of research articles and books discussing women's contributions to science and philosophy in different historical contexts, (e.g., *Ancient Women Philosophers* and the *Handbook of Women and Philosophy*).[1] Based on this, in twenty-first-century Greece, incomplete knowledge of the contribution of ancient Greek female philosophers is an issue that triggers several inquiries concerning the main reasons that led to this significant knowledge gap; yet it also reveals new directions for research.

[1] O' Reilly, Pellò 2023; Brill, McKeen 2024.

In this paper, the discussion of the reasons for and methods capable of bridging this knowledge gap focuses on Greece for two main reasons. First, female philosophers from the classical era constitute an integral part of the Greek philosophical tradition and the history of Greek philosophy. Fragmented research, limited literature available in Modern Greek, and the absence of systematic teaching about ancient women philosophers has resulted in insufficient knowledge about them. As a result, this has led to an incomplete understanding in Greece of the history of ancient philosophy and science and, more broadly, a significant portion of the history of the Greek world. The second reason this paper focuses on Greece stems from the contrast observed between the systematic study of ancient Greek female philosophers at many prominent universities, such as Harvard, Cambridge, and Paderborn, and the sporadic and fragmented examination of them in their country of origin. This unexpected observation prompted the questions explored in this study. This contrast makes the contemporary Greek research community a highly interesting case study.

The contrast between the research on this issue in other countries and its almost complete absence in modern Greek historical and philosophical research raises several important questions. Two of them are (i.) Why have female philosophers been excluded from the historical context of classical antiquity and (ii.) why are their philosophical treatises, scientific discoveries, and contributions to the development of scientific thought not extensively and systematically researched in present-day Greece? Several possible reasons could justify the lack of extensive historical and philosophical research in contemporary Greece on the contribution of women philosophers of Greek antiquity. These include the general acceptance of the traditional role of women in classical antiquity, a patriarchal mindset coupled with a historical narrative predominantly shaped from a male perspective, the absence or unreliability of ancient sources and especially primary texts, the absence of university departments dedicated to this subject, the extremely limited bibliography available in Modern Greek on this topic, and the meager funds available for research in the humanities in conjunction with much competition. A highly important issue is that most research articles and books on women philosophers, such as *Ancient Women Philosophers* and the *Handbook of Women and Philosophy*, among others, have been published in English.[2] In contrast, Greek academia does not currently engage extensively with this topic. As a result, the scholarly literature on this subject available in Modern Greek is limited, which primarily complicates the teaching of ancient women philosophers in Greek schools and universities where textbooks in Modern Greek are used.

Another crucial issue approached in this study is whether the texts of women philosophers fit seamlessly into the conventionalized patriarchal historiography or if we need to revolutionize our cultural intellectual habitudes. Moreover, a core question driving this study is what could be the first step for the Greek research community to begin reforming the historical framework of human intellectual activity in antiquity, including the contribution of women philosophers, natural philosophers, and scientists of the ancient Greek world?

Philosophers and scientists should be evaluated by the scientific value of their theories and their contribution to the development of scientific thought rather than by

[2] O' Reilly, Pellò 2023; Brill, McKeen 2024.

criteria such as their gender, role in society during a specific period, origin, political ideology, or even sexual orientation. In this sense, this paper aims not only to highlight the need for further research on these issues in Greece, but also to begin challenging ourselves to close the existing knowledge gaps by providing an extended list that presents important women philosophers from classical antiquity and includes important information such as the period and the city in which they lived; the field and philosophical school, community or academia to which they belong; and whether their texts have survived. I am thus not only expressing my belief in the need to reform the historical framework of human intellectual thought in classical antiquity, including significant theories formed by women. I am also seeking the first step through this list, which aims to compile, classify, and present what is known about these women. Last, I will also provide specific conditions and measures that could reinforce research on this issue in the Greek research community.

Although this approach cannot fully address the existing gaps regarding the contributions of ancient female philosophers, it can serve as a first step in organizing, categorizing, and comprehensively presenting the existing historical knowledge about them by providing a summary table. This table could serve as a foundation, map, or starting point for further, more extensive research on ancient women philosophers, natural philosophers, and mathematicians. Translating the proposed table into Greek (and into other languages) could reinforce existing knowledge about ancient Greek female philosophers and be used as instructional material in Greek schools and universities.

2. Greece Gave Birth to Them and Then Forgot Them: A Contemporary Knowledge Gap in Modern Greek Historiography and its Aspects in Greek Research and the Greek Educational System

The roots of modern science can be traced to classical antiquity, a period when terms such as *episteme* and *natural philosophy* were explored by several ancient Greek philosophers, such as Plato, who delved into the concept of *episteme* and contrasted it with *doxa*, and Aristotle, who used the term *physiologia*, or natural philosophy. In his dialogues, Plato described *episteme* (understanding or knowledge) as a more valuable condition that is harder to achieve and, unlike *doxa* (opinion), is never false. In his dialogue *Theaetetus*, Plato defined *episteme* as true *doxa* accompanied by *logos* (reason). Aristotle described *episteme* as a deductively valid system based on necessary truths about natures or essences and distinguished it from *techne*, a kind of practical knowledge akin to what we today call technology.[3] The Aristotelean term *physiologia* was commonly used until the nineteenth century to refer to the study of the natural sciences. This broad term encompassed disciplines such as botany, zoology, anthropology, chemistry, and what we now call physics. One core purpose of intellectual activity in classical antiquity was to understand, describe, and explain the natural world.[4]

In addition to the evolution of natural philosophy, classical antiquity was also a crucial stage in the evolution of philosophical and scientific thought when the foundations

[3] Grigoriadou et al. 2021: 106–107; Grigoriadou 2023: 578; Moss 2019: 1–6

[4] *Ibid*.

were laid for the development of several fields, including mathematics, moral philosophy, political philosophy, aesthetics, ontology, epistemology, and medicine, among others. In this historical context, various philosophical schools, academies, and communities emerged, such as the Pythagorean philosophers, Plato's Academy, Aristotele's Lyceum, the Sophists, the Cynical philosophers, the Epicureans, and other groups of intellectuals.[5] This historical context seems to be extensively studied in several Greek universities' departments of philosophy and courses relevant to it can be found in the curricula, numerous articles discussing its philosophical and historical aspects have been published in distinguished scholarly journals, and a philosophy course is taught in the second year in Greek high schools. Female philosophers, however, have been excluded from this historical context.

Moreover, it is worth noting that even those few famous women intellectuals from classical antiquity are known in Greece but not for the right reasons. For instance, Aspasia of Miletus is known as a famous hetaera and partner of Pericles but not as an intellectual, orator, or philosopher.[6] Accordingly, Hypatia of Alexandria is well-known in Greece mainly for her cruel death rather than for being a philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, and author of three fourth-century treatises.[7] These examples illustrate that there is a need not only to reform the historical framework of human intellectual activity in classical antiquity but also to revolutionize cultural and intellectual habitudes to achieve a kind of knowledge beyond these boundaries, particularly within the modern Greek research community.

Moreover, the research and writings of women philosophers should not be added to the current historiography simply because the theories of women philosophers and scientists are something "extra" or complementary, nor should they be treated as such. The theories of ancient Greek women philosophers must be assessed according to their innovation, scholarly value, and the small or large intellectual revolution they may have caused by exploring a system, a phenomenon, or a conception of an idea. New historical frameworks should be formed on the basis of these criteria to include the greatest minds regardless of their gender. This kind of new beginning is necessary, specifically in Greece, not only to recognize women's contributions to ancient scientific activity but also to further the development of knowledge, particularly in the field of the history and philosophy of science. Therefore, expanding our understanding of ancient female Greek philosophers beyond traditional boundaries is essential for the contemporary Greek intellectual community.

Nowadays in Greece, we misread history and are taught an inaccurate perspective of history. As was mentioned previously, one reason for this is that most works on women philosophers have been published in English, while literature available in Modern Greek is limited. Moreover, there is an almost complete absence of women in the textbooks that have been used in Greek high schools for the last twenty years.[8]. How What is the justification for this? Were female philosophers, natural philosophers, and mathematicians not also part of the golden age of philosophical thought? An extensive search of the literature available in print and online leads to the conclusion that not only did they exist

5 Pelegrinis 2001: 12–36, 74–93; Pelegrinis 1998: 11–134.
6 Waithe 1987: 75–82.
7 *Ibid*., 169–196.
8 Virvidakis *et al.* 2016; Pelegrinis, 2001.

but there were many of them, and they were active, especially considering the conditions and the role of women in that era. However, high school or university students in Greece are not given the motivation or the opportunity to read and learn about ancient female philosophers because the curricula and the textbooks do not include them[9] and there is little written about them in Modern Greek.

These facts might prompt a certain degree of skepticism about the prospect of studying the female thinkers of premodern times. If we know so little about the ideas of even the most prominent female philosophers, is this a promising line of inquiry at all? I firmly believe that it is. Here, two reasonable questions arise: (i.) Why have female philosophers been excluded from the historical context of classical antiquity? and (ii.) why have their philosophical treatises, scientific discoveries, and their contribution to the development of scientific thought not been extensively and systematically investigated in Greece until now?

One plausible reason that could justify the absence in Greece of extensive historical and philosophical research on these women's contributions is a general acceptance of the role of women in this era. The existing Greek historiography regarding women in classical antiquity focuses on the limitations of these women's lives rather than on the theories, investigations, and contributions of the female philosophers of this period to the development of scientific thought.[10] According to the historiography, women in ancient Athens did not have increased rights. The role of the Athenian woman in antiquity was limited to caring for the family and the household and participating in religious ceremonies. Athenian women did not have social or political rights, and most women were not given an education.[11] Thus, during that era, women had limited opportunities to participate in educational, cultural, or political life. This may have been the rule, but it does not mean there were no exceptions. Specifically, Greek girls received a limited education in their homes in reading, writing, arithmetic, spinning, weaving, embroidery, singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments. Moreover, Spartan girls received the same education as boys because Sparta granted women more rights and freedoms. Spartan women could own and inherit property, were educated, and had a role in public life.[12]

Furthermore, it must be noted that in the classical era, most women did not study at famous philosophical schools or join philosophical communities, but neither did most men. In antiquity, the study of philosophy was a prerogative of the affluent who could afford the tuition at the great philosophical schools of this period. As history has shown-specifically through several works by ancient Greek historians such as those of Xenophon and doxographers such as Diogenes Laertius, along with several works by poets and philosophers-not only did the wives and daughters of wealthy or educated ancient Greeks receive a rigorous education similar to those of the best philosophers, some of them also devoted their entire lives to philosophy and research, and others became teachers at these academies.

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9 *Ibid*.

10 Azelis 2005: 59–72; Cohen 1989: 3–15; Mosse 1983: 19–96; Thuc. II 45. 4.

11 Azelis 2005: 59–72; Cohen 1989: 3–15; Mosse 1983: 19–96.

12 Osen 1975: 10.

An important question that arises here is what exactly is meant when referring to women philosophers. In her dissertation "Women in Early Pythagoreanism," Caterina Pellò includes Ménage's approach, according to which a woman is considered a philosopher when she is (i) credited with philosophical writings, such as Hypatia of Alexandria, (ii) engaged in philosophical activity, such as Diotima of Mantinea, and (iii) related to a male philosopher, such as Pythagoras' wife Theano and daughter Myia.[13] Moreover, in the introduction to *Ancient Women Philosophers*, Katerina O'Reilly and Caterina Pellò present four criteria to determine which ancient female intellectuals should be considered philosophers. According to them, women are designated as philosophers based on the following criteria: (i) when sources explicitly refer to them as philosophers, (ii) when they author philosophical texts, (iii) when they reside with and study under male philosophers, and (iv) when they develop philosophical ideas.[14] Thus, if one accepts these criteria, there were women philosophers in classical antiquity. However, these approaches can be reinforced by examining the etymology of the terms *philosophy* and *philosopher*. These terms were introduced by Pythagoras. Specifically, the ancient Greek word for philosophy derives from the union of the words φιλώ (philo-), which means *I love*, and the word σοφία (-sophia), which means *wisdom*. Based on this, a philosopher is a lover of wisdom.[15] In other words, a philosopher is a person, man or woman, who has devoted his or her life to studying fundamental questions about existence, reason, knowledge, values, mind, and language. Moreover, natural philosophers were thinkers who devoted their lives to the challenge of understanding, describing, and explaining the natural world.[16] Extensive research reveals that at least fifty-four women in classical antiquity were active in these fields (Table 1). Consequently, the presence of female philosophers and natural philosophers during this period is undeniable.

It is worth noting that in the classical era, it was a common belief that women's nature was different from that of men but not of lesser value.[17] At this point, it is also worth considering an interesting argument presented by several researchers such as Caterina Pellò in her dissertation and Dorotha Dutsch in her book *Pythagorean Women Philosophers: Between Belief and Suspicion.*[18] Pellò suggests that the belief in the transmigration of souls is related to the prominence of women in early Pythagoreanism.[19] As she points out, according to Pythagorean metempsychosis, both men and women participate in the cycle of rebirth alongside other beings. Souls can transmigrate into both human and non-human forms, including animals and, according to Empedocles, certain species of plants. Although the extent to which Pythagoreanism connected the notion of universal kinship with transmigration remains unclear, a belief in the reincarnation of

13 Pellò 2018: 2
14 O' Reilly, Pellò 2023: 3
15 Britannica 2022: https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosophy; online etymology dictionary: https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=philosophy
16 Moss 2019: 1–6.
17 Huffman 2019: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/pythagoreanism/>); Pellò 2018: 110–112.
18 Dutsch 2020: 19–26.
19 Pellò 2018: 5–12, 137–143.

human and animal souls implies an inherent connection between them in this process.[20] Moreover, according to Dicaearchus and Clearchus, Pythagoras's soul had inhabited various forms, including that of a beautiful hetaera named Alco, before reincarnating into Pythagoras.[21] While the claim that Pythagoras lived as a hetaera may be an exaggeration, it does not rule out the possibility that he believed he had lived as a woman in a previous life. Pythagoras's past incarnations included a range of social roles, including warrior, fisherman, and hetaera, which demonstrates a theory of reincarnation that allows souls to transition between different social statuses and genders.[22] This diverse experience enabled him to speak from multiple perspectives while addressing men, women, and all social strata within his community.[23]

According to Pellò, the epistemological implications and non-retributive nature of metempsychosis shed light on the role of women in this doctrine. As previously mentioned, these aspects offer reasons to value women's lives. Pythagoras's past life as a woman contributed to his knowledge. His life as the courtesan Alco influenced the teachings he imparted to his disciples.[24] The belief that female souls also undergo transmigration likely facilitated the inclusion of women among Pythagoras' disciples and their esteemed status. Consequently, since men and women were believed to possess the same souls, they were treated equally and received the same education. These Pythagorean views concerning metempsychosis, extensively discussed by Pellò and Dutsch, can explain to some extent the participation of women in Pythagorean communities and justify characterizing Pythagoras as a feminist philosopher.

Numerous women joined the Pythagorean community on equal terms with men.[25] For instance, Theano, the wife of Pythagoras, became the director of the school after his death. Their three daughters, Arignote, Myia, and Damo, also joined the Pythagorean philosophical communities where they were educated and contributed to continuing its teachings. Theano of Thourii was a mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher who taught in the Pythagorean community and formulated the theories of the golden ratio and the harmony of the spheres.[26] Damo and Myia were both philosophers and mathematicians.[27] Other examples of female intellectuals of this era were Pythagoras's teacher, Themistokleia or Plato's mother, Periktione.[28] These are only a few examples of female Greek philosophers from classical antiquity.

Although Pythagoras has been characterized as a feminist or women-friendly philosopher, he was not the only Greek male philosopher who recognized that women could participate in science and philosophy. In the fifth book of the Republic, through Socrates, Plato supported the inclusion of women among the guardians of the city, the

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20 *Ibid*.
21 Dutsch 2020: 19–26.
22 *Ibid*.
23 Pellò 2018: 5–12, 137–143.
24 *Ibid*.
25 *Ibid*.
26 Osen, 1975: 153–170; Pellò 2018: 110–112.
27 Diog. Laert. 8.1; Iambl. *VP* IX 30, XI 36, XXVI 89; Pellò 2018: 1–10; Waithe 1987: 11–19.
28 Diog. Laert. III; Pellò 2018: 6; Waithe 1987: 11–19, 20–40.

abolition of the private family and communism of spouses and children, and the possibility of having philosopher rulers.[29] More specifically, Socrates suggested that the distinction between male and female is as relevant as the distinction between having long hair or short hair when deciding who should be active guardians. Men and women, just as those with long or short hair, are by nature the same when being assigned to an education or a job.[30] Therefore, Plato in his Republic conduced to the principle of gender equality and argued that each citizen should devote his or herself to the task for which he or she is fitted by nature.[31]

Therefore, the participation of women in the Pythagorean communities, Plato's Academia, and other philosophical schools in classical antiquity verifies that the role of women in this era was not limited to housekeeping (Table 1). In other words, maybe most women in classical antiquity were indeed mothers and housekeepers, but this does not negate the existence of significant philosophers or scientists during this period; it also does not justify their exclusion from the historical context of the intellectual community in this era.

A second reason that can explain the absence in modern Greece of systematic and meticulous historical and philosophical research on the contribution of ancient Greek women philosophers is a persistent patriarchal mentality and, to some extent, sexist prejudices combined with an interpretive tradition predominantly articulated from a male perspective. It is noteworthy that women's suffrage in Greece was only established in 1952.[32] Since 1960, the percentages of women attending universities or engaging in research have been low. For instance, from 1963 to 1964, only 3 percent of the tenured professors at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens were women. This percentage increased to 5 percent between 1973 and 1974, 29.5 percent between 1983 and 1984, 27 percent between 1993 and 1994, and reached its highest at 35 percent between 2003 and 2004.[33] Although nowadays these percentages have changed, with equal numbers of men and women studying and teaching at Greek universities, the traditional patriarchal historiography persists. This tradition is fueled by various prejudices, such as the perception of women's roles in antiquity being confined to the home and excluded from philosophical communities. This perpetuates the issue by fostering indifference toward the contributions of women philosophers from that era and subsequent periods. It also leads to questioning their significance while maintaining a focus on the study of philosophers within the generally accepted patriarchal frameworks of historiography, thereby reinforcing these traditional foundations. Since the very early twenty-first century, most researchers have been male, and for many years they will probably continue the work of their precursors by focusing on a study of philosophers that falls into the generally acceptable patriarchal contexts of historiography, and this will continue to strengthen its foundations. If one considers the issue more holistically, one could describe it as a vicious circle, as represented below:

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29 Pellò 2018: 150

30 Plato, trans Gripari 1911: 62–66.

31 Pellò 2018: 150

32 Efthyvoulou et al. 2020: 1

33 Vosniadou, Vaiou, 2006: http://www.eriande.elemedu.upatras.gr/eriande/synedria/synedrio4/praktika1/Baiou_bosniadou.htm

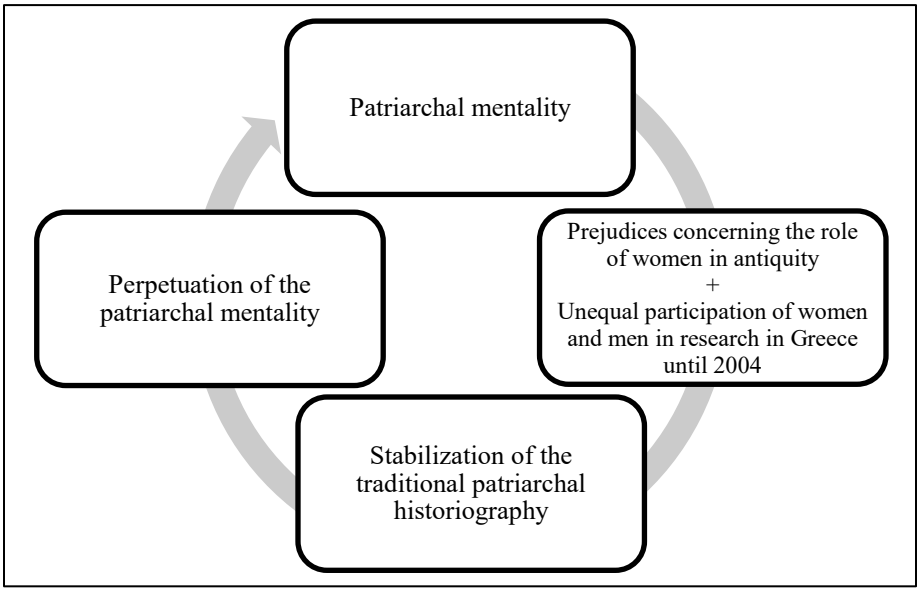

Figure 1: The vicious circle of traditional historiography in Greece.

What has notably changed in the last twenty years is a significant increase in the participation of women in the Greek research community. This development fosters optimism and opens new prospects for investigating issues like the one examined in here.

Another core issue is the absence or unreliability of ancient sources, which results in skepticism regarding the existence or contribution of women in ancient Greek philosophy and a reluctance among researchers to undertake extensive and systematic investigations of the subject. This issue is not exclusive to the Greek research community. As highlighted in Sara Protasi's article "Teaching Ancient Women Philosophers: A Case Study," this is one of the primary challenges faced by researchers of ancient philosophy (2020).[34] These scholars often must approach philosophical theories from the classical era by relying on surviving fragments and secondary sources whose reliability is frequently questioned. Therefore, the absence or unreliability of ancient sources alone cannot fully explain the limited investigation of ancient Greek women philosophers. However, when considering the entrenched beliefs about the role of women during that time, combined with the tradition of patriarchal historiography, this limited investigation becomes more understandable.

One other reason that explains the absence of systematic and meticulous historical and philosophical research on the contributions of ancient Greek women philosophers is the absence of university departments engaging with this subject, such as university departments specializing in women's studies, the philosophy of gender, history, the philosophy of women in science, or even the history and philosophy of feminism. In other words, there is no university department that specializes in studying the most important theories of women philosophers or

[34] Protasi 2020: 7–13

scientists and their contributions to the evolution of intellectual thought. Thus, there are no suitable conditions or favorable environments in Greece capable of reinforcing a scholarly dialogue about these issues. Consequently, another gap emerges as an extension of the absence of intensive scholarly research in Greece on women philosophers from antiquity, which is reflected in the particularly limited Greek scholarly literature on women philosophers. This gap impacts not only the research and teaching of ancient philosophy in Greek universities but also the teaching in Greek high schools. The lack of sufficient Greek sources is not conducive to the creation of adequate textbooks. As a result, the textbooks cannot provide Greek students with a comprehensive and well-founded understanding of ancient Greek philosophical and scientific thought. Thus, the absence of ancient female philosophers in the Greek educational system, research, and scholarly literature represents a significant knowledge gap that explains the fragmented understanding of philosophical and scientific thought in classical antiquity.

One controversy that could arise is that there are many philosophy departments in Greek universities. Could this subject not be researched through these departments? The answer here is twofold. First, many Greek scholars of philosophy focus on examining issues that are more likely to get funded, such as those related to moral philosophy—for example, topics related to artificial intelligence, which have been at the forefront of interest in recent years, issues of bioethics, such as ethical dilemmas concerning vaccination for the COVID-19 pandemic, and others. Second, issues such as the absence or unreliability of ancient sources concerning women philosophers, combined with a patriarchal mentality and tradition predominantly articulated from a male perspective, as analyzed above, create an environment that is not conducive to the development of systematic research on this issue within the existing university departments. These reasons, in conjunction with the meager funds for research in the humanities and a high level of competition, especially among Greek universities specializing in philosophy, the philosophy of science, and the history of science constitute a deterrent to systematic engagement with research topics falling into these fields. Under these conditions, just a few research studies in Greece focused on ancient Greek women philosophers have come from professors and PhD candidates or researchers who work at these departments. Therefore, the establishment of a department specializing in the philosophy of gender, the history and philosophy of women in science, or even the history and philosophy of feminism could provide a place for developing substantial discussion and systematic research on these significant topics.

These important reasons, which could explain the absence of ancient Greek women philosophers in Greek historiography, philosophy textbooks, and philosophical and historical research in Greece, are interconnected. The absence of sources, combined with prejudices regarding the role of women in antiquity and the predominance of traditional patriarchal historiography, which partly stems from women's limited participation in research until a few decades ago, has kept interest in Greece in researching women philosophers from the classical era low. This has resulted in limited investigations of the issue and a poor selection of scholarly literature in the Greek language. Consequently, there is insufficient material to support the inclusion of relevant courses in academic curricula, which leads to Greek students lacking the opportunity or motivation to learn about women philosophers in the ancient Greek world. As a result, they are condemned to ignorance of an important segment of the history of Greek philosophy that is also an integral part of Greece's intellectual history. Thus, Greece gave birth to the women philosophers in classical antiquity and then forgot them. This fact

reveals an important knowledge gap in modern Greek historiography and highlights the necessity of further research on this issue throughout the Greek intellectual community.

3. A First Step in Reforming the Existing Historical Context: A List of Female Ancient Greek Philosophers

It is clear from the previous section that a new beginning in Greek historiography concerning scientists and philosophers is necessary. But how could this new start come about? What could be the first step toward reforming the historical framework of human intellectual activity in classical antiquity, including the important contribution of the female philosophers, natural philosophers, and scientists of the ancient Greek world?

In every scientific field, the first stage of the research process is often that of collecting, organizing, and categorizing the existing knowledge about the phenomenon under study and composing a framework into which the phenomenon falls in light of a specific hypothesis. Therefore, the initial step in the endeavor to reform the historical framework of human intellectual activity in classical antiquity, including female philosophers and scientists, is the systematic collection and categorization of existing knowledge of them. Throughout meticulous bibliographical research, fifty-four female philosophers and scientists of classical antiquity were traced. It should be noted that this study focused on female intellectuals whose work pertained to the fields of philosophy, natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, but it did not extend to other areas such as medicine. An important issue to address was to determine the most appropriate criteria for classifying these ancient female thinkers, and then to organize this unsystematic and chaotic volume of scattered information about them. These criteria should be significant, fundamental, and clear. Therefore, an extended list has been provided to effectively classify important women philosophers by their period, their place of residence or origin, the field and philosophical school to which they belong, and whether their texts have survived. Specifically, these criteria appear in the columns in Table 1:

1. **Period:** This criterion records the historical timeframe during which the philosopher lived and notes the century.
2. **City:** Place of residence or origin: This criterion indicates the geographic location where the philosopher resided or from which she originated.
3. **Field**: This criterion identifies the philosopher's primary area of philosophical inquiry or specialization.
4. **Academia:** Philosophical school or community: This criterion classifies the philosopher according to the philosophical tradition, school of thought, or community with which she is associated.
5. **Texts/References:** Survival of Texts: This criterion notes whether the philosopher's texts have survived and are available to contemporary scholars and readers. If their texts have not survived, this section provides information about historians, doxographers, and biographers who have mentioned these women philosophers in their works.

Additionally, there is a column in Table 1 containing the source from which the

information for each corresponding line was obtained and indicates important sources for further research. These criteria collectively offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the contributions and contexts of women philosophers throughout history. These factors are crucial as they lay the groundwork for reforming the historical framework of human intellectual activity in classical antiquity. Simultaneously, they provide essential information about these female philosophers and natural philosophers. Thus, the result of this research is an extensive list (Table 1) that includes fifty-four women philosophers, natural philosophers, and scientists. By including philosophers based on the scientific value of their work and their contribution to the development of scientific thought, the list is a good start for forming a new historical framework that would describe the philosophical and scientific activity of women in classical antiquity.

However, it should be noted that in some cases, valuable information about these women has not yet been found. Consequently, the corresponding cells in the table remain incomplete and thereby indicate prospects for future research.

NAME	PERIOD	CITY	FIELD	ACADEMIA	TEXTS / REFERENCES	REFERENCES
Theano[35]	6th century BCE	Sicily or Crete	Mathematician, Astronomer, Professor at Pythagorean Academia	Pythagorean Philosophers	Texts[36] attributed to Theano are *The golden ratio theory*, *the theory of the harmony of the spheres*, *Pythagorean Quotes*, *Advice to Women*, *Philosophical Comments*, *Letters*, *Pythagorean Life*, *Theory of Numbers*, *Structure of the Universe*	Osen 1975: 153–170; Pomeroy 2013: 6; Waithe 1987: 11–19; Dutsch 2020: 50; Porphyry 1920[37]
My(i)a, daughter of Pythagoras	6th–5th century BCE	Croton	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Iamblichus, trans. Taylor 1818: 30, 36; Waithe 1987: 11–19; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 138–139

35 Some scholars argue that the historical evidence related to Theano might pertain to more than one individual, sometimes referred to as Theano I and Theano II. Discrepancies also exist regarding her origin and her relationship to Pythagoras and Brontinus. She has been described as a student, daughter, or wife of Pythagoras, while others suggest that she was the daughter or wife of Brontinus (Huffman, 2024). Concerning her origin, it has been suggested that she may have come from Crete or Sicily (Croton or Thourii).

36 A few fragments and letters attributed to her have survived; however, their authorship remains uncertain.

37 Available at: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/porphyry_life_of_pythagoras_02_text.htm

Arignote of Samos, student, or daughter of Pythagoras	6th–5th century BCE	Samos	Philosopher	Pythagorean Philosophers	Texts[38] attributed to Arignote are *Bacchica, The Mysteries of Demetra, A Sacred Discourse, Mysteries of Dionysus*	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Waithe 1987: 11–19; Smith 1873[39]
Themistoclea, teacher of Pythagoras	6th–5th century BCE	Delphi	Priestess at Delphi (ethics, geometry, arithmetic)	Professor at the Temple of Apollo	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius.	Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: book X, Ch. 1; Waithe 1987: 11–19
Okkelo of Lucania	6th–5th century BCE	Lucania	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Laks 2016: 92–93
Ekkelo of Lucania	6th–5th century BCE	Lucania	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Laks 2016: 92-93
Lastheneia, the Arcadian[40]	6th–5th century BCE	Arcadia, Mantinea	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women. She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Nowlan 2017: 123; Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: book III, Ch.1; Iamblichus trans. Taylor, 1818: 138–139
Ch(e)ilonis of Sparta, the daughter of Chilon the Lacedaemonian	6th–5th century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Laks 2016: 92–93; Nowlan 2017: 123; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 138
Cratesicle(i)a, wife of Cleanor	6th–5th century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Laks 2016: 92–93; Nowlan 2017:

[38] A few fragments and letters attributed to her have survived; however, their authorship remains uncertain.

[39] Available at: https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0104%3Aalphabetic+letter%3DA%3Aentry+group%3D39%3Aentry%3Darignote-bio-1

[40] Lastheneia of Arcadia is mentioned by Iamblichus as a Pythagorean philosopher, while Athenaeus identifies her as a student of Plato. Given the uncertainty over whether these references pertain to the same individual or different persons, she is listed twice in the Table to account for both possibilities.

						123; Iamblichus trans. Taylor, 1818: 138.
Cleaechma, Sister of Autocharidas of Sparta	6th–5th century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Nowlan 2017: 123; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 139.
Ryndako, sister of Byndacis	6th–5th century BCE	Lucania	Philosopher Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 138.
Vavelyca (or Babelyka or Babelyma) the Argive	6th–5th century BCE	Argos	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	Iamblichus mentioned her.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Laks 2016: 92–93; Iamblichus 1818: 139.
Boio (or Boeo or Bryo) the Argive	6th–5th century BCE	Argos	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Laks 2016: 92–93; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 139.
Nisleadusa, the Lacedaemonian	6th–5th century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 139.
Melissa, a student of Pythagoras	6th–5th century BCE		Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean philosophers	Lovon from Argos mentioned her.	Nowlan 2017: 123; Dutsch 2020: 173–212
Eloris of Samos, a student of Pythagoras	6th–5th century BCE	Samos	Geometer	Pythagorean philosophers		Bobota 2021: https://greekwomeninstem.com/women-scientists-in-ancient-greece/
Tyrsenis, the Sybarit	6th–5th century BCE	Sybaris	Philosopher	Pythagorean philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Pomeroy 2013: 7; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 139
P(e)isirrhonde the Tarentine	6th–5th century BCE	Tarentum	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Dutsch 2020: 47; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 139
Theadousa the Spartan	6th–5th century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean philosophers	Iamblichus mentioned her.	Dutsch 2020: 47; Curnow 2006: 261

Echecratia the Phliasian	6th–5th century BCE	Phlius	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Laks 2016: 92–93; Pellò & Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 139
Phliltys or Philtis, the daughter of Theophrius the Crotonian	6th–5th century BCE	Croton	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus's list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Fideler 1987: ch.36; Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 138
Deino of Croton	6th–5th century BCE	Croton	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean philosophers	Iamblichus mentioned her.	Curnow 2006: 92
Theodora of Emesa, daughter of Kyrina and Diogenes	6th–5th century BCE	Alexandria	Philosopher and mathematician versed in geometry and higher arithmetic.	Neoplatonist philosopher, at Athenian Neoplatonic school. She also studied poetics, grammar, and mathematics.	Photius mentioned her in Bibliotheca: Codex 181.	Photius: Codex 181
Cleobulina of Rhodes, daughter of Cleobulus, mother or friend of Thales of Miletus	6th century BCE	Rhodes	Rhetorician, Poet, Philosopher		She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and Athenaeus.	Plant 2004: 29–32, Waithe 1987: 206–207, Bonelli 2021: 31–33
Polygnote, a student of Thales of Miletus	6th century BCE	Miletus	Philosopher, Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	Lovon from Argos mentioned her.	Rousiouli, Siozos-Rousoulis: 1
Damo of Crotona, daughter of Pythagoras	6th–5th century BCE	Croton	Philosopher, Mathematician, Professor at Pythagorean Academia	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and Iamblichus.	Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: Ch 8.1; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor 1818: 89; Waithe 1987: 11–19; Brooklyn Museum, *Damo: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/eascfa/dinner_party/heritage_floor/damo*
Diotima the Mandinean	5th–4th century BCE (469–399 BCE)	Mandine, Arcadia	Priestess at Mandineia, Philosopher, Mathematician, Geometer	Pythagorean philosophers	Xenophon, Proklos, and Plato mentioned her.	Waithe 1987: Ch. 6

Arete of Cyrene, daughter of Aristippus	5th–4th century BCE	Cyrene	Philosopher	Cyrenaic (Hedonist) School	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and in Socratic Epistles	Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: Ch 8; Waithe 1987:198; Dutsch 2020: 68–69
Aspasia of Miletus	5th century BCE (470–400 BCE)	Miletus, Athens	Philosopher, Orator		She was mentioned by Plato, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Antisthenes, Plutarch, Kikeron, etc.	Waithe 1987: 75–82
Vitale, daughter of Damo, granddaughter of Pythagoras	5th century BCE	Croton	Mathematician	Pythagorean Philosophers	Iamblichus mentioned her.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor 1818: Ch. 146, Nowlan 2017: 123
Abrotelia, Daughter of Abroteles the Tarentine	5th century BCE	Tarentum	Philosopher (metaphysics, logic, aesthetics)	Pythagorean Philosophers	She was included in Iamblichus' list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Huizenga 2013: 9; Taylor 2006: 178; Laks 2016: 92–93; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor 1818: 139
Tymicha, wife of Myllias of Crotona	5th century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher	Pythagorean Philosophers	According to Iamblichus one of her works refers to "amicable" numbers. She was included in Iamblichus' list of 17 Pythagorean women.	Pellò's review of Pomeroy 2016: 385–388; Curnow 2006: 273; Iamblichus, trans. Taylor, 1818: 138
Perictione, the mother of Plato or a disciple of Pythagoras [41]	5th century BCE	Athens	Philosopher		Texts attributed to Perictione are: On the Harmony of Women, On Wisdom	Diogenes Laerties, trans. Hicks, 1989: iii. 4; Waithe 1987: 19–40
Aglaoniki of Thessalia	5th century BCE	Thessalia	Astronomer, Taumaturgy		Plutarch and Apollonios of Rhodes mentioned her.	Bicknell 1983: 160–163

[41] There appears to be some confusion about this woman philosopher. Some scholars hold that she was the mother of Plato while others support that there is no such connection, and the author of *On the Harmony of Women* (circa 425–300 BC) was a disciple of Pythagoras who had the same name.

Asclepigenia of Athens, daughter of Plutarch, teacher of Proclus	5th century BCE	Athens	Philosophy, mysticism, teacher at her father's school after his death	Neoplatonic school of Athens		Curnow 2006: 52; Waithe 1987: 201–203
Aedesia of Alexandria	5th century BCE	Alexandria	Philosopher	Neoplatonic school of Alexandria		Smith 1867: 23
Lasthenia of Mantinia	4th–3rd century BCE	Mantinia	Philosopher	Plato's Academia	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius as a student of Plato.	Diogenes Laerties, trans. Hicks, 1989: iii. 46
Ptolemais of Cyrene	3rd century BCE	Cyrene, Libya	Music theorist (the only known female music theorist of antiquity)	[42]Neo-Pythagoreanism	Author of texts for the Theory of music: *Pythagorean Elements of Music.* Only a few fragments-quoted by Porphyry of Tyre in his *Commentary on the Harmonics of Ptolemy*-survive.	Plant 2004: 87, 248
Leontion, a student of Epicurus	4th–3rd century BCE	Athens	Philosopher	Epicurean Philosopher	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and Kikero.	Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: x3; Athenaeus 1927: 558, 593
Aesara of Lucania	4th or 3rd century BCE	Lucania	Neopythagorean Philosopher	Pythagorean Philosophers	Text attributed to Aesara: On Human Nature. A fragment is preserved by Stobaeus.	Curnow 2006, 10; Pomeroy 2013: 118; Waithe 1987: 19–40
Sosipatra of Efesus	4th century BCE,	Efesos, Pergamon	Philosopher and mystic	Neoplatonic Philosopher	She was mentioned by Eunapius's *Lives of the Sophists.*	Salisbury 2001: 329

[42] There is a controversy regarding the dating and authenticity of the (Neo)Pythagorean women and their works. Issues such as their chronological discrepancies (with many texts attributed to authors who lived centuries earlier than the period in which they were written), the use of pseudonyms, the dialects in which they were written not corresponding to the supposed period of their composition, and the lack of sufficient evidence to confirm the existence of these authors, all raise questions and generate doubts about the authorship of specific texts. Although many of the texts are dismissed as pseudepigrapha and the authors 'Pseudo-Pythagoreans,' their study provides significant insights into the presence and role of women in ancient philosophy (Huffman 2019*:* https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2024/entries/pythagoreanism/>).

Axiothea of Phius, a student of Plato and Speusippus	4th century BCE	Phllesia	Philosopher	Plato's Academy	She was mentioned in Diogenes Laertius's-*9 Lives of the Eminent Philosophers.	Bailey 1986: 204–206; Waithe 1987: 205, 206; Dutsch 2020: 51–52
Nikarete of Megara	4th century BCE	Megara	Philosopher	Megarian school	She was mentioned by Diogenis Laertius.	Athenaeus 1927: xiii. 596e; Diogenes Laerties, trans. Hicks, 1989: ii. 114.
Hypatia of Alexandria, daughter of the mathematician and philosopher Theon	4th century BCE	Alexandria, Egypt, Eastern Roman Empire	Philosopher, Astronomer, Mathematician	Neoplatonic school of Alexandria	Texts attributed to Hypatia are Commentary on Diophantus of Alexandria's Arithmeticorum, Commentary on the Conic Sections of Apollonius Pergaeus, Commentary on Ptolemy's Syntaxis Mathematica	Waithe 1987: 169–197
Pandrosion of Alexandria	4th century BCE	Alexandria	Mathematician		She was mentioned in the Mathematical Collection of Pappus of Alexandria.	Pappus 1876: book 3.1; Knorr 1989: 63–76; Bernard 2003: 93–150; Watts 2017: 94–97
Hipparchia the Cynic, wife of Crates of Thebes	4th–3rd century BCE	Maroneia, Thrace	Philosopher	Cynicism	She was mentioned by Diogenis Laertius.	Pomeroy 2013: 49–53; Diogenes Laerties, trans. Hicks, 1989: vi, ch.7
Phintys, daughter of Callicrates	3rd century BCE	Sparta	Philosopher	Pythagorean Philosophers	She wrote a work on the correct behavior of women, two extracts of which are preserved by Stobaeus (Stobaeus, iv 23.11).	Plant 2004: 84–86; Waithe 1987: 19–40
Themista of Lampsacus	3rd century BCE	Lampsacus	Philosopher	Epicurus' school/ Epicureanism	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius.	Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: 10. 5, 25, 26
Batis/es of Lampsacus, student of Epicurus	3rd century BCE	Lampsacus	Philosopher	Epicurus' school/ Epicureanism	She was mentioned by Diogenes Laertius.	Diogenes Laertius, trans. Hicks, 1989: book X. Ch. 23

Menexene daughter of Diodorus Cronus	3rd century BCE	Iasos in the eastern Aegean	Philosopher, logician, dialectician	Megarian School		Protasi 2020: 4; Duncombe 2025; Wider 2020: 21–63
Argeia daughter of Diodorus Cronus	3rd century BCE	Iasos in the eastern Aegean	Philosopher, logician, dialectician	Megarian School		Protasi 2020: 4; Duncombe 2025; Wider 2020: 21–63
Theognis daughter of Diodorus Cronus	3rd century BCE	Iasos in the eastern Aegean	Philosopher, logician, dialectician	Megarian School		Protasi 2020: 4; Duncombe 2025; Wider 2020: 21–63
Artemisia daughter of Diodorus Cronus	3rd century BCE	Iasos in the eastern Aegean	Philosopher, logician, dialectician	Megarian School		Protasi 2020: 4; Duncombe 2025; Wider 2020: 21–63
Pantaclea daughter of Diodorus Cronus	3rd century BCE	Iasos in the eastern Aegean	Philosopher, logician, dialectician	Megarian School		Protasi 2020: 4; Duncombe 2025; Wider 2020: 21–63

Table 1: The classification of ancient female philosophers.

Some important conclusions can be drawn from this table. First, thirty-six of these fifty-four ancient intellectuals lived and worked between the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. Therefore, it is evident that during this period, women were neither prohibited from studying or teaching in philosophical schools nor from contributing to the philosophical and scientific thought of the era. This view is further strengthened by the identification of texts and essays that some of them wrote, demonstrating that they did not merely study but, in some cases, dedicated their lives to philosophical or scientific research. Moreover, twenty-nine of these fifty-four significant women studied or taught in Pythagorean communities, with seventeen of them included in Iamblichus's list of Pythagorean women (Table 1). As seen in Table 1, the seventeen Pythagorean women included in the Iamblichus catalog were Timycha, Philtys, the sisters Okkelo and Ekkelo, Cheilonis, Cratesicleia, Theano, Myia, Lasthenia, Abroteleia, Echecrateia, Tyrsenis, P(e)isirrhode, Nisleadusa, Boio, Vabelyca, and Kleaechma. Therefore, the Pythagorean communities were inclusive of women who sought to study, teach, and contribute to the preservation of Pythagorean knowledge and continue the Pythagorean tradition. This strengthens the argument that Pythagoras was a feminist philosopher or, to phrase it differently, a women-friendly philosopher.

Furthermore, as indicated in Table 1, several women philosophers chose to join the Megarian School[43] and Platonic or Neoplatonic philosophy. At the same time, fewer seemed to have turned to Epicureanism, Cynicism, and the Cyrenaic (Hedonist) School. In contrast, there is no information about the attendance of some of them at a particular school of philosophy. Furthermore, most women philosophers and scientists included in Table 1 studied philosophy, mathematics, geometry, or astronomy. This is no surprise considering that most of them were included in the Pythagorean communities.

[43] Wider 1986: 21–62; Duncombe 2025: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2024/entries/diodorus-cronus/>.

In addition, Table 1 highlights the importance of the contributions of several historians, philosophers, doxographers, and compilers of a valuable series of extracts from Greek authors and writers who, through their texts, preserved and conveyed to us knowledge of these women and their studies. Based on this, Table 1 can also be used as a guide to specific sources that can be studied more extensively to uncover further information about the female philosophers in classical antiquity. As indicated by Table 1, the contributions of ancient intellectuals such as Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus, Stobaeus, Pappus of Alexandria, Eunapius, Cicero, Apollonius of Rhodes, Plato, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Antisthenes, Photius, Proclus, Plutarch, and Iamblichus are noteworthy for their references to female philosophers. Consequently, their texts are essential sources for a more systematic and comprehensive investigation into the role and contributions of female philosophers in classical antiquity. The importance of these sources is indisputable, especially considering that texts from most women philosophers and scientists of this period have not survived. Thus, the texts of these historians and philosophers constitute the sole extant sources of knowledge regarding their contributions.

A well-known source is Iamblichus's list of seventeen Pythagorean women philosophers. However, it is important to note here that while Iamblichus's list includes many names of female Pythagorean philosophers, its reliability has been questioned for specific reasons.[44] The chronological distance between Iamblichus and Pythagoras is a major issue. Iamblichus lived approximately 800 years after Pythagoras. This substantial temporal gap raises concerns about the accuracy and integrity of the information, as the potential for distortions or additions increases over such an extended period. Moreover, Iamblichus does not provide specific references for the sources he used for his list. The absence of source documentation complicates the verification process and casts doubt on the authenticity and accuracy of the names and details he presents. Without clear references, it is challenging to assess the credibility of his claims. Given that this list is likely based on the work of Aristoxenus, it probably reflects what Aristoxenus learned from the fourth-century Pythagoreans. However, it is uncertain whether some names were added after Aristoxenus's time.[45] In addition, some names and details in Iamblichus's list are not corroborated by other ancient sources. This discrepancy suggests potential interpolations or alterations over time, further undermining the credibility of his account. These are some of the reasons why scholars are cautious about accepting his list at face value due to these inconsistencies.[46]

Regardless of the various opinions expressed and the arguments questioning the validity of the Iamblichus list, it remains a noteworthy surviving source for the issue examined here. It is an initial attempt to gather and categorize knowledge about women philosophers in the ancient Greek world. Under these terms, the interesting information it provides cannot be excluded from this approach.

Another interesting observation is that, in the context of this study, I was unable to include women philosophers in the Atomist school, Eleatic school, Plularism, Sophists, Eretrian school, Peripatetic school, in Pyrrhonism and Stoicism in Table 1. This observation

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44 Huffman 2019: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2024/entries/pythagoreanism/>.

45 *Ibid*.; Burkert 1972: 105; Zhmud 2012: 235–244.

46 Huffman 2019: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2024/entries/pythagoreanism/>.

is quite important, because if the identification of knowledge regarding a phenomenon under study is an important process that reinforces the development of scientific knowledge and science in general, then the identification of specific knowledge gaps is the starting point and a core motivation during the knowledge acquisition process as it leads to the formulation of new research hypotheses and questions, thus triggering the research process. From this some important questions arise: Did women study or teach in these ancient Greek schools of philosophy? How can modern historians and philosophers research this issue? What sorts of sources should they compile and study? Can references to other female philosophers be found within the existing international literature about ancient Greek philosophers, or is more extensive research of ancient Greek texts and treatises needed? These questions highlight new directions for future historical and philosophical research concerning the contributions of female philosophers and scientists to the evolution of scientific thought, while also showing how Table 1 could be used as a starting point for further research.

Finally, an important possibility for future research is a meticulous study not only of the international literature focusing on the history of philosophy in classical antiquity but also primarily on important ancient Greek sources such as philosophical and historical texts from Greek antiquity or even ancient Greek literature, the aim of which should be recognizing and identifying information about women philosophers included in these schools of philosophy.

4. Suggestions for Integrating Ancient Greek Female Philosophers into Modern Greek Academia and the Educational System

To address the existing lack of knowledge about ancient Greek female philosophers, it is essential to implement a multi-faceted approach that would require the Greek philosophical community to actively engage with both primary and secondary sources. First, it is important to encourage the Greek philosophical community to thoroughly investigate ancient sources and contemporary works that elucidate the social positions and ambiguities of life that shaped their historical period and intellectual contributions, thereby rectifying biases in the historical canon of antiquity. This effort could uncover and highlight relevant information that has been obscured or omitted, thus achieving a more comprehensive understanding of the social context around inquiry and knowledge production in Greek antiquity. With this in mind, Table 1 can also support this effort, which serves as a roadmap and a starting point for further research by providing a catalog of fifty-four women philosophers and proposing sources that researchers can meticulously study to collect more details about each one of them. The table itself is an initial effort to categorize these philosophers based on the period in which they lived, their place of residence, the field and the philosophical school to which they belong, and whether their texts have survived. However, this does not preclude future expansion or modification based on additional criteria that is yet to be introduced, newly identified philosophers, or further sources that may be studied. In this context, Table 1 can be translated into Greek and employed in two primary ways by researchers of Greek philosophy: It can serve as a guide that directs research efforts by providing relevant sources for further study; and it can be a source of

motivation for more extensive and systematic exploration of the topic. The objective would be to expand the table, complete the empty cells, and thereby enhance the existing body of knowledge on the subject under investigation.

Translating significant English works such as *Ancient Women Philosophers* and the *Handbook of Women and Philosophy* into Greek and using them as textbooks in schools or universities, either in their entirety or as specific chapters could motivate Greek high school and university students to learn about women philosophers in classical antiquity. In the same context, Table 1 can be used in high schools or departments of philosophy as part of an introductory course on women philosophers in classical antiquity, allowing students to initially recognize the existence of women philosophers and subsequently understand that they joined various philosophical communities and scientific fields.

Moreover, embracing interdisciplinary pluralism can be an effective strategy in the Greek scholarship of women in the ancient Greek world.[47] A method to familiarize students with this specific subject could be the integration of comprehensive studies on ancient Greek female philosophers into the educational curricula in Greek high schools and departments of philosophy and the philosophy and history of science. This step could involve developing dedicated courses or modules within broader philosophy and history programs, thus ensuring that students are exposed to the contributions of these women from early on in their education. Furthermore, fostering international collaboration between scholars and institutions is crucial for building a more comprehensive understanding of the topic. By sharing resources, research findings, and methodologies, scholars can work together to close the knowledge gap and achieve a more inclusive and accurate historical record of ancient Greek female philosophers. Encouraging interdisciplinary research that connects philosophy with other fields such as gender studies, history, and classical studies can provide a more holistic understanding of the contributions of ancient Greek female philosophers. Such an approach can reveal the broader social and cultural contexts in which these women lived and worked, and offer a richer and more nuanced perspective on their intellectual contributions. Organizing public lectures, seminars, and discussions to raise awareness about the contributions of these philosophers can help popularize this knowledge.

Finally, establishing a university department specializing in the history and philosophy of women in science that focuses on the contribution of these female intellectuals could be vital step for beginning a systematic and organized investigation of this issue within the Greek scientific community for several reasons. First, research on this specific issue would intensify and lead to a substantial discussion within the Greek research community. Additionally, the number publications on the topic would increase. Moreover, since most Greek universities require students to attend and pass exams in courses from other departments to accumulate the required number of credits to obtain a degree, even students in other programs at the same university would also have a chance to attend courses at this department. Therefore, the establishment of a department specializing in the history and philosophy of women in science, for instance, at the School of Philosophy at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, would entail mandatory and elective courses for students enrolled in other departments (e.g., the Departments of Philology or

[47] Protasi 2020: 7–13.

History and Archaeology). Under these conditions, there would be a distinct specialized department reinforcing research on these subjects, while the rest of students at the School of Philosophy would also have the opportunity and obligation to attend the corresponding courses. Thus, they would be given an opportunity and the motivation to learn about these important topics.

Finally, if there were a department specializing in women philosophers, it would be easier to collaborate with universities abroad, research centers, and organizations serving the same subject. Consequently, finding grants and scholarships and fostering collaboration between universities and research institutions could be facilitated. These efforts would provide the necessary support and resources for scholars to delve deeper into this area of study.

5. Conclusions

Insufficient research and a fragmentary understanding of the contribution of women in antiquity to philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics reveal two necessities for modern Greek historiography and philosophical research. Greek philosophers and historians of science must research this issue more extensively while also revolutionizing their cultural and intellectual habitudes. Moreover, they need to proceed with reforming the historical framework of human intellectual activity in classical antiquity regarding significant philosophers and scientists based on the scientific value of their theories and their contributions to the development of scientific thought rather than on other criteria such as their gender or their role in their society or even in modern society. In other words, Greek philosophers and historians of science should revise the interpretation of history based on ancient texts and sources and contemporary scholarly literature, which at the same time must also be taught at Greek schools and universities.

Throughout this paper, I have argued that the first step in the challenge of overcoming this important knowledge gap in Greek historiography and philosophical research is to collect, categorize, and present existing knowledge about female philosophers of this era. To this end, I have compiled and provided an extensive list of important women philosophers from classical antiquity that also includes the period in which they lived, the field and the philosophical school to which they belong, and other information about them such as whether their texts have survived. With this, I seek the first step through this list that presents an important part of the existing knowledge about them.

However, as the women intellectuals included in the proposed table fall into only some of the basic academies of philosophy in Greek antiquity, questions arise concerning the possibility of women philosophers within other schools of philosophy, and specifically the Atomist school, Eleatic school, Pluralism, Sophists, Eritrean school, Peripatetic school, Pyrrhonism, and Stoicism. A meticulous study of ancient Greek historical, philosophical, and even literary texts can bring to light essential information regarding women's participation in these philosophical schools, and it can also contribute to reorganizing existing knowledge and reconstructing the historical framework of ancient Greek philosophical thought.

In this context, the information and conclusions that have so far emerged from the proposed list prove that compiling, categorizing, and meticulously studying existing

knowledge of female Greek philosophers in antiquity is a crucial step toward reforming the historical framework of human intellectual activity in classical antiquity. However, more extended research is needed to overcome the significant knowledge gap identified within the Greek scientific community. In this respect, the philosophy textbooks used in Greek high schools should be reviewed and revised to include female philosophers. Moreover, the curricula used in Greek high schools and departments of philosophy and history and philosophy of science can be enhanced by integrating translated volumes that offer detailed and in-depth analyses of this issue, along with the use of the proposed Table 1. From this, high school students will be given the opportunity and motivation to read and learn about ancient Greek female philosophers' theories. Accordingly, relevant courses can be provided throughout the curricula of departments of philosophy in several Greek universities. Last, the establishment of a university department specializing in the history and philosophy of women in science that focuses on the contributions of these female intellectuals could be a significant step in beginning the systematic and organized investigation of this issue within the Greek scientific community.

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ВИРГИНИЈА ГРИГОРИАДУ
Национални технички универзитет у Атини
Одељење за хуманистичке, друштвене и правне науке

ГРЧКЕ ФИЛОЗОФКИЊЕ КЛАСИЧНЕ СТАРИНЕ

Резиме

У раду се дискутује значајна празнина у знању која је примећена у проучавањима грчке филозофије и историографије, а која одражава устаљене друштвене околности и уверења. Реч је о одсуству систематског и опсежног истраживања теорија грчких филозофкиња, као и о одређеној мери њиховог искључивања из историографских оквира. Проблем открива да у данашњој Грчкој и даље погрешно ишчитавамо историју, а такође наглашава потребу новог почетка у проучавању античких грчких филозофкиња. Такође, овим се подвлачи потреба реформисања историјског оквира интелектуалних активности у античком периоду, као и ревизија наших културних хабитуалних ставова („habitudes“). Рад има за циљ да пружи списак античких грчких жена мислитељки као почетак много дубљег истраживања. Овде је начињена широка листа од 54 филозофкиња класичне старине, укључујући и податке о периоду и граду у којем је свака живела, пољу деловања, филозофској школи, заједници, или академији којој је припадала, као и о томе да ли је њено дело сачувано.

Кључне речи: Грчка, филозофкиње, класична старина, историјски оквир, листа.

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MIRKO OBRADOVIĆ
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy
0000-0003-0142-5791
mdobrado@f.bg.ac.rs

AS HERODOTUS SAYS: DIRECT AND INDIRECT USE OF HERODOTUS'S *HISTORIES* IN STRABO'S *GEOGRAPHY*

Abstract: This paper aims to show that the geographer Strabo used the historian Herodotus directly in his *Geography* and valued his geographical knowledge more than previously thought. The paper examines nineteen instances where Strabo explicitly quotes Herodotus, which suggests these may be direct quotations and indicates Strabo had direct access to Herodotus' *Histories* when composing these passages. This is confirmed primarily through direct quotations that Strabo designates with ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι(ν) ("as Herodotus says") and similar expressions. There is a reason to believe that in most such instances Strabo directly used and quoted Herodotus rather than relying on intermediary sources. Most of the instances analyzed here refer to geographical and ethnographic matters, with a focus on rivers. A significant number of these instances, as many as ten, pertain to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, which suggests that Strabo frequently consulted this particular book.

Keywords: Strabo, Herodotus, intermediary sources, influences, quotations, fragments, Geography, Historiography.

The Greek scholar Strabo of Amaseia in Asia Minor, who lived and worked in the Augustan Age, is best known for his *Geography* in seventeen books, the only extant work of that genre. Strabo's *Geography*, which has survived complete, except for the last portions of Book 7, is an incredibly comprehensive work covering the geographical description of the world then known and often provides unique information on various fields of knowledge. It is essentially a geographical text written by a historian because it abounds with information about historical events and topics of a historical nature. When he wrote the *Geography*, Strabo relied on hundreds of different sources from different periods. His intention was to describe and explain the world using all the sources available in a selective and critical way. As Strabo's work includes an encyclopedic look at the world known at the time, a discussion of its sources is therefore essential. It is certain that the writer used personal experiences from numerous travels across the Mediterranean world, as well as a range of earlier sources from a variety of genres, when compiling geographical descriptions. Nevertheless, the greatest value of Strabo's *Geography* lies in the fact that he, openly and

unwaveringly, used and quoted the works of earlier writers, the majority of which were lost in antiquity, thus partially preserving the works of many of his predecessors from oblivion.

Geographical knowledge often depends on the historical narrative of a place and on the information historians have delivered. Therefore, Strabo felt compelled to use the works of historians, particularly those who exhibited a keen interest in geography such as Ephorus or Polybius, and historians of Alexander the Great. Like almost all ancient historians and geographers, Strabo used some sources directly and some indirectly.[1] Among the writers Strabo is believed to have used and cited indirectly was the historian Herodotus from Halicarnassus. Even though Strabo frequently mentions Herodotus by name, it is the *communis opinio* as articulated by Felix Jacoby that Strabo rarely directly ("*selten direkt*") used Herodotus, but rather knew him through the mediation of the Alexander historians and earlier geographers ("*mehr durch Vermittlung von Historikern der Alexanderzeit und älteren Geographen*").[2] Some modern scholars adopt a more critical stance in that evaluation and hold that Strabo used Herodotus almost exclusively through intermediaries,[3] and that the historian from Halicarnassus in no way influenced the work of the geographer and historian from Amaseia.[4] Indeed, there are more moderate assessments suggesting the opinion that Strabo relied exclusively on Herodotus through intermediary sources is methodologically questionable.[5] Additionally, some recognize Herodotus' influence on Strabo in various areas, including ethnographic and geographic matters, as well as historical events and figures.[6] It also appears that Strabo often turned to Herodotus to provoke debates and stir controversy.[7]

There are approximately thirty instances (thirty-one including a fragment from Book 7) in which Herodotus is mentioned by name in Strabo's *Geography*. In this regard, he is among the most frequently cited authors in Strabo's voluminous work, even when considering only the first two introductory books.[8] However, not all of these references indicate specific sections in Herodotus' *Histories*. There are general statements such as when Strabo names Herodotus as the first of three prominent men (ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι) who came from Halicarnassus (14.2.16, C 656) or when he assesses Herodotus as a writer, whether in his own judgment or by conveying someone else's opinion. Strabo's assessment of Herodotus appears to be that he is one of those writers who "talk nonsense by adding marvelous tales to their accounts" (17.1.52, C 818). He also quotes the historian Theopompus who, like Herodotus, intended to

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1 The bibliography on this subject is vast. For a general survey of Strabo's sources, see Clarke 1999: 315–319, 374–378; Dueck 2000: 180–186.

2 Jacoby 1913: 508.

3 Althaus 1941; Prandi 1988.

4 Cf. e.g. Dueck 2000: 46: "Nevertheless, his methods and his approach did not impress Strabo, to say the least, and it is in fact very difficult to refer to any direct influence of Herodotus on the *Geography*. Surprising as it may seem, such an influence is simply non-existent."

5 See Engels 1999: 124: "Methodisch anfechtbar ist aber meines Erachtens die Auffassung, sämtliche Zitate aus den *Historien*, die Strabon unter direkter Namensnennung Herodots macht, ausschließlich auf Zwischenquellen zurückzuführen." Cf. also Lenfant 2013.

6 Cf. Almagor 2021: 1376–1377.

7 But see Lenfant 1999: 108–109: "La fonction la plus fréquente des citations d'Herodote n'est pas de nourrir une polemique, mais d'illustrer le propos de geographe."

8 With seven mentions in the first two books, Herodotus ranks among the top ten authorities who appear five or more times in the introductory books of the *Geography*. Cf. Wietzke 2017: 242 n.4.

narrate myths in his history (1.2.35, C 43). These general statements would inevitably include Herodotus's famous assertion that Egypt is the gift of the Nile (δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, 2.5.1), which appears as many as four times in various books of Strabo's *Geography*.[9] There are also instances in his introductory books where Herodotus is undoubtedly quoted indirectly as part of a larger polemic that Strabo engages in with Posidonius or Eratosthenes. This certainly includes Herodotus's account of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa, which Strabo incorporates from Posidonius within a much broader context (2.3.4, C 98; 2.3.5, C 100).[10] It also includes Herodotus's information about the Hyperboreans, which was evidently quoted incorrectly and likely derived from Eratosthenes (1.3.22, C 61).[11] All such instances should be set aside, and we should focus solely on those passages where Strabo directly references Herodotus and quotes specific information from Herodotus's *Histories*. This information is typically presented in the standard manner used for citing other written sources, with phrases like ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι(ν) ("as Herodotus says") or similar expressions like ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος, εἰρηκότος δ' Ἡροδότου, ἃ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος, even κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ("according to Herodotos"), clearly attributing the statements or information to Herodotus as the author. There are many reasons to believe that in almost all such cases, Strabo directly used Herodotus rather than relying on intermediaries. Most of these instances are quotations from Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, but there are also direct references to Books 2, 4, and several others.

Passages from Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories* quoted by Strabo:

1) Strab. 12.1.3, C 534: ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λέγομεν χερρόνησον τὴν προσεσπέριον τοῖς Καππάδοξιν ἅπασαν, **ἣν Ἡρόδοτος** μὲν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος **καλεῖ** (αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἧς ἦρξεν ἁπάσης Κροῖσος, **λέγει** δ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος 'τύραννον ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ').[12]
I consider the peninsula everything that is within the isthmus and west of Cappadocia, **which Herodotus calls** "within the Halys." This in its entirety was ruled by Croesus, whom **he describes** as "tyrant of the peoples within the Halys River."[13]

2) Strab. 12.3.9, C 544: Τοὺς δὲ Παφλαγόνας πρὸς ἕω μὲν ὁρίζει ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμός, '[ὃς] ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσημβρίης μεταξὺ Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίεσι' **κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον** 'ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον' (Σύρους **λέγοντα** τοὺς Καππάδοκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Λευκόσυροι καλοῦνται, Σύρων καὶ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου λεγομένων).
The Halys River is the Paphlagonian boundary to the east, which "flows from the south between the Syrians and Paphlagonians and empties... into the sea called the Euxinus,"

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9 Strab. 1.2.23, C 30; 1.2.29, C 36; 12.2.4, C 536; 15.1.16, C 691.

10 It refers to Hdt. 4.42, but contains a significant factual error that Strabo apparently adopted from Posidonius, as he credits the Persian king Darius with organizing the expedition instead of Pharaoh Necho of the 26th Dynasty of Egypt. Cf. Aly 1957: 414: "Das Versehen stammt also von Jemand, der den Herodottext vor Augen hatte. Das war Poseidonios, nicht Strabon."

11 It refers to Hdt. 4.36.1. Cf. Roller 2017: 325: "It is obvious that Strabo had a text of Herodotos at hand – he was quoted nearly forty times – but the citation at 1.3.22 (based on Herodotos 4.36) is incorrect, and thus it is probable that Strabo relied on Eratosthenes or Hipparchos and did not check Herodotos directly, since he would have caught the error."

12 Greek text of Strabo's *Geography* follows Radt's edition (Radt 2002–2005).

13 All translations of Strabo's *Geography* into English are by Roller 2014, with minor adaptations regarding transliterations of proper names.

according to Herodotus. By Syrians **he means** Cappadocians, who are still today called White Syrians, while those outside the Taurus are said to be Syrians.

Both passages refer to Hdt. 1.6.1:

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίης μεταξὺ Συρίων <τε> καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίει πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον.

Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia, and issues northward into the sea called Euxinus.[14]

In passages 12.1.3 and 12.3.9, Strabo defines the western border of Cappadocia and the eastern border of Paphlagonia, which followed the Halys River (modern-day Kızılırmak), citing Herodotus as an authority on the matter. Some scholars believe that Strabo relied on an intermediary source, such as Apollodorus of Athens,[15] Posidonius of Apamea, or Demetrius of Scepsis,[16] when using Herodotus. However, there appears to be no compelling reason to seek any intermediaries in these instances. Strabo not only adopts Herodotus's terminology when, for example, referring to Croesus as a "tyrant" (τύραννος), the Cappadocians as Syrians (Σύρους λέγοντα τοὺς Καππάδοκας),[17] and the region west of the Halys River as "within the Halys River" (ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ),[18] but also incorporates Ionic forms (ἐς instead of εἰς, καλεόμενον instead of καλούμενον) that are characteristic of the historian from Halicarnassus. It is highly probable that Strabo had direct access to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories* while compiling these passages.[19]

3) Strab. 13.2.4, C 618: ἔπειτα Μήθυμνα· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἦν Ἀρίων **ὁ** ἐπὶ τῷ δελφῖνι **μυθευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἡρόδοτον** εἰς Ταίναρον σωθῆναι καταποντωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν· οὗτος μὲν οὖν κιθαρῳδός.

Then there is Methymna, from which Arion came, who, **according to the story told by those following Herodotus,** safely went to Taenarum on a dolphin, after being thrown into the sea by brigands. He was a citharodist.

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[14] Greek text of Herodotus's *Histories* follows new *OCT* edition (Wilson 2015), and all English translations are by Godley 1920–1925 (*Loeb Classical Library*).

[15] Althaus 1941: 10–12, and Riemann 1967: 44, see Apollodorus as the intermediary. Apollodorus of Athens wrote, inter alia, lengthy *Commentary on the Catalogue of the Ships* in twelwe books, which Strabo cited several times, but often to express his disagreement.

[16] Luisa Prandi opts for Posidonius, but emphasizes that, given the small number of examples, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between Demetrius and Posidonius as intermediaries. Cf. Prandi 1988: 61: "Sarebbe aleatorio individuare una qualche differenza fra Demetrio e Posidonio nella loro funzione di tramite, dato lo scarso numero di esempi, e anche la presenza di errori o imprecisioni non puo essere imputata se non a sviste o a confusione." It is essential to acknowledge that while Posidonius stands as Strabo's primary source, Demetrius of Scepsis's extensive *Commentary on the Trojan Allies*, cited frequently by Strabo, serves not only as a significant reference but also as a platform for expressing dissent.

[17] Cf. also Hdt. 1.72.1.

[18] Cf. also Hdt. 1.28; 5.102.1.

[19] However, it is important to acknowledge that some scholars hold differing views on this matter. Cf. Radt 2008: 355: "die Weglassung von Herodots Worten πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον (nach ἐξίσι) zeigt dass Strabon, als er dies schrieb, den Herodottext nicht 'aufgeschlagen' vor sich hatte."

This refers to Hdt. 1.23–24, the well-known tale of Arion's miraculous rescue by a dolphin. The expression ὁ μυθευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἡρόδοτον, which Roller translates as "according to the story told by those following Herodotus" is best understood as referring to Herodotus himself or as "Herodotus and others who relate the story." This aligns with earlier translations of Strabo's *Geography*: "as Herodotus relates the story" (Hamilton, Falconer), or "according to a myth told by Herodotus and his followers" (Jones).[20] When discussing the city of Methymna on the island of Lesbos, Strabo only briefly mentions Arion as its most famous citizen and recounts the myth of Arion and the dolphin. The most likely source for this story is Herodotus. It is difficult to imagine where else Strabo could have taken the account of Arion's rescue by the dolphin and the mention of Cape Taenarum if not directly from Herodotus. Although the tale predates Herodotus, it is clear that later authors who dealt with Arion's story based their accounts on Herodotus.[21] If the possibility of an intermediary must be considered, Theopompus's *Epitome of Herodotus* in two books comes to mind, though there are only four lexicographical citations from it.[22] However, there is no evidence that Strabo used this relatively obscure work by Theopompus. Besides, it seems unlikely that this story would have been included in a two-book epitome. Theopompus's other works, the *Hellenica* and the *Philippica*, were much more widely known and read. Strabo, after all, holds a similar opinion of Herodotus and Theopompus as historians, and criticizes both for being storytellers and lovers of myths.[23]

4) Strab. 13.4.5, C 625–626: ῥεῖ δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου, καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολύ, ἀφ' οὗτὸν Κροίσου λεγόμενον πλοῦτον καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διονομασθῆναί φασι· καταφέρεται δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς εἰς τὸν Ἕρμον, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ὗλλος ἐμβάλλει, Φρύγιος νυνὶ καλούμενος· συμπεσόντες δ' οἱ τρεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἀσημότεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φώκαιαν ἐκδιδόασι θάλατταν, **ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησιν**.
The Pactolus flows from Tmolus, and they say that in antiquity a large amount of gold dust was carried down, from which, they say, the well-known wealth of Croesus and his ancestors became famous. The Pactolus is carried down to the Hermus, into which the Hyllus – today called the Phrygius – also empties. These three – and others less notable – come together and empty into the sea around Phocaea, **as Herodotos says**.

This refers to Hdt. 1.80.1:

ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὗλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἕρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φώκαιαν πόλιν).
So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea). Cf. 5.101.2.

[20] Cf. also the translation into German, Radt 2004: 627 *ad loc.*: "von dem Herodot fabelt."
[21] Cf. Plut. *Mor*. 160a–160b; Ov. *Fast*. 2.79–118; Lucian, *Dial*. *Mar*. 8.
[22] *FGrHist* 115 FF 1–4.
[23] See Strab. 1.2.35, C 43.

When referring to the river Hermus and its tributaries, Strabo could hardly omit Herodotus's account. The expression that these rivers "empty into the sea around Phocaea" (εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φώκαιαν ἐκδιδόασι θάλατταν) aligns perfectly with Herodotus, who states that the river Hermus "issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea" (ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φώκαιαν πόλιν). Strabo explicitly adds, "as Herodotus says" (ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησιν). Although Herodotus does not mention the Pactolus River by name in this instance, it does not diminish the well-known importance of this river, which carried gold dust from Mt. Tmolus and contributed significantly to the wealth and prosperity of the Lydian kings.[24] It is precisely the expression that Strabo uses in the preceding sentence, the Pactolus flows from Tmolus, carrying down in antiquity a large amount of gold dust (ῥεῖ δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου, καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολύ) that corresponds exactly to what Herodotus reports elsewhere (5.101.2) that the Pactolus "carries down gold dust from Tmolus" (ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου). The only difference is that Strabo uses the participle of the verb καταφέρω and Herodotus the participle of the verb καταφορέω with the same meaning. Therefore, there is no need to rely on an intermediary source such as Callisthenes or any other author in this passage.[25] Nevertheless, Strabo clearly consulted other sources besides Herodotus, as he accurately notes that the river Hyllus is now called Phrygius (ὁ Ὕλλος -Φρύγιος νυνὶ καλούμενος), and that the Pactolus River in his time was no longer gold-bearing as it once had been (νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ ψῆγμα).[26]

5) Strab. 13.4.7, C 627: περίκειται δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ Κολόῃ τὰ μνήματα τῶν βασιλέων· πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Σάρδεσιν ἔστι τὸ τοῦ Ἀλυάττου, ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος ὑψηλῆς χῶμα μέγα, ἐργασθέν, **ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος**, ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς πόλεως, οὗ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔργον αἱ παιδίσκαι συνετέλεσαν (**λέγει δ' ἐκεῖνος** καὶ πορνεύεσθαι πάσας· τινὲς δὲ καὶ πόρνης μνῆμα λέγουσι τὸν τάφον).
Lying around Lake Coloe are the memorials of the kings. Near Sardeis is the great mound of Alyattes on a high base, built, **as Herodotus says**, by the people of the city, with most of the work accomplished by the prostitutes. **He says** that all the women prostituted themselves, and some say that the tomb is the prostitute's monument.

6) Strab. 11.14.16, C 533: τοιοῦτον δέ τι καὶ **Ἡρόδοτος λέγει** τὸ περὶ τὰς Λυδάς· πορνεύειν γὰρ ἁπάσας.
Herodotus says something like this about Lydian women, all of whom prostitute themselves.

These refer to Hdt. 1.93. 2–4:

ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μέν ἐστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὗροι δὲ πέντε ἑόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς.

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[24] Hdt. 5.101.2; cf. 1.93.1.

[25] Prandi 1988: 61–62, thinks that Strabo usually found earlier Herodotean material in Callisthenes ("Callistene si prestava ad essere un formidabile mediatore di materiale erodoteo"), while Althaus 1941: 56–58, introduces Demetrius of Scepsis as an intermediary source.

[26] Cf. also Strab. 13.1.23, C 591.

> There is in Lydia the tomb of Alyattes the father of Croesus, the base whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands; and they offer themselves in marriage.

Strabo briefly describes the famous monumental tomb of Alyattes (Ἀλυάττεω σῆμα), adding that "some say that the tomb is the prostitute's monument" (τινὲς δὲ καὶ πόρνης μνῆμα λέγουσι τὸν τάφον). This "some say" (τινὲς λέγουσι) could indicate that, in addition to directly consulting Herodotus, whom he mentions by name, Strabo also referred to other unnamed sources. However, it could also be understood as a "general statement." After all, the conclusion that it is "the prostitute's monument" (πόρνης μνῆμα) could already be drawn on the basis of what Herodotus states ("that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest" [τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον]) and what Strabo remarks in slightly different words ("with most of the work accomplished by the prostitutes" [οὗ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔργον αἱ παιδίσκαι συνετέλεσαν]). It is worth noting that both Herodotus and Strabo use the same term for prostitutes, αἱ παιδίσκαι, which is not uncommon, but the cited passage is the only instance where the term παιδίσκη occurs at all in Herodotus's *Histories*, even twice, whereas in Strabo it occurs once more in Book 14 to denote a young female slave as a prostitute.[27] Setting aside the complex issue of the custom of prostitution among Lydian women,[28] it is not necessary to rely on an intermediary source, as some scholars suggest.[29] It is more plausible that Strabo directly used Herodotus at 13.4.7 and relied on his own memory at 11.14.16, where he only mentions the practice of Lydian women prostituting themselves.

7) Strab. 3.2.14, C 151: ὑπολάβοι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακραίωνας νομισθῆναι τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀνακρέοντα μὲν οὕτως εἰπεῖν· "ἔγωγ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἂν Ἀμαλθίης βουλοίμην κέρας οὔτ᾽ ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε κἀκατὸν Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεῦσαι," **Ἡρόδοτον δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως καταγράψαι καλέσαντα Ἀργανθώνιον**.
   One might assume that it was from their great prosperity that the people there were also named the "Long Lived," especially their leaders, and because of this Anacreon said the following: "I would not wish for the horn of Amalthea, or to be king of Tartessus for a hundred and fifty years," and **Herodotus even recorded the name of the king**, **calling him Arganthonius**.

This passage refers to Hdt. 1.163.2:

> ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ <τὰ> πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

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[27] Strab. 14.1.41, C 648, regarding Cleomachus, the boxer tuned into a poet, a well-known native of Magnesia on the Maeander.

[28] Herodotus's account is a reference to the prenuptial practice of Lydian common girls of prostituting themselves to acquire dowries. For a commentary see Dewald, Munson 2022: 316: "the term δῆμος, however, may limit it in the Lydian context to the non-elite population."

[29] As Prandi 1988: 61–62, does with Callisthenes, whom she considers an important source for Strabo for "Lydian matters," and as Althaus 1941, 56–58, does with Demetrius of Scepsis.

> When they [*sc*. the Phocaeans] came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived a hundred and twenty.

Strabo cites the poet Anacreon and the historian Herodotus as authoritative sources regarding Arganthonius, the long-lived king of Tartessus in ancient Turdetania, located near the mouth of the river Guadalquivir.[30] Even though he quotes Herodotus, some scholars believe that Strabo obtained this piece of information about the name of the king Arganthonius through an intermediary source rather than directly from him. This intermediary might be found either among the numerous sources that are cited by name in Book 3 of the *Geography*[31] or in some other unnamed source. Of Strabo's favored authors, such as Polybius, Posidonius, and Ephorus, Posidonius could be a prime candidate.[32] However, considering the nature of the information, one might question which writer would likely document such details in his own work. Although Theopompus is not explicitly listed as a source of information in Book 3 of Strabo's *Geography*, which describes the Iberian Peninsula and the surrounding islands, in this instance he might still have acted as an intermediary. An author like Theopompus undoubtedly had a keen interest in documenting such information. Therefore, not only should Theopompus's *Epitome of Herodotus* be considered, but so too should his voluminous work, the *Philippica*. We know through extant fragments that Theopompus devoted as many as five books of the *Philippica* to western history and geography. Although only a few extant short fragments of Book 43 of the *Philippica* refer to the Iberian Peninsula and the area around Tartessus,[33] it is almost certain that Theopompus, with his thorough dedication to geographical matters, left valuable insights about this part of Europe. When writing about the Tartessians situated on the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula in the Guadalquivir River valley (modern Andalusia, southern Spain), Theopompus might have recalled their most renowned king, Arganthonius, who was mentioned by Herodotus. Consequently, Strabo could have obtained information on Arganthonius through Theopompus as an intermediary, and stated that Herodotus was the author who first recorded the king's name. However, without compelling evidence, it would be premature to dismiss the possibility that Strabo directly relied on Herodotus in this instance, just as he often did with most other quotations from Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*. The frequency of citations from Book 1 could suggest that Strabo frequently consulted it, thus indicating that he might not have needed an intermediary for the information it contained.

8) Strab. 12.8.5, C 573: καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες δὲ νησιῶται πρότερον ὄντες καὶ Λέλεγες, ὥς φασιν, ἠπειρῶται γεγόνασι, προσλαβόντων Κρητῶν, οἳ καὶ τὴν Μίλητον ἔκτισαν, ἐκ τῆς Κρητικῆς Μιλήτου Σαρπηδόνα λαβόντες κτίστην, καὶ τοὺς Τερμίλας κατῴκισαν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λυκίᾳ· τούτους δ' ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Κρήτης ἀποίκους Σαρπηδόνα, Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος ἀδελφὸν

[30] For the commentary on this passage, cf. Roller 2018: 145.

[31] On sources Strabo reffered to by name in Book 3 of *Geography*, see Clarke 1999: 374; Lowe 2017: 71–75.

[32] Posidonius from Apamea, who spent 30 days in Gades, which we know Strabo never visited, is the most important source for Strabo's account on the Iberian Peninsula. Cf. Lowe 2017: 73–74. On Strabo's relationship to Posidonius generally, see Engels 1999: 166–201.

[33] *FGrHist* 115 FF 199–201.

ὄντα, καὶ ὀνομάσαι Τερμίλας τοὺς πρότερον Μιλύας, **ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος**, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Σολύμους, ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Πανδίονος Λύκον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς Λυκίους. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἀποφαίνει τοὺς αὐτοὺς Σολύμους τε καὶ Λυκίους, ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς χωρίζει·

The Carians were formerly islanders, and the Lelegians, as they say, became mainlanders with the help of the Cretans, who founded Miletus, taking Sarpedon from the Cretan Miletus as their founder. They settled the Termilians in what is now Lycia, with Sarpedon having brought the settlers from Crete. He was the brother of Minos and Rhadamanthys, and named those formerly called the Milyans the Termilians, **as Herodotos says.** Still earlier they were the Solymians, but when Lycus the son of Pandion went there he named them Lycians after himself. This account shows that the Solymians and Lycians were the same, but the Poet distinguishes them.

This refers to Hdt. 1.173.2–3:

διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὖτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἔως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νυν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν.

Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans; who, being thrust out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming from Athens of Lycus son of Pandion—another exile, banished by his brother Aegeus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus.

Cf. 7.92: Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

The Lycians were of Cretan descent, and were once called Termilae; they took the name they bear from Lycus, an Athenian, son of Pandion.

In his *Geography* (12.8.5, C 573), Strabo recounts Herodotus's observations (1.173.2–3, briefly reiterated at 7.92) on the diverse ethnic names used for the peoples who inhabited the same territory in ancient Lycia during different historical periods: the Milyans, the Solymians, the Termilians, and the Lycians. Strabo attempts to harmonize these accounts with the geographical references found in Homer (ὁ ποιητής),[34] and he adds "as Herodotus says" (ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος). Herodotus believed that Mylias was the ancient name of Lycia, originally inhabited by the Solymians who later changed their name to Mylians. He connected the ethnic name Termilians with Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, who became king of what would later be named Lycia after Lycus, son of Pandion. Lycus had joined Sarpedon after being banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus.[35] All this is also recorded by Strabo, who includes additional generally known facts not found in Herodotus, such as

[34] The Solymians occured, for example, in Homer (*Ill.* 6.184), as enemies of the Lycians.

[35] For a commentary see Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: 194–195; Dewald, Munson 2022: 418–419.

the name of Rhadamanthys, the brother of Minos and Sarpedon, who is not mentioned at all in Herodotus's *Histories*. On the other hand, Herodotus emphasizes only that Sarpedon and Minos are sons of Europa (τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω), without mentioning Zeus, in accordance with the matrilineal principle characteristic of the Lycians.[36] There appears to be no reason to doubt that Strabo directly used Herodotus here, although Apollodorus of Athens, a knowledgeable Hellenistic interpreter of Homer, has sporadically been suggested as an intermediary.[37]

9) Strab. 13.1.59, C 611: Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἐκλειφθεῖσα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν πόλις Πήδασος οὐκέτ᾽ ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἁλικαρνασέων τὰ Πήδασα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀνομασθέντα ἦν πόλις, καὶ νῦν ἡ χώρα Πηδασὶς λέγεται. φασὶ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὀκτὼ πόλεις ᾠκίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Λελέγων πρότερον εὐανδρησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Καρίας κατασχεῖν τῆς μέχρι Μύνδου καὶ Βαργυλίων, καὶ τῆς Πισιδίας ἀποτεμέσθαι πολλήν. ὕστερον δ᾽ ἅμα τοῖς Καρσὶ στρατευόμενοι κατεμερίσθησαν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος. τῶν δ᾽ ὀκτὼ πόλεων τὰς ἓξ Μαύσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἁλικαρνασὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ, Συάγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. **τοῖς δὲ Πηδασεῦσι τούτοις φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος** ὅτε μέλλοι τι <ἀν>επιτήδειον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις, τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πώγωνα ἴσχειν· τρὶς δὲ συμβῆναι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς.
The city of Pedasus, today abandoned by them, is no longer in existence, but inland of Halicarnassus there was a city of Pedasa, named by them, and the territory is today called Pedasis. They say that eight cities were settled in this territory by the Lelegians, who formerly were so numerous that they took possesion of Caria as far as Myndus and Bargylia, but also cut off a large part of Pisidia. Later they made expeditions with the Carians and became distributed throughout the whole of Hellas, and the ethnic group disappeared. Regarding the eight cities, Mausolus united six into one, Halicarnassus, as Callisthenes records, but preserved Syangela and Myndus. **These are the Pedasians of whom Herodotus says** that when anything disagreeble was about to happen to them and their neighbors, the priestess of Athena would grow a beard, and this happened three times.

Strabo refers here to Hdt. 1.175:

Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν, τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἱρείη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο.
There were also certain folk of Pedasa, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice.

Cf. 8.104: οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τούτοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπόν, τότε ἡ ἱερείη αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δέ σφι δὶς ἤδη ἐγένετο.
The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

When telling of the originally Lelegian cities in Caria, Strabo also mentions Pedasa, one of the six settlements that were synoecized into Halicarnassus by Mausolus,

[36] Cf. Dewald, Munson 2022: 418.
[37] Cf. Althaus 1941: 5–6, while Prandi 1988: 60, is undecided between Demetrius of Scepsis and Posidonius of Apamea.

the satrap of Caria.[38] Strabo specifically cites the historian Callisthenes as his source for this synoecism (ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ), and references Callisthenes's *Hellenica* rather than his *Praxeis Alexandrou* (*The Deeds of Alexander*).[39] He also recounts an intriguing story about the priestess of Athena who grew a beard whenever a misfortune threatened the people of Pedasa or their neighbors. This tale is mentioned twice in Herodotus's *Histories* (1.175 and 8.104), with the second instance likely being a paraphrase or later interpolation of the first.[40] Since Callisthenes is mentioned by Strabo as an authority on the synoecism of Halicarnassus in the sentence preceding Herodotus's story about Athena's priestess at Pedasa, it could be inferred that Strabo indirectly quoted Herodotus through Callisthenes as an intermediary.[41] However, there is no need to rely on an intermediary source in this instance. Since Strabo repeats Herodotus's quote from Book 1 (1.175) almost word for word, including the term the *perioikoi* ("dwelling round," "neighbors," or "inhabitants of dependent communities"), which is frequent in Herodotus[42] but less so in Strabo,[43] it appears as if he had Herodotus's Book 1 in front of him when he wrote that paragraph. Strabo certainly did not have Book 8 of Herodotus's *Histories* at hand, as there is a factual error at 8.104 where "twice" is stated instead of "thrice" regarding the growth of the priestess's beard. Additionally, instead of the term the *perioikoi*, the unusual term *amphyctiones* is used in this context.[44]

10) Strab. 11.14.13, C 531: οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ λεγόμενος ἔχει τι πιθανόν, **ὁ** δὲ **Ἡροδότειος** οὐ πάνυ· **φησὶ** γὰρ ἐκ Ματιηνῶν αὐτὸν ῥέοντα εἰς τετταράκοντα ποταμοὺς σχίζεσθαι, μερίζειν δὲ Σκύθας καὶ Βακτριανούς· καὶ Καλλισθένης δὲ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.
This account of the Araxes River can be said to have some plausibility, but **the Herodotean one** none at all, for **he says** that after flowing from the Matienians it splits into forty rivers, dividing the Scythians from the Bactrians. Callisthenes follows him.

This refers to Hdt. 1.202.3:

ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἕλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι.
The Araxes flows from the country of the Matieni — as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels — and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian Sea.

Here, Strabo appears to have identified an error in Herodotus concerning the river

38 On Pedasa as a polis, see *IACP* no. 923, p. 1131.
39 *FGrHist* 124 F 25.
40 For a commentary of this Herodotus's story, see Bowie 2007: 194; Dewald, Munson 2022: 422.
41 See Prandi 1988: 61, while Althaus 1941: 52–54, points to Demetrius of Scepsis as an intermediary.
42 To denote neighbouring and peripheral communities located at the outskirts of a specific place, and has nothing to do with the *perioikoi* of Laconia. Cf. Hdt. 1.166.1; 1.173.3; 3.159.2; 4.31.2; 4.90.1; 4.159.4; 4.161.3; 5.91.2; 7.61.2; 7.201.1; 8.73.3.
43 Cf. Strab. 4.1.13, C 188; 5.2.9, C 226; 6.1.5, C 255; 7.7.6, C 325; 8.3.10, C 341.
44 For verbal oddities in this Herodotus's passage, see Bowie 2007: 194.

Ἀράξης (today the Aras River in the Caucasus), which Herodotus locates in the territory of the Massagetians, east of the Caspian Sea. What Herodotus calls Araxes seems to best correspond with the Oxus (the modern Amu Darya).[45] Since Herodotus in his *Histories* never mentions the Araxes River as the boundary between the Scythians and the Bactrians, and what Strabo explicitly stated as a quote from Herodotus (αὐτόν [sc. the Araxes] μερίζειν δὲ Σκύθας καὶ Βακτριανούς), scholars assume that Strabo could have taken this information from some other writer and attributed it to Herodotus. That author, it is believed, might potentially be Callisthenes and his work *The Deeds of Alexander* (*Praxeis Alexandrou*), because Strabo notes that "Callisthenes follows Herodotus" (Καλλισθένης δὲ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ), which suggests this geographic understanding continued from one historian to another.[46] There is, however, only weak evidence that Strabo used Callisthenes's *Praxeis Alexandrou* directly,[47] and some scholars believe that, even in this case, Callisthenes was also used only through an intermediary.[48] Bearing in mind that the quote in question refers to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, which Strabo frequently referenced, it is better to assume that Strabo carefully read Herodotus firsthand, found an error in his account, and then sought corroboration from Callisthenes (directly or indirectly). There he found that Callisthenes, for unknown reasons,[49] had repeated the same error, which he did not fail to notice.

Passages from Book 2 and other books of Herodotus's *Histories* quoted by Strabo:

11) Strab. 1.3.18, C 59: καὶ ἡ πρότερον δὲ Ἀρτεμίτα λεγομένη μία τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων ἤπειρος γέγονε· καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον νησίδων τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φασὶ παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσχώσεως τοῦ πελάγους, συγχοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαί, **ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι**.
One of the Echinades Islands, formerly called Artemita, has become part of the mainland, and they say that other islets around the Achelous have experienced the same thing because of the silting of the open sea by the river, and the rest of them are being obliterated, **as Herodotus says.**

Here Strabo refers to Hdt. 2.10.3:

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάθεα, οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσί· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀχελώου, ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.
There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have had great effects; I could rehearse their names, but principal among them is the Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and emptying into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades Islands mainland.

In addition to Book 1, Strabo likely had frequent access to Book 2 of Herodotus's *Histories*, which extensively covers Egypt. Thus, he could have found the information about

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45 Cf. Dewald, Munson 2022: 466. See also How, Welles 1912, 1: 152, that Herodotus in his account combines as many as four rivers (the Aras, the Oxus, the Jaxartes, the Volga).

46 See Prandi 1985: 89–90. Cf. also Prandi 1988: 63.

47 Cf. Molina Marín 2017: 297.

48 Althaus 1941: 65–67, presumes the mediation of Apollodorus or Demetrius of Scepsis, and Riemann 1967: 50–51, presumes the mediation of Eratosthenes.

49 Cf. Roller 2018: 682: "Strabo realized that there was a problem, but did not elaborate. Kallisthenes was the official historian of Alexander's expedition (11.11.4). Unlike Herodotos, he was subject to the topographical confusions created by Alexander and his recorders."

the natural disappearance of the Echinades Islands in Book 2 as well, where Herodotus mentions the mouth of the Achelous River in central Greece, when discussing the Nile Delta. He describes how its silting process significantly contributed to the disappearance of the Echinades Islands and transformed them into mainland (ἤπειρον). Herodotus is notably the earliest known writer to document this phenomenon.[50] Strabo likely consulted Herodotus directly (he himself emphasized ʻὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι'), even though he does not provide the quote precisely. Herodotus mentions that in his own time half of the Echinades Islands were connected to the mainland by alluvial deposits from the Achelous River.[51] Strabo, however, mentions one of the Echinades Islands, Artemita, directly by name, and asserts it became connected to the mainland. By referencing Herodotus's account, Strabo implies that the other islands in the Echinades group underwent a similar transformation.[52] While Strabo undoubtedly consulted other sources for his account,[53] his use of the phrase ʻὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι' ("as Herodotus says") suggests that he directly referenced Herodotus's *Histories*, rather than relying solely on intermediary sources.[54]

12) Strab. 17.2.5, C 823: **Ἀληθὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἡροδότου**, καὶ ἔστιν Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὸ τὸν μὲν πηλὸν ταῖς χερσὶ φυρᾶν, τὸ δὲ στέαρ τὸ εἰς τὴν ἀρτοποιίαν τοῖς ποσί.
The statement of Herodotus is also true, that it is an Egyptian custom to knead mud with the hands, but the dough for breadmaking with the feet.

This passage refers to Hdt. 2.36.3:
φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσί καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται <...>.
They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands.

Herodotus, when discussing the distinctive customs of the Egyptians (2.35–37) and highlighting contrasts between the practices of Egyptians and Greeks, mentions that Greeks knead bread by hand, whereas Egyptians uniquely use their feet for this task. As a contrast, Herodotus notes that Egyptians gather mud and dung with their hands (2.36.3), a practice that differs markedly from Greek customs.[55] Strabo supports Herodotus's statement by suggesting that these customs persisted also in Strabo's era, and that the geographer from Amaseia personally observed them. Strabo quotes Herodotus with precision, though he excludes the practice of gathering dung (κόπρος) by hand. Nevertheless, it is very likely that Strabo had direct access to Book 2 of Herodotus's *Histories* and consulted it firsthand, without intermediaries. In any case, Strabo's confirmation of Herodotus's assertions about

[50] It is worth noting that the MSS of Strabo' *Geography* have here Hesiodus (Ἡσίοδος) instead of Herodotus. The editors, beginning with Adamantios Korais, emended this to Herodotus, and this emendation is widely accepted. However, cf. Aly 1968: 70, who retains reading ὡς Ἡσίοδός φησι.

[51] Thucydides (2.102.3) also seems to support Herodotus's statement, so one might get the impression that Strabo followed Thucydides rather than Herodotus. Cf. Prandi 1988: 60 n.29: "Si può notare che per quanto riguarda i termini usati, le notizie straboniane sulle Echinadi non sono più vicine al testo di Erodoto di quanto lo siano a quello di Thuc. II, 102,3."

[52] For the verb συγχέω, which even the *LSJ* does not record in this meaning, see Radt 2006: 166 ("werden durch Anschütung (mit dem Festland) verbunden").

[53] Cf. also Strab. 10.2.19 C458.

[54] Prandi 1988: 59–60, thinks first of Demetrius of Scepsis as an intermediary source.

[55] For the commentary, see Lloyd 1976: 155–157.

Egypt and the Egyptians is particularly significant. This is underscored by Strabo's own admission that he traveled extensively along the Nile, reaching as far as Syene and the borders of Ethiopia.[56] Moreover, a substantial portion of Strabo's observations on Egypt relies not on the works of his predecessors but on his own firsthand experiences.

13) Strab. 10.3.21 C473: Ἡρόδοτος δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφει **λέγει** τῶν Καβείρων ἱερὰ καθάπερ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, διαφθεῖραι δ' αὐτὰ Καμβύσην.
Herodotus says that there was a sanctuary of the Cabeiri in Memphis, as well as one of Hephaestus, but that they were destroyed by Cambyses.

This refers to Hdt. 3.37.3:

ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.
Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

In this instance, Strabo refers to Herodotus when mentioning the disrespectful behavior of the Persian king Cambyses toward the shrines in Memphis. It is certainly not a main subject of interest for him, but rather an episode within the broader discussion about the Cabeiri. Additionally, he made some obvious mistakes by quoting Herodotus. For instance, that, when discussing Cambyses's madness, Herodotus emphasizes that the king mocked the cult statues (τὰ ἀγάλματα) of the Cabeiri and burned them, while Strabo comments on the destruction of temples (cf. the aorist active infinitive of the verb διαφθείρω). Herodotus again uses the singular when talking about the temple of the Cabeiri (τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρόν), while Strabo, associating the Cabeiri with Hephaestus, uses the plural (τὰ ἱερά). From this one might conclude that Strabo is using Herodotus here through an intermediary source. According to some scholars, that intermediary could be Demetrius of Scepsis.[57] However, the use of this plural form (τὰ ἱερά) and the association of the statues of the Cabeiri with that of Hephaestus indicate that Strabo had this entire chapter of Book 3 of Herodotus's *Histories* (3.37) in mind,[58] and errors crept into his summarization when he attempted to summarize it in a single sentence. However, Strabo obviously deemed it important to note that Herodotus also confirms the existence of the temple of the Cabeiri in Memphis, while the actions of the Persian king are only an incidental addition. In Herodotus, of course, it was quite the opposite, because the emphasis is placed precisely on the actions of the "mad" king.

14) Strab. 7.3.8, C 301: ὅρα δὲ ἃ **λέγει Ἡρόδοτος** περὶ τοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ὃν ἐστράτευσε Δαρεῖος, καὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα παρ' αὐτοῦ.
See what **Herodotus says** about the Scythian king against whom Darius made war, and the messages sent between them.

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56 2.5.12, C 118.

57 Althaus 1941: 58–60. Cf. Prandi 1988: 59.

58 Hephaestus's temple (τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν) is mentioned at 3.37.2. For the identification of Egyptian Ptah with Hephaestus see Lloyd 1976: 7–8.

Strabo here refers to Hdt. 4.127.1–4:

> Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος ἔλεγε τάδε…
> To this Idanthyrsus the Scythian king made answer…

To demonstrate Homer's accurate characterization of the Scythians, Strabo naturally referenced Herodotus, whom he could hardly ignore, when he focused specifically on the "Scythian logoi" "Σκυθικοὶ λόγοι" (4.1–144). However, Strabo directly cites Herodotus only for the Scythian king's response to the Persian king Darius during his expedition (4.127). This reference by Strabo is both a general affirmation, widely recognized in antiquity, and a direct quotation from Herodotus's *Histories*.[59] No particular intermediary source was needed in this context.

15) 10.1.10, C 448: τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν Πέρσαι, σαγηνεύσαντες, **ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος**, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ πλήθει, περιχυθέντων τῶν βαρβάρων τῷ τείχει·
The Persians razed the original city, and netted the people, **as Herodotus says**, since the barbarians, with their great numbers, were spread around the walls.

This refers to Hdt. 6.101.2–3:

> οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, ἐπείτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἓξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ Εὔφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέω ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι προδιδοῦσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.
> The Eretrians had no design of coming out and fighting; all their care was to guard their walls, if they could, seeing that it was the prevailing counsel not to leave the city. The walls were stoutly attacked, and for six days many fell on both sides; but on the seventh two Eretrians of repute, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus and Philagrus son of Cineas, betrayed the city to the Persians. These entered the city and plundered and burnt the temples, in revenge for the temples that were burnt at Sardis; moreover they enslaved the townspeople, according to Darius' command.

> Cf. 6.31.1–2: ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἱρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἑκάστην αἱρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἁψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηίης ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην διήκουσι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἴρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταὐτά, πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἷά τε ἦν.
> The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and putting out to sea in the next year easily subdued the islands that lie off the mainland, Chios and Lesbos and Tenedos. Whenever they took an island, the foreigners would "net" each severally. This is the manner of their doing it: — the men link hands and make a line reaching from the northern sea to the southern, and then advance over the whole island hunting the people down. They took likewise also the Ionian cities of the mainland, albeit not by netting the people; for that was not possible.

[59] As was shown by Riemann 1967: 53–55. See also Engels 2008: 152–153: "In this passage the geographer differs significantly from his usual way of introducing Herodotean material. For he directly calls upon his readers to look up a Herodotean passage on a Scythian king (named Idanthyrsos) and his proud answer to the Persian king, as he had done before himself. It is not by accident that Strabo consulted the original text of the *Histories* in this peculiar context in order to refute attacks on his admired hero Homer, which had been made by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus."

Strabo discusses the city of Eretria, located on the island of Euboea (10.1.10), and its fate during the Persian expedition to Greece in 490 BCE. He attributes his information to Herodotus (ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος), and notes that the Persians surrounded Eretria in great numbers and "netted" (σαγηνεύσαντες) its inhabitants. However, Herodotus's account (6.101) of the siege and fall of Eretria makes no mention of this Persian tactic. Instead, he describes a fierce six-day siege culminating in the city's surrender to the Persians on the seventh day by its wealthy citizens. Herodotus is indeed familiar with this Persian practice of "catching the population with a net" (σαγηνεύειν), as he records it in Book 6 in relation to the Persian conquest of the Greek islands along the coast of Asia Minor—Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos—following the failure of the Ionian revolt (6.31).[60] One might infer that Strabo, despite citing Herodotus, did not directly rely on the historian from Halicarnassus. Instead, he possibly accessed Herodotus's account through an intermediary source who independently applied the well-known Persian tactic to the subjugation of Eretria. According to some scholars, this intermediary could be the historian Ephorus.[61] While Ephorus, the first universal historian, undoubtedly influenced Strabo significantly, attributing Ephorus as his sole source here might underestimate Strabo's own capabilities. Was Strabo not capable of reaching the same conclusion when he had direct access to the text of Book 6 of Herodotus's *Histories*? He instinctively applied the common Persian practice of *sageneuein*, which he had found in Herodotus 6.31 and recalled well, to the Persian conquest of Eretria, even though it was not explicitly mentioned at 6.101. Interestingly, Plato in the *Laws* also uses the same verb σαγηνεύω (σαγηνεύσαιεν, 3 plur. aor. act. opt.) in reference to the Persian conquest of Eretria in 490 BCE.[62] Apparently, as early as the fourth century BCE there existed a tradition that the citizens of Eretria were caught using the Persian practice of *sageneuein*. Does this mean that one must seek intermediaries for Plato as well?

16) 7 Fr. 21a: …ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον, καλούμενον οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Μέλανος ἐκδιδόντος εἰς αὐτόν, **καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος** καὶ Εὔδοξος· **εἴρηκε** δέ, φησίν, **ὁ Ἡρόδοτος** μὴ ἀνταρκεῖσθαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον τῇ Ξέρξου στρατιᾷ τοῦτο·
…and the Gulf of Melas on the right, which is so called from the Melas River that empties into it, according to Herodotus and Eudoxus. Herodotus, he [*sc.* Strabo] says, reports that the stream was insufficient for the army of Xerxes.

This refers to Hdt. 7.58.3:

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ᾽ οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἤιε πρὸς ἑσπέρην, Αἶνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξιών, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.
Thence turning the head of the Black (*Melas*) Bay (as it is called) and crossing the Black (*Melas*) River, which could not hold its own then against the army, but fell short of its needs — crossing this river, which gives its name to the bay, they went westwards, past the Aeolian town of Aenus and the marsh of Stentor, till they came to Doriscus.

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60 The verb σαγηνεύω Herodotus uses also in Book 3 regarding Persian conquest of the island of Samos (3.149). For the commentary, see Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: 521–522.

61 See Prandi 1988, 59. Cf. also Engels 2008, 157–158.

62 Pl. *Leg*. 698d. Cf. Lenfant 1999, 109 n.34: "*C'est peut-être la source de la confusion de Strabon*." See also Hornblower, Pelling 2017: 224, that Strabo wrongly attributed that version to Herodotus himself.

Unfortunately, Book 7 of Strabo's *Geography* has not survived in its entirety. For the reconstruction of missing parts, collections of excerpts such as *Epitome Vaticana* and *Epitome Palatina* are of exceptional value. The authors of these epitomes had access to the complete text of Strabo's *Geography*, including the end of Book 7. Even though only a fragment of Book 7 of Strabo's *Geography* preserved in *Epitome Vaticana* is in question, it nonetheless suggests that Strabo might have used Herodotus directly, in addition to Eudoxus of Cnidus, for information regarding the Gulf of Melas (Μέλας κόλπος) and the Melas (*Black*) River (Μέλας), where Xerxes's massive army marched during the attack on Greece in 480 BCE. That is how Herodotus's interesting side-remark that the Melas River ran out of water for Xerxes's army at that time, attracted Strabo's attention and found a place in the geographer's account. And here it seems quite likely that Strabo used Herodotus directly and not through an intermediary source.[63]

17) 14.4.3, C 668: **φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος** τοὺς Παμφύλους τῶν μετὰ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Κάλχαντος εἶναι λαῶν μιγάδων τινῶν ἐκ Τροίας συνακολουθησάντων· τοὺς μὲν δὴ πολλοὺς ἐνθάδε καταμεῖναι, τινὰς δὲ σκεδασθῆναι πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς.
Herodotus says that the Pamphylians belong to the mixed crowd of people from Troy who followed along with Amphilochus and Calchas, most of whom remained here but some of whom were scattered everywhere on earth.

This refers to Hdt. 7.91.3:

Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships: they were armed like Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the dispersal who followed Amphilochus and Calchas.

This is another instance where Strabo probably used Herodotus directly. Although Strabo does not quote verbatim from Herodotus's *Histories* after saying "and Herodotus says" (φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος), the meaning remains the same in both accounts. According to the tradition shared by Herodotus and Strabo, the Pamphylians ("Those of all tribes") descended from the Greeks scattered after the Trojan war. This tradition inevitably mentions the heroes Amphilochus and Calchas, who, after the fall of Troy, traveled southward and initiated the migration to southern Asia Minor. The fact that Strabo also references Callisthenes regarding the hero Mopsus, who traveled with Amphilochus after the death of Calchas in Clarus, does not conclusively prove indirect use of Herodotus through Callisthenes as an intermediary.[64] It is even less likely to assume the existence of several different intermediaries.[65]

18) Strab. 6.3.6, C 282: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ πολίχνια εἴρηται. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Ῥοδίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ Λουπίαι καὶ μικρὸν ὑπέρ τῆς θαλάττης Ἀλητία, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ μέσῳ Οὐρία, ἐν ᾗ βασίλειον ἔτι δείκνυται τῶν δυναστῶν τινος (**εἰρηκότος δ' Ἡροδότου** Ὑρίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ

63 See Roller 2018: 417: "Since Strabo regularly used Herodotos directly, the suggestion that he was only accessed through Eudoxos is probably the opinion of the epitomizer, and Eudoxos may have had more to say about the river than survives."

64 As Prandi 1988: 63, states, adding Strabo's quote of Callisthenes at 14.4.1, C 667 = *FGrHist* 124 F 32. See also Prandi 1985: 88–89; Radt 2009: 110.

65 For Althaus 1941: 47–48, the passage in question comes to Strabo from Ephorus via Apollodorus.

Ἰαπυγία, κτίσμα Κρητῶν τῶν πλανηθέντων ἐκ τοῦ Μίνω στόλου τοῦ εἰς Σικελίαν, ἤτοι ταύτην δεῖ δέχεσθαι ἢ τὸ Οὐερῆτον).
This is what can be said about the small towns on the coast. In the interior are Rhodiae, Lupiae, Aletia (slightly above the sea), and on the isthmus, Uria, where the palace of one of the leaders is still visible. **Herodotus states** that Hyria is in Iapygia, founded by Cretans who wandered from the expedition of Minos to Sicily, and this must be taken either as here [Uria] or Veretum.

This refers to Hdt. 7.170.2:

ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντά σφεας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναί τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας.
But when they [*sc*. the Cretans] were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore; and their ships being wrecked, and no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and abode in it, changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland.

In his description of the cities between Brundisium and Tarentum in the Apulia region, Strabo pays particular attention to the city of Uria, known also as Hyria (modern-day Oria). Uria, situated along the *Via Appia,* which leads to the port of Brundisium, was notably visited by Strabo himself. He highlights the existence of the local dynast's palace, which could still be seen during his visit.[66] When discussing the founding traditions of Uria and other cities in the region, Strabo refers specifically to Herodotus. He draws from Herodotus's account in Book 7 of the *Histories* regarding Minos's expedition to Sicily and its aftermath, which led to the foundation of settlements on the Iapygian Peninsula (7.170). Herodotus left a detailed account of how the Cretans, after the death of Minos and the unsuccessful siege of Camicus, ended up in Iapygia, where they founded cities and "became the Messapians of Iapygia instead of Cretans and mainlanders instead of islanders" (μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας). Strabo acknowledges that Herodotus provides the earliest detailed account of these events, though he himself is uncertain whether Uria (Hyria) or perhaps Veretum (Οὐερῆτον) in the southeastern part of Apulia was the primary city founded by the Cretans.[67] Additionally, Strabo consulted other sources, such as Ephorus,[68] who noted that the Cretans founded Brundisium but later moved to Bottiaea – a detail not covered by Herodotus, either due to a lack of knowledge or interest in that aspect of the story.[69] However, this does not negate Strabo's direct use of Herodotus for the earlier statement.

19) Strab. 9.4.14, C 428: πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Σπερχείῳ τῷ παραρρέοντι τὴν Ἀντίκυραν καὶ ὁ Δύρας ἐστίν, ὃν φασιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὴν Ἡρακλέους σβέσαι πυράν, καὶ ἄλλος Μέλας διέχων Τραχῖνος εἰς

66 The verb δείκνυται ("it is to be seen") used by Strabo here could indicate city sightseeing available to travellers on the route *Via Appia* between Brundisium and Tarentum. See Dueck 2000: 26.

67 Cf. Roller 2018: 327, who seems to be more inclined to this second ancient site at what is now the church of the Madonna di Vereto.

68 Through the continuation of the story on the origin and early history of Taras/Tarentum. Cf. Strab. 6.3.2–3 = *FGrHist* 70 F 216.

69 Herodotus actually knows (7.170.3) that the other cities there were founded from the city of Hyria (ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι).

πέντε σταδίους· Πρὸς δὲ μεσημβρίαν τῆς Τραχῖνός **φησιν Ἡρόδοτος** εἶναι βαθεῖαν διασφάγα, δι᾽ ἧς <ὁ> Ἀσωπός – ὁμώνυμος τοῖς εἰρημένοις Ἀσωποῖς – εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐκπίπτει τὴν ἐκτὸς Πυλῶν παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν Φοίνικα ἐκ τῆς μεσημβρίας συμβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὁμώνυμον τῷ ἥρωι, οὗ καὶ τάφος πλησίον δείκνυται· στάδιοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐπὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ πεντεκαίδεκα.

In addition to the Spercheus, which flows past Anticyra, there is the Dyras which, they say, attempted to quench the pyre of Heracles, and another, the Melas, which is 5 stadia from Trachis. **Herodotus says** that to the south of Trachis there is a deep gorge through which the Asopus—having the same name as the previously mentioned Asoposes—empties into the sea outside the Gates after receiving the Phoenix, which joins it from the south and has the same name as the hero, whose tomb is visible nearby. To Thermopylai from the Asopus is 15 stadia.

This refers to Hdt. 7.199–200.1:

Τρηχὶς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτη δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ᾽ ἃ Τρηχὶς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμυρία πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληίει τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἔστι διασφὰξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχῖνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τοῦ ὄρεος. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἔκδιδοι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατόν ἐστι· ἁμαξιτὸς γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἔστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας.

The town of Trachis is five furlongs distant from this Black (*Melas*) river. Here is the greatest width in all this region between the sea and the hills whereon Trachis stands; for the plain is two million and two hundred thousand feet in extent. In the mountains that hem in the Trachinian land there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, wherethrough flows the river Asopus past the lower slopes of the mountains. There is another river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, a little stream, that flows from those mountains into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is but the space of a single builded cart-way. Thermopylae is fifteen furlongs distant from the river Phoenix.

In his discussion of the region of Malis in central Greece near Thermopylae, Strabo (9.4.14, C 428) lists various rivers and places, including the Melas (*Black*) River, located five stadia from Trachis (Μέλας διέχων Τραχῖνος εἰς πέντε σταδίους). Herodotus mentions the same proximity (7.199.1), though he states it differently, noting that the city of Trechis/Trachis is five stadia away from the Melas River (Τρηχὶς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει).[70] Strabo's reliance on Herodotus is evident in the following sentence when he directly cites Herodotus (φησιν Ἡρόδοτος) regarding the deep gorge (διασφάξ)[71] south of Trachis, through which the Asopus River flows on its way to the Malian Gulf[72] and is joined by the smaller (ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας) Phoenix River.[73] Here, Strabo condenses and retells Herodotus's account while focusing on what he finds interesting and relevant. In this summarization, however, Strabo makes a factual error: He states that the distance from the

[70] On Trachis as a polis, see *IACP* no. 832 p. 713.

[71] The term διασφάξ meaning gorge, cleft, is typically Herodotean (cf. 2.158.3; 3.117; 7.216), and Strabo uses it only once more in his *Geography* (11.14.13, C 531).

[72] In Herodotus' (and Strabo's) time the Asopus river emptied directly into the Malian gulf, but today it empties into the Spercheus river. For the commentary, see How, Welles 1912, 2: 221.

[73] Herodotus writes elsewhere (7.176.2) that the road leading from Trachis is narrowest around the Phoenix River near the city of Anthela.

Asopus River to Thermopylae is fifteen stadia (στάδιοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐπὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ πεντεκαίδεκα), whereas Herodotus (7.200.1) states this was the distance from the Phoenix River to Thermopylae (ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἔστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας). Such errors are common when summarizing and condensing sources and do not suggest reliance on an intermediary source beyond Herodotus. It is clear that Strabo consulted additional sources alongside Herodotus, as is evident from his mention of the hero Phoenix's tomb near the homonymous Phoenix River (τὸν Φοίνικα... ὁμώνυμον τῷ ἥρωι, οὗ καὶ τάφος πλησίον δείκνυται) – a detail absent in Herodotus's *Histories*. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Strabo had direct access to Herodotus's Book 7 when composing this passage.

Conclusion

The information presented here suggests that Strabo primarily relied on Herodotus directly rather than through intermediaries. This paper has examined nineteen instances where Strabo explicitly cites Herodotus and suggests that these may be direct quotations, thus indicating that Strabo had direct access to Herodotus's *Histories* when composing these passages. Contrary to the prevailing scholarly opinion that Strabo rarely and only incidentally used Herodotus directly and often quoted him indirectly through various Hellenistic-era scholars and historians, this paper argues that Herodotus, renowned in antiquity for his geographic and ethnographic descriptions, significantly influenced Strabo's *Geography* on a broader scale. This is confirmed primarily through direct quotations that Strabo designates with ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι(ν) ("as Herodotus says") and similar expressions referring to the historian from Halicarnassus as the author of a certain statement or information. There is reason to believe that in most such instances, Strabo directly used and quoted Herodotus rather than relying on an intermediary. Most of these instances—as many as ten—pertain to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, which suggests that Strabo frequently consulted this particular book. Strabo's familiarity with Book 1 of the *Histories* is further evidenced by his use of Herodotus in sections concerning Persian and Lydian history. Additionally, there are four quotations from Book 7, two from Book 2, and one each from Books 3, 4, and 6 of Herodotus's *Histories*. Most of the instances analyzed here pertain to geographic and ethnographic matters, with a significant focus on rivers, for example, the Halys (instances 1-2), rivers in Lydia (instance 4), the Araxes (instance 10), the Achelous (instance 11), the Melas in Thrace (instance 16), and rivers in Malis (instance 19). Notably, more than a third of these references concern rivers, thus indicating that Strabo valued Herodotus's geographical knowledge more than previously thought.

While Strabo may not have held the highest opinion of Herodotus as a geographer, he frequently turned to him for geographic matters. Often, Strabo seems to have been compelled to do so due to the absence of better sources on certain topics. Despite his critical stance toward Herodotus, Strabo's direct use of him, even in cases where he identifies errors, such as in instance 10 regarding the Araxes River's location, demonstrates his preference for direct citation over indirect reliance through intermediaries. In conclusion, while there are numerous direct quotations from Herodotus in *Geography*, there are likely many more instances in which Strabo references Herodotus without explicitly naming him as the source. These questions, however, exceed the scope of this paper and could be the subject of future research.

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МИРКО ОБРАДОВИЋ
Универзитет у Београду
Филозофски факултет

КАКО ХЕРОДОТ КАЖЕ. ДИРЕКТНО И ИНДИРЕКТНО КОРИШЋЕЊЕ ХЕРОДОТОВИХ *ИСТОРИЈА* У СТРАБОНОВОЈ *ГЕОГРАФИЈИ*

Резиме

Херодот из Халикарнаса је један од историчара и, уопште, од писаца које Страбон најчешће наводи по имену у својој волуминозној *Географији*. Од нешто више од 30 таквих навода, у раду се анализира 19 случајева за које аутор верује да би могли бити директни цитати, односно да је Страбон имао пред собом текст Херодотових *Историја* када је састављао поглавља у којима се ти цитати јављају. Насупрот преовлађујућем мишљењу у науци да је Страбон ретко и само изузетно користио Херодота директно, већ да га је познавао и цитирао посредно, преко различитих, понајвише стручних писаца из хеленистичког периода (Аполодор из Атине, Дионисије из Скепсиса, Ератостен из Кирене, Посејдоније из Апамеје) или историчара (Ефор из Киме, Калистен из Олинта), аутор сматра да је историчар Херодот, славан у антици и по својим географским и етнографским екскурсима, нашао своје место у *Географији* у далеко већем обиму. То потврђују најпре директни цитати које Страбон одређује са ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι(ν) („како Херодот каже“) и сличним изразима који упућују на историчара из Халикарнаса као на власника одређене тврдње или податка. Има разлога да верујемо да је у већини таквих случајева Херодот коришћен и цитиран директно, а не преко посредника. Највише тих случајева, чак 10, односи се на прву књигу Херодотових *Историја*, коју је географ из Амасије изгледа често имао пред собом и радо је консултовао. Ту су, међутим, и четири цитата из седме, два из друге, а по један из треће, четврте и шесте књиге *Историја*. Већина анализираних случајева односи се на права географска и етнографска питања, а од тога значајан се број тиче најпре река и речних токова: бр. 1–2 (река Халис), бр. 4 (реке у Лидији), бр. 10 (река Аракс), бр. 11 (река Ахелој), бр. 16 (река Мелан у Тракији), бр. 19 (реке у Малиди). То сигурно није случајно и показује да је Страбон више уважавао Херодотова географска знања него што се то обично мисли. Можда он и није имао најбоље мишљење о Херодоту као географу, али је опет за многа географска питања знао да се окрене Херодоту. А често је изгледа био и принуђен да то чини, јер коме би другом и могао да се окрене за одређене теме у недостатку бољих извора? Чак и она места где проналази очигледне грешке код Херодота, као што је бр. 10 (у вези положаја реке Аракс), показују пре да је Страбон историчара из Халикарнаса користио директно него да га је цитирао преко неког посредника. У вези с тим, ако већ постоји значајан број места у *Географији* где је Херодот цитиран директно, може се с правом претпоставити да је далеко већи број оних где су Херодотове *Историје* коришћене а да он није поименце наведен као извор. Та питања, међутим, излазе из оквира ове студије и биће вероватно предмет неког будућег истраживања.

Кључне речи: Страбон, Херодот, посредни извори, утицаји, цитати, фрагменти, географија, историографија.

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JASMINA ŠARANAC STAMENKOVIĆ
University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History
0000-0002-5043-3723
jasmina.saranac.stamenkovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

RECEPTION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN PSELLOS'S IMPERIAL ORATIONS DEDICATED TO ROMANOS IV DIOGENES

Abstract: This study analyzes the biblical motifs used by Michael Psellos, one of the most learned figures of the eleventh-century Constantinople intellectual elite, as prototexts for his imperial orations dedicated to Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes. A comparative analysis of his imperial orations and the Holy Scriptures reveals Psellos's exceptional knowledge of the Bible. Through biblical motifs, Psellos affirmed the Byzantine imperial ideology in practice, which held that the Byzantine emperor was God's emissary on Earth.

Keywords: Holy Scriptures, imperial orations, Michael Psellos, Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes, eleventh century.

1. Introductory Remarks

In the mid-eleventh century Byzantine Empire, the imperial oration (βασιλικὸς λόγος) or encomium (ἐγκώμιον), a special form of epideictic rhetoric, surpassed the early Byzantine epoch's imperial *logoi* in beauty and style.[1] The man responsible for this state of affairs was Michael Psellos, an esteemed Byzantine philosopher, rhetorician, and politician.

It has been well-established that imperial orations relied on ancient culture, but they were also permeated with the Christian dogma of the Romans. Byzantine imperial orations utilized pagan motifs, predetermined virtues for poetic praise that adorned ancient heroes, and numerous allusions and metaphors taken from the works of classical writers. They were also interwoven with the universal ideology of the divine origin of Roman imperial power;

[1] This paper is the result of research conducted within the project *History Today, Challenges and Temptations*, conducted at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš (No. 336/1-6-01). For information on imperial speeches in the early Byzantine period, see: Radošević 1993: 267–287; Radošević 1994: 7–20; Vanderspoel 1995; Radošević 1999/2000: 17–26; Lauritzen 2007: 1–10; Lauritzen 2010: 217–226; Lauritzen 2012: 113–125; Lauritzen 2013: 309–319.

the belief that the *basileus*, as Christ's chosen one, fulfilled God's will on Earth; and that Byzantium was a kingdom protected by the Almighty.[2]

A comparison of Byzantine rulers to heroes from the Holy Scriptures was a common compositional segment of imperial orations.[3] Byzantine scholars often used Moses, Solomon, David, Noah, and Zerubbabel as value parameters in extolling their patrons.[4]At times, Byzantine writers would explicitly reference the segments of the Holy Scriptures they used. More often, however, they simply alluded to biblical stories or crafted metaphors referencing them. They also used Old or New Testament heroes as paradigms without citing the Bible as their source. This was the case with Psellos's orations dedicated to Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071).

Michael Psellos composed four encomia for Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes: public orations 18, 19, 20, and 21 in George Dennis's critical edition.[5] The imperial orations are not of equal length. The first imperial oration, oration 18, was created at the beginning of 1068, shortly after Romanos Diogenes was enthroned as emperor, which Psellos himself states in the speech's title (Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Διογένην ὅτε ἐβασίλευσεν).[6] This is the longest of Psellos's orations dedicated to Emperor Diogenes and consists of seventy-five lines. The second encomium, oration 19 (Τῷ αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν ἐγκωμίῳ προσχήματι), contains forty-six lines and is dedicated to the emperor's departure on a campaign against the Turks. It was most likely created in March 1068.[7] The third, oration 20, has forty-nine lines and was read to the ruler during a formal dinner at the imperial palace before his campaign against the Turks (Προσφώνησις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ῥωμανὸν τὸν Διογένην παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν κλητορίῳ).[8] The oration was created either in February/March 1069 or sometime between January 1070 and the end of March 1071. The fourth and the last imperial oration, number 21 (Συντακτήριος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα), is the shortest of all Psellos's orations dedicated to Diogenes. It consists of twenty-three lines and refers to the emperor's (αὖθις) 'renewed' (second or third) military campaign that was undertaken in the east of the empire.[9] It can thus be assumed that it was created in either the spring of 1069 or the spring of 1071.[10]

Since there is no translation of Psellos's imperial orations into any world language, the praises addressed to Emperor Romanos Diogenes are available only in Ancient Greek. Michael Psellos wove biblical quotations or allusions sourced from the Holy Scriptures into all four imperial orations dedicated to Romanos IV Diogenes. In the textual analysis segment of this paper, the King James Version was consulted for the discussion of

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2 For the form of presentation used in encomiums, choice of metaphors, and thematic arrangement, see *Menander Rhetor*; Previale 1949: 72–105; Previale 1950: 340–366; Pertusi 1959; Hunger 1978: 88, 120–132; Magdalino 1994: 413–488; Nixon – Rodgers 1994; Heath 2004; Angelov 2007: 29–180; Jeffreys 2008: 831–833.

3 For the motif of comparing Byzantine emperors with biblical heroes in Byzantine rhetoric, see Radošević 1994: 16 and note 34.

4 Radošević 1987: 81.

5 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 18, 19, 20, 21,175–186.

6 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 18, 175.

7 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 19, 180; Vries de-van der Velden1997: 277.

8 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 20, 182.

9 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 21, 185.

10 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 21, 185; Vries de-van der Velden 1997: 277.

references, allusion and metaphorical expressions.[11] The Koine greek Old Testament quotations were taken from an edition of the Patriarchal Text available online.[12] All English translations of these quotations are mine.

2. Historical Context

Romanos Diogenes was a prominent Byzantine military commander. He held the title of *vestarches* and was the duke of Serdica toward the end of Emperor Constantine X Doukas's reign (1059–1067).[13]After Constantine X's death, Diogenes attempted to usurp the throne and was exiled to his native Cappadocia, where he remained until the ruling structures in the capital, led by the augusta Eudokia Makrembolitissa, Constantine X's widow, recalled him to Constantinople and appointed him magistrate and *stratelates* (μάγιστρος τιμᾶται καὶ στρατηλάτης προβέβληται παρὰ τῆς βασιλίδος).[14] Despite a promise given to her husband and the oath taken before the *synkletos* and the synod not to remarry, Empress Eudokia married Romanos Diogenes on January 1, 1068[15] after Patriarch John Xiphilinos (1063–1075) annulled Eudokia's oath to Constantine X.[16] As the augusta's husband, Romanos IV Diogenes became emperor and agreed to respect the hereditary ruling rights of Constantine X and Eudokia Makrembolitissa's sons.[17]

Following the death of Emperor Constantine X, times were uncertain. Representatives of the Doukas dynasty led by Caesar John Doukas, the brother of the late Emperor Constantine X Doukas,[18] came under threat. Michael Psellos then composed an imperial oration for Eudokia Makrembolitissa that justified and extolled the augusta's decision to remarry.[19] In the oration, the court philosopher explained the significance of the augusta's political act and her great sacrifice. During Diogenes's reign, Michael Psellos grew close to the emperor. Once a close friend of Caesar John Doukas, who had sought to keep the Doukas dynasty on the throne, Psellos had now befriended the very man who threatened to destroy the Doukai.

The reign of Romanos IV Diogenes was a time of serious foreign policy crisis for the empire, with the Seljuk Turks regularly attacking Syria and Armenia.[20] During his reign, Diogenes personally led three military campaigns against the Turks. His very last military campaign ended in a catastrophic defeat for the Romans at the Battle of Manzikert on August 26, 1071.[21] This Byzantine defeat paved the way for the Turks to move further into

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11 *King James Bible*. (2008). Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1769)

12 Diakonia, A. (n.d.). Αποστολική Διακονία της Εκκλησίας της ελλάδος. https://apostoliki-diakonia.gr/bible/bible.asp?contents=old_testament%2Fcontents_Genesis.asp&main=OldTes

13 *Atal.*: 73–75; *Scyl. Cont.*: 76; *Zonaras* III: 684; Cheynet 1980: 436; Cheynet 1990: 74–75; Cheynet 1991: 69 and note 37.

14 *Atal.*: 75–76; *Scyl. Cont.*: 78; *Zonaras* III: 685.

15 Oikonomidès 1963: 125.

16 *Atal.*: 75–76; *Scyl. Cont.*: 78–80 ; *Zonaras* III: 685–687; Oikonomidès 1963: 126–127; Šaranac Stamenković 2020: 112.

17 Maksimović 1984: 91; Oikonomidès 1963: 127; Šaranac Stamenković 2013: 65–69.

18 Polemis 1968: 34–41.

19 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 12, 123–126; Šaranac Stamenković – Ljubomirović 2019: 75–89.

20 *Psellos, Chronographia*: 734, 740, 742; *Atal.*: 75, 79; *Scyl. Cont.*:82; *Zonaras* III: 688, 690.

21 Vriesde-van der Velden1997: 274–310; Cheynet 1998: 131–147

Asia Minor.[22] The Normans also captured Bari, the last Roman stronghold in Italy, in 1071, and began attacking the Balkans.[23]

Romanos IV remained the Byzantine emperor until his defeat and capture at Manzikert. When the news of his defeat reached Constantinople, a short-lived joint rule of Augusta Eudokia Makrembolitissa and her son Michael was established.[24] However, after learning that Diogenes had been released and had reached an agreement with the Seljuk Turks, at the instigation of Caesar John Doukas, Romanos IV Diogenes was deposed and blinded.[25]

3. Textual Analysis

3.1. The First Imperial Oration

Michael Psellos begins this imperial oration with:

> Νῦν ἡμέρα σωτήριος, νῦν ἐλευθερία κακώσεων, νῦν τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἰσχὺς καὶ κραταίωσις, νῦν βασιλείας πύργος ἀκλόνητος, τεῖχος ἀκράδαντον, στῦλος ἄσειστος, θεμέλιος ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἐστηριγμένος χειρῶν. νῦν ἐπεσκέψατο κύριος **τὴν κληρονομίαν** αὐτοῦ.
> Now is [begun] the day of salvation, freedom from troubles, the strength and power of the new Rome, the steadfast tower of the empire, the unbreachable wall, the firm pillar, the foundation supported by the hands of the Lord. Today the Lord has visited His **inheritance**.[26]

The term κληρονομίαν (inheritance) is taken from the Bible,[27] specifically the Old Testament, and refers to the people of Israel, whom God acquired for Himself when He made a covenant with them. The term is thus synonymous with the concept of a chosen people and originally referred to the Jews and the Jewish state. However, Michael Psellos

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22 Cheynet 1980: 410–438; Angold 1984: 21–26; Cheynet 1990: 348.

23 Angold 1984: 32.

24 Maksimović 1984: 92.

25 *Psellos, Chronographia*: 768, 770; *Atal*.: 130–132.

26 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 18, 175. 3–7.

27 Psalm 78: 62 (77: 62): "He gave his people over also unto the sword; and was wroth with **his inheritance.**" (καὶ συνέκλεισεν εἰς ῥομφαίαν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ **τὴν κληρονομίαν** αὐτοῦ ὑπερεῖδεν). ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ is a word in Greek that, in addition to its usual meaning of inheritance within the context of inheritance law, also had a political connotation of selecting assembly members by sortition, i.e. by lottery (κλῆρος). As with many other words and concepts from Ancient Greek, through the translation of the Septuagint, this term acquired a specific Semitic theological color and usage. In the Old Testament, it is commonly used to translate the term *nachalah*, which, as in Greek, signifies inheritance within the context of inheritance law (Genesis 31: 14; Deuteronomy 32: 9). In Judaism, the term began to denote the possession of land that a Jewish tribe received from God in the Promised Land (a political and theological connotation) (Joshua 11: 23). However, this possession was not granted in perpetuity, and it was dependent on obedience to God 's law: If Israel did not follow God 's laws, the possession of κληρονομία would be taken from them and given to other nations (the theology of Exile). However, the imaginative and rich theological usage of the term **κληρονομία** does not end there. It is not used only with humans as subjects but is also attributed to God: Israel is God 's **κληρονομία** (Isaiah 47: 6). In the New Testament, as in the Old Testament, there is a legal dimension to the term when it denotes inheritance (Mark 12: 7; Luke 20: 14), property, or possession (Acts 7: 5). The specifically Christian usage builds upon the theological aspect of the term 's use in the Old Testament and further enhances it through its connection with Christ, where **κληρονομία** is salvation in Christ, and in Hebrews 9: 15, it is equated with the Kingdom of Heaven established by the New Covenant; see Kittel 1965: 776–785.

seamlessly changes the referent of the term inheritance so that it refers to the Byzantine Empire, which he perceives as the Lord's inheritance.

Psellos continues his narrative, saying,

> νῦν τεθεάμεθα βασιλέα, οὔτε τὴν κλῆσιν οὔτε τὸ σχῆμα ψευδόμενον, μέγαν ὡς γίγαντα, **ὑψηλὸν τῷ βραχίονι**, κραταιὸν τῇ δυνάμει, καὶ ἄοπλον φοβερὸν καὶ ὡπλισμένον ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον, τὸ μὲν εἶδος τῷ ὄντι τυραννίδος ἄξιον, **τὴν δὲ καρδίαν ἀνθάμιλλον τῷ προφήτῃ Δαυίδ**.
> Today we have seen a *basileus*, who is neither false in origin nor appearance, great as a giant, **with a stretched out arm**, of extraordinary strength, who even unarmed is yet formidable [to his enemies], who when armed is strong and unstoppable,of a countenance truly worthy of an autocrat, **with a heart equal to that of the prophet David**.[28]

It is evident that the philosopher is comparing the emperor to God by using the biblical expression 'with an outstretched arm' (ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ), which refers to the God of the Israelites fighting for the Jews in a Holy War.[29] This quotation depicts God as a warrior. Yet in the same sentence, Psellos also directly compares Diogenes to King David. The Bible states:

> …καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ τελεία μετὰ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καθὼς ἡ καρδία Δαυιδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
> ... and his heart was not perfect with the LORD his God, as was the heart of David his father.[30]

There is no doubt that Michael Psellos has introduced a biblical motif into the imperial ideology. David is the founder of a dynasty, the ideal Jewish ruler, a victor over the eternal enemies of the Jews, and as such, a prototype of the Messiah.[31]

In the central part of the imperial oration, Michael Psellos describes the new ruler, saying:

> ...**θεοειδὴς τὸ κρυπτόμενον· σεμνὸς τὰ πρὸς αἴσθησιν**, λαμπρὸς τὰ πρὸς νόησιν, εὐσταθὴς τὸ φρόνημα, εὐφυὴς τὸ ἐνθύμημα, τὸν νοῦν ὀξύς, τὴν γλῶτταν ταχύς, ῥήτωρ καὶ στρατιώτης ὁμοῦ. ὢ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος· τὰ διῃρημένα, λόγους καὶ ὅπλα, τόξα καὶ μέτρα, ῥήματα καὶ ὁρμήματα, σοφίαν καὶ πανοπλίαν, εἰς μίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ παραδόξως ψυχὴν συνήγαγες. καὶ **πολεμεῖς μὲν ὑψηλῷ τῷ βραχίονι**, ὁμιλεῖς δὲ ἐλευθέρως καὶ στρογγύλως τῇ γλώττῃ, **καὶ ἔοικας ποταμῷ ἅμα καὶ ὀχετῷ**. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς ποταμηδὸν ἐπιχεῖ τὰ νοήματα, ἡ δὲ γλῶττα ἠρέμα ἐπικλύζει τὴν ὀχετηγίαν τῶν λέξεων.[32]
> ...you are godlike even in what is unseen, restrained from sensual things, of brilliant mind, firm in opinion, shining in intelligence, sharp-witted, eloquent, simultaneously a rhetorician and a soldier. **What an extraordinary marvel: what is divided [between people]**, speech and arms, bows and poetry, words and courage, wisdom and belligerence, you have unusually combined in yourself. And **you fight with a stretched out arm**, and speak aristocratically with a refined tongue, and **you are simultaneously like a river and a canal**. For your mind flows like a river with thoughts, while your tongue peacefully irrigates channels of words.

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28 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 18, 176. 18–23.

29 Exodus 6: 6.

30 1 Kings 11: 4.

31 Matthew 21: 9; Luke 1: 32; John 7: 42; Romans 1: 3. Alexander 1977: 217–237; Marjanović-Dušanić 1997: 197–200.

32 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 18, 177. 32–42.

The antithesis between body and soul dominates the beginning of these lines and is depicted as the antithesis of visible and hidden. With the words 'what is divided [between people],' the philosopher masterfully alludes to Christ who unites the incompatible in the Epistle to the Galatians:

> οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· **πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ**.
> There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.[33]

Psellos then repeats the biblical expression used at the beginning of the imperial oration in which he portrays Diogenes as a Warrior-God.[34] He concludes by comparing Diogenes to a sage and alluding to the Book of Sirach, in which a sage is compared to rivers:

> He filleth all things with his wisdom, as Phison and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits. He maketh the understanding to abound like Euphrates, and as Jordan in the time of the harvest[35]...I also came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden. I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.[36]

It is possible that Psellos's mention of channels in the imperial oration refers to the irrigation systems of great rivers such as the Tigris and Euphrates to which the sage is compared.

The end of the central segment of the imperial oration terminates with a description of Diogenes's military policy, in Psellos exclaims:

> οὗ δὲ ἀνάγκη συνασπισμοῦ καὶ συντάξεως, καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον στήσῃ καὶ ἑκατέρω τὼ κέρα, καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγίσεις καὶ περιελίξεις τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ ἐξαλλάξεις τοὺς λόχους καὶ μετασχηματίσεις τὴν τάξιν καὶ στρατηγικῷ **ἐμβριμήματι** καταπλήξεις τὸ βάρβαρον.
> And when the need arises to form more densely grouped units and a battle line, you will stand in the front line with both wings of the army, and you will spread the phalanx and encircle the enemy phalanx, and you will reposition the lochoi and change the battle order, and with strategic **indignation**, you will terrify the barbarian.[37]

There is no doubt that Psellos compares Diogenes waging war against the Turks with God waging war against the Jews by using the biblical term for indignation (ἐμβριμήματι), which is identical to the one used to describe God's indignation when guiding the hand of Nebuchadnezzar to achieve His victory over the Jews.[38]

3.2. The Second Imperial Oration

Michael Psellos concludes the final paragraph of the imperial oration by expressing

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[33] 3 Galatians: 28.
[34] Exodus 6: 6.
[35] Sirach 24: 25–26.
[36] Sirach 24: 30–31.
[37] *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 18, 178. 50–54.
[38] Lamentations 2: 6.

good wishes to Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes:

> Δυναμωθείης ἐπὶ πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον, καὶ στεφανωθείης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τροπαίοις λαμπροῖς. κοσμηθείης τοῖς κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀριστεύμασι, καὶ νίκαις δορυφορηθείης πολλαῖς. **μὴ συγκαύσαι σε ἡμέρας ὁ ἥλιος, μηδὲ ἡ σελήνη τὴν νύκτα**, ἀλλά **σε στῦλος ὁδηγήσοι φωτός**, καί **σοι διαιρεθείη μὲν θάλασσα**, ὑπαναχωρήσαιεν δὲ ποταμοί, καὶ ἄγγελοί σε φωτὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν παραπέμψαιεν.
> May God grant you strength over every enemy and opponent, and crown your head with a victory wreath for glorious battles. May He adorn you with feats over barbarians, and protect you with many victories. **May the sun not strike you by day, nor the moon by night**, but **may a pillar of fire lead you [at night]**, and **may the sea be parted for you**, and rivers drawn back, and may angels of light accompany you throughout the land.[39]

Psellos also skillfully intermixes his lines with verses taken from the Psalms:

> ἡμέρας ὁ ἥλιος οὐκ ἐκκαύσει σε καὶ ἡ σελήνη τὴν νύκτα
> The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.[40]

Drawing from the Book of Exodus, the philosopher draws a parallel between the Byzantine Emperor Romanos Diogenes and the Old Testament religious leader Moses, directly referencing the pillar of fire (ἐν στύλῳ πυρός)[41] and the parting of the sea (καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ ὕδωρ).[42]

3.3. The Third Imperial Oration

In the introductory segment of this imperial oration, Michael Psellos uses the biblical term 'indignation' (ἐνβριμήματι)[43] – which he also used in the first speech composed for Romanos IV Diogenes – wishing to draw a parallel between the fate experienced by the enemies of Byzantium in battle with the emperor and the defeat of the Jews by God. Thus, the scholar says:

> ἀστράπτει μέν σου ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ χρυσῷ στέμματι, οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ φοβερῷ δόρατι· καὶ προσηνεῖ μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πολίτας ὁρᾷς ὄμματι, καταπληκτικῷ δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταδειμαίνεις βλέμματι. γλυκεῖα μὲν ἡ πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου φωνή, δριμεῖα δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντικειμένους βοή. ἱλαρὸν μὲν ἡμῖν σου τὸ πρόσωπον, φοβερὸν δὲ τοῖς ἀντιμαχομένοις τὸ στρατηγικόν σου **ἐμβρίμημα.**[44]
> A golden crown gleams on your head, no less gleaming than the terrifying spear in your right hand. And you look at us citizens with a kind eye, while the barbarians are terrified of your fierce gaze. To us, your voice is sweet, but to the enemies, it is a sharp roar. You look at us with a joyful face, while your strategic **indignation** is terrifying to the opponents.

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39 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 19, 181. 36–41 – 182. 42–43.
40 Psalm 121: 6 (120: 6).
41 Exodus 13: 21.
42 Exodus 14: 21.
43 Lamentations 2: 6.
44 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 20, 182. 4 – 183. 5–11.

3.4. The Fourth Imperial Oration

In the central segment of this imperial oration, Michael Psellos wishes Emperor Romanos Diogenes success in overcoming the enemies of the empire:

> Ἀστράψαις ἐκ τῆς ἑῴας εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν αὖθις διαβαίνων, ὡς ἥλιος ἀπείρῳ κύκλῳ, πλουσίῳ φωτί, καὶ καταλάμψαις μὲν καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον, καταφλέξαις δὲ καὶ σύμπαν τὸ βάρβαρον. ἐπὶ τούτοις κατασβέσαις μὲν **πῦρ Βαβυλώνιον**, χαλινώσαις δὲ λεόντων ὁρμὰς καὶ **πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐφελκύσαις** κατὰ τῆς δυσμενοῦς φάλαγγος. **θάλασσαν διαρρήξαις** καὶ **ποταμὸν ἀνακόψαις** καὶ **καταπολεμήσαις τὸν Ἀμαλήκ**.[45]
> May you shine like lightning from the east, returning to the east like the sun in an endless, full circle of light, and may you illuminate your subjects, may you incinerate all barbarism. Accordingly, may you extinguish **the Babylonian fire**, restrain the lion's attacks, and **draw fire from heaven** against the enemy army. May you **part the sea** and **cut off the river**, and may you **overcome Amalek**.

By using verses from the Book of Daniel, the Byzantine philosopher compares the barbarians to the Babylonians. In other words, Psellos associates the Babylonian attack on the Jews—the chosen people—with the barbarians' attack on the Byzantine Empire, thus drawing a parallel between the people of Byzantium and God's chosen people through analogy.[46] Moreover, the enemy army was to be defeated by 'fire from heaven' (καταβήσεται πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[47] Here, Psellos depicts Emperor Romanos Diogenes as Moses by using the familiar motif of parting the sea (καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ ὕδωρ)[48] and comparing the Turkish sultan Alp Arslan (1063–1072), the chief enemy of Byzantium, with Amalek.

The Old Testament states:

> καὶ ἐτρέψατο Ἰησοῦς τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας.
> And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.[49]

Furthermore, here Diogenes also resembles Joshua, as the emperor's 'cutting off of the river' in Psellos's text undoubtedly echoes Joshua's crossing of the Jordan and his entrance into the Promised Land.[50]

The imperial oration continues with Psellos exclaiming:

> Νεφέλη μὲν σκιάζουσα ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀφέλοιτό σου τὸν καύσωνα, **στῦλος δὲ φωτὸς** ὁδηγήσαι σε τῆς σῆς ἀσπίδος προπορευόμενος. **ἐξομαλίσαι σοι κύριος πᾶν ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἀκρότομον, καὶ ἀναπληρώσαι μέν σοι τὰς φάραγγας, τὰ δὲ σκολιὰ ποιήσαι εὐθύτατα**.
> May the cloud over your head protect you from the heat, may a **pillar of fire** guide you before your shield. **May the Lord level every high and steep mountain for you, and fill every valley for you, may He straighten the curves for you.**[51]

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45 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 21, 185. 7–12 – 186. 13–14.
46 Daniel 3: 15–30.
47 2 Kings 1: 10.
48 Exodus 14: 21.
49 Exodus 17: 8–16.
50 Joshua 3: 13–17.
51 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 21, 186. 15–19.

By referencing the pillar of fire, it is certain that the philosopher is making a direct allusion to Moses.[52]

However, Psellos's next sentence is an allusion to the Book of Isaiah, which describes the beginning of God's intervention during the Jews'return from Babylonian exile by employing a messianic note:

> Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. **πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται· καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδία**.
> The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.[53]

The concluding segment of this oration represents an apex of sorts of the entire speech and also expresses his primary guidance addressed to the Byzantine emperor:

> Εἰ δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαις τὰ διεστῶτα καὶ **τὸ τοῦ φραγμοῦ ἀφέλοις μεσότοιχον**, καὶ τὸ δυσμενὲς εὐμενὲς ποιήσαις τῷ κράτει σου, βασιλικώτατον δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ ὄντι νικητικώτατον.
> If you reconcile what is divided and **if you break down the middle wall of partition** and if you turn enemies into friends, that would be the most exalted imperial and truly victorious [deed].[54]

There is no doubt that here the philosopher is alluding to Christ's unifying work as described in the Epistle to the Ephesians:

> Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν, καὶ **τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας**.
> For he is our peace, who hath made both one, **and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us.**[55]

4. Concluding Remarks

In all four of Psellos's imperial orations addressed to Emperor Romanos Diogenes, which total 193 lines, there are nineteen direct or indirect biblical motifs. The first and longest oration contains seven motifs, the second has three, the third has one, and the fourth and shortest contains eight, the most of all the orations. Of the nineteen biblical motifs with which the imperial orations are imbued, seventeen were drawn from the Old Testament, and only two from the New Testament. This is somewhat logical, as the Old Testament heroes, with their innate and acquired virtues, were suitable figures to compare with the Byzantine emperors to whom the orations were addressed.[56]

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52 Exodus 13: 21.

53 Isaiah 40: 3–4.

54 *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 21, 186. 24–27.

55 Ephesians 2: 14.

56 To some extent, the situation is reversed in the case of laudatory speeches dedicated to ecclesiastical figures. For example, speech 17 in the edition by George Dennis addressed to John Mauropous contains twelve Old Testament motifs and over twenty New Testament motifs in 869 verses; *Psellus, Orationes panegyricae*: no. 17, 143–174.

It is clear that the compositions of Psellos's imperial orations largely imitate the compositional schema of the encomia composed by the rhetoricians who preceded him. Of course, with the choice of theme left to the individual rhetor,[57] Psellos used those motifs he deemed appropriate for the current political moment. He lived during a time when the Turkish threat loomed large over the Byzantine Empire. Psellos thereby demonstrated that he was not only a good interpreter of Byzantine state ideology but was also an excellent scholar of the Holy Scriptures.

The imperial orations he composed for Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes demonstrate that Michael Psellos was a distinguished expert in theology and Christology. Even at the end of his career, Psellos gladly referenced the Holy Scripture in his works.[58]

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[57] Cormack 1976: 41–60.

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ЈАСМИНА ШАРАНАЦ СТАМЕНКОВИЋ
Универзитет у Нишу
Филозофски факултет, Департман за историју

РЕЦЕПЦИЈА СВЕТОГ ПИСМА У ПСЕЛОВИМ ЦАРСКИМ ГОВОРИМА ПОСВЕЋЕНИМ РОМАНУ IV ДИОГЕНУ

Резиме

У раду се анализирају мотиви из Светог писма које је Михаило Псел, један од најучењих првака цариградске интелигенције XI века, користио као прототекст за царске говоре посвећене цару Роману IV Диогену. Михаило Псел саставио је за Романа Диогена четири енкомиона. Реч је о енкомионима број 18, 19, 20 и 21 у критичком издању Ђорђа Дениса. Сва четири царска говора Псел је проткао библијским цитатима или алузијама из Светог писма. Први и најдужи царски говор садржи седам мотива, други има три, трећи – један, а четврти, најкраћи царски говор садржи највише библијских мотива – осам. Од укупно деветнаест билијских мотива којима су прожети царски говори, седамнаест припадају Старом завету, а само два припадају Новом завету. То је логично будући да су старозавтни јунаци својим урођеним и стеченим врлинама били врло погодни за поређење са византијским царевима којима су говори намењени. Псел је састављао говоре у периоду када се турска опасност надвијала над Византијским царством, те је показао да је не само добар тумач владарске државне идеологије Византије – према којој је византијски цар Божији изасланик на Земљи – већ и одличан познавалац Светог писма.

Кључне речи: Свето писмо, царске беседе, Михаило Псел, цар Роман IV Диоген, 11. век.

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ALEKSANDRA FOSTIKOV
The Institute of History Belgrade
0000-0002-9089-0339
aleksandra.fostikov@iib.ac.rs

CRAFTSWOMEN IN MEDIEVAL SERBIA: A COMPARATIVE VIEW

Abstract: As a research topic, women in medieval Serbian lands who were engaged professionally in skilled crafts is practically unexplored territory. In addition to a chronic lack of sources—which is clearly evident in the case of women’s work in producing commodities—exploration of the role of women’s work, even in medieval society, did not begin until the emergence of historiography of sex and gender, in particular at the end of the twentieth century. In addition to women from the ruling and aristocratic classes, who were noticeably preserved in the surviving sources in accordance with their status, the documents, primarily from the interior, mostly record widows due to their specific position in society, with the exception of a few legal provisions regulating women’s earnings. Narrative sources predominantly created within the Church view women through a Christian perspective and omit women’s work. However, information preserved in coastal cities such as Kotor or Dubrovnik, cities in the interior in neighboring states of what was previously Serbia and throughout medieval Europe, allow for parallels to be drawn and for issues related to the work of skilled craftswomen to be better understood. Through the comparative method based on currently established methodology, this paper will present women’s activities as professional craftswomen, their work as assistants in workshops, and their activities related to the infrastructure of a particular craft so that what is already known can be interpreted using source material and literature of both local and foreign origin in order to determine at least an approximate framework and role for women within the skilled crafts in medieval Serbia.

Keywords: women, crafts, craftsmanship, craftswomen, Middle Ages, Serbia, Europe.

In the literature, women’s work has long been connected with home and family and, in comparison to men’s work, is often treated as domestic, secondary, or not professional. This is consistent not only with the time period investigated here but also with the early modern period, during which women had no defined place, role, or employment status, and were not considered participants of any importance for the economy. This has resulted in the neglect of women’s professional work in earlier periods. Apart from a few exceptions, until the

emergence of gender studies, there had been almost no mention of the role and place of women in the skilled crafts, and the issue of women's professional work was not raised until the second half of the twentieth century.[1] Taking so long to pose this question led not only to a delay in researching women's work and the development of specific methodologies, but also to source material only being considered from a male angle. This has also led to misinterpretations of sources, and even when there was mention of a particular occupation or trade, without a name attached to the person in question, it was interpreted as confirmation that the subject was a craftsman, even though there could have been a woman hidden behind it, especially considering that certain names were not gendered, as Ingvild Øye has recently pointed out.[2]

Among the many scholars who deal with women's roles in the economy in medieval skilled crafts and in foreign literature, the work of Janice Marie Archer, who clearly demonstrated the scope and issues relevant to the time period and paved the way for further research, is of particular significance. She has also suggested that detailed comparisons within medieval Europe are necessary in order to arrive at a valid answer to the question of whether there were differences among women's professional activities resulting from geographical or historical circumstances.[3] In addition to works focused on women's commercial activities in general, some only deal with certain crafts or issues related to production. One of these is women's participation in professional organizations, which must be established for the role of women's work to be properly considered. A study by Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith Bennett is particularly significant because they employed a comparative approach to women's organizations and because it contains an extensive bibliography to date at the time.[4]

As opposed to its breadth in foreign literature, regional historiography dealing with the medieval period has mostly overlooked this topic. With the exception of one chapter of a monograph focused on women in Dubrovnik and Kotor by Dušanka Dinić and Lenka Blehova Čelebić dealing with commerce, which also includes some information about

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1 Bock 2002; Fostikov 2004: 323–324, Stolić 2013; Rokai 2015; Mrgić, Fostikov 2017: 382 n. 1, 2. In addition to these, Marian K. Dale's early work on silkwomen in London must be pointed out as an early example of interest in women in the economy and craft production. Dale 1933.

2 Examples of this issue are numerous. For example, Øye pointed out one of the possible examples that is documented in the case of the using the noun weaver. Øye 2016: 47. Additionally, in some cases when there were almost no explicit mentions of craftswomen in the sources, as was the case in Brno (except for one—a regulation from 1328 about collecting taxes, which mentions both sexes in regard to cutting fabric), it is enough to see not only that women were craftspeople, but also that they were not mentioned in parallel in the same article, so there is no way to know if the article refers only to men or to both sexes. For this regulation about those "who cut cloth," see: Malanikova 2016: 192. In addition, Malanikova mentioned a document from Jihlava from the 1380s that includes "a full range of occupations in grammatically correct feminine forms." Malanikova 2016: 193. Since this is the only document of this sort that is known, it is important that it be published in the future. Another document similar to this one is from Crete: a decree issued on March 13, 1351, and it provides feminine forms for only three occupations: tailors/seamstresses who specialized in making cloaks and overcloaks, or *iupae* (*iupparius*, *iupparia*), tailors/seamstresses (*sartor*, *sartoressa*) and weavers (*textor*, *texrix*). It is also known that there were apprentice contracts for shoemakers and tanners. In addition, a decree from 1526 also mentions "master artisans—men and women" (*maistri et homini et femine*). Panopoulou 2019: 208–209, 221.

3 Archer 1995, passim. Therefore, although the place and role of women in society and the economy can be studied through collective experience, it is still necessary to approach such research carefully due to potential differences between certain practices. Rokai 2015: 199.

4 Kowaleski, Bennett 1989. Additional works and sources will be cited in the appropriate context later on, see below.

craftswomen,[5] almost no one has specifically addressed in detail either women's commercial activity or women's work as artisans. Among the studies that address women's commercial activity, those by Marija Karbić and Darja Mihelič are particularly significant. They provide an overview of the commercial activities, including skilled crafts, of women in medieval Croatia between the Drava and Sava rivers in what is now modern-day Slovenia, which clearly point to the presence of craftswomen.[6]

Based on what is currently known, although quite diverse in terms of type, area, surroundings, and chronology, women throughout medieval Europe were clearly engaged in all the skilled crafts that men performed, albeit in smaller numbers, and they were also involved in guilds, either directly as members or indirectly through the workshop in which they were employed. Although women were primarily admitted into guilds as wives, daughters, or widows of masters (with widows having more rights within the organization), there are nevertheless examples of women belonging to guilds without a family connection to the craft, which can clearly be seen in cases of guilds that were predominantly female.[7] However, they were generally not able to participate in decision-making, often worked under supervision, and their participation in certain professions was limited. Over time, as attitudes toward women shifted, they were increasingly pushed out of these professional organizations, and their membership rights were limited.[8] According to their gender, women in Florence could join less important organizations for artisans, such as *Linaiuoli*, but not more significant ones, such as *Arte di Calimala*. In Paris, women silk spinners were also permitted to supervise a limited number of apprentices, and widows of glaziers and jewelers could continue their husbands' work but could not take on apprentices because these skills were considered too important to be taught by women. Although women weavers operated in mixed guilds, there were predominantly female guilds, although much fewer, such as those in Paris, Rouen, Cologne, and other important centers for weaving, but in these cases they were usually related to luxury materials such as silk, technical work such as embroidery or goldwork embroidery, or even specialized according to an article of clothing. As for Byzantium, it is unknown if or in what manner women were members of professional organizations, but the fact that they were forbidden from joining goldsmiths' organizations would suggest that in other cases they were most likely permitted to become members, and, judging by the restrictive attitude, women were members of these organizations in an earlier period.[9]

According to surviving records, women in medieval Europe were also chandlers, ironmongers, net-makers, shoemakers, glovers, girdlers, haberdashers, purse-makers, cap-

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5 Dinić-Knežević 1974: 1–60; Blehova Čelebić 2002: 219–227.

6 Mihelič 2002; Karbić 2004.

7 Kowaleski, Bennett 1989: 476–484; King 1991: 64–65; Øye 2016: 45. In the case of the Parisian guild of embroiderers (which consisted of eighty-one women and twelve men) twenty-five women did not have husbands in the same trade, and twelve were not daughters of embroiderers, while in the case of the purse makers, only seven out of 124 women had a family relationship with a given craft. Kowaleski, Bennett 1989: 482.

8 Kowaleski, Bennett 1989: 482–483; Rokai 2015: 192; Øye 2016: 45. According to a Bristol law from 1461, except for women working alongside their husbands, women, including wives, daughters and servants of weavers, could no longer be employed as weavers in order to prevent the unemployment of men. King 1991: 66, 68–69. Also, see below.

9 King 1991: 65, 67, 71; Dagron 2002: 409. See note 8 above. For women in weavers' guilds, and for the feminine forms for different occupations including crafts in Jihlava, see: Malanikova 2016: 193–194.

makers, skinners, bookbinders, gilders, painters, silk weavers and embroiderers, smiths, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, dyers, yarn spinners, gold spinners, weavers of silks and other textiles, seamstresses, veil makers, silk embroiderers, glove knitters, bag makers, nappers, bag and glove embroiderers, wagoners, tailors, rope makers, coopers, glass-cutters and gem-workers. In thirteenth-century Paris, women were professionally engaged in almost all occupations that men were, although there were much fewer of them. In Frankfurt women were recorded as practicing 201 different professions, sixty-five of which they even held a monopoly, they were predominant in seventeen, and in thirty-eight they were in equal numbers as men. Women weavers were also mentioned in birch bark manuscripts,[10] as were women fullers (*bjelilniks*).[11]

In addition to these skilled professions, scarce information of foreign provenance suggests women also worked in construction not only as less-skilled workers who prepared and delivered materials such as mortar and stone, but also worked on roofing, within the building profession, and in workshops, as well as performing work that required them to be present at construction sites. They were also recorded as masons, carpenters, doormakers, tilers, and plasterers. In Strasbourg, two women in the fifteenth century were recorded as having joined a masons' guild through which they acquired citizenship, although it appears that it was rare to join traveling groups of masons.[12] Furthermore, women also worked in family workshops as wives, daughters, or widows who not only provided assistance but also acquired their own skills through practice just as they would have through an apprenticeship. A representation of Eve from the ninth or tenth century that originated from Byzantium should be viewed in this context: In accordance with her traditional role of assisting her husband, she is depicted as holding a pair of bellows.[13]

Further evidence that even in the Middle Ages women could acquire the status of a professional craftswomen comes from a medieval Russian source from the twelfth or thirteenth century, the expanded *Russkaya Pravda*, which explicitly differentiates between craftsmen (ремственник) and craftswomen (ремственница), and the death penalty for both was the same. This source therefore indicates that, at this time, even among the dependent population, not only was there was distinct class of craftswomen, but also that many women were professional craftswomen who were valued equally with their male counterparts, and that for masters, at least initially, distinctions were based on skill rather than sex.[14] A specific

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[10] In addition to summarizing information about craftswomen's professions, Margaret L. King also provides an overview of the situation in different city centers across Europe associated with women's crafts and trades. King 1991: 64–69. For Paris, see also: Archer 1995: passim. For Crete and rope makers: Panopoulou 2019: 231. Moreover, this document from Jihlava indicates that the presence of craftswomen was commonplace in medieval Moravia in the fourteenth century. Malanikova 2016: 193. See also note 2 above, for details of this document.

[11] Čerepnin 1960: 264–267. For the meaning of term *bjelilnik*, see Fostikov 2019: 183–184.

[12] For more detail, see: Roff 2010. According to a regulation from Graz (1460), women bringing stone and mortar were paid one-eighth less than men were. Mihelič 2002: 318.

[13] Epstein 1991: 104–107; Fostikov 2019: 38 n. 85. Also, see above.

[14] *Pravda Ruskaja* II, 317–318, 604, Article 15. For gender equality in Russian sources, including Article 15, see: Čvorović 2022. In addition, Serkina also makes some interesting points about women among the early Slavs: Serkina 2004: 85–92. Although Article 15 is well known in older Russian studies, there are still no studies specifically focused on the role of the women in craft production in the Russian historiography, as far as is currently known. In addition, it should be noted that European historiography that is focused on gender in the Middle Ages in Europe does not include Soviet or modern Russian gender studies in its comparative

title for a female master (*maistra*/*mastorissa*) was also recorded in Crete as a counterpart to the male title.[15] The well known author Kristina Pizanska also pointed out the significance of women's roles in production and technology in her work on the defense of women, known as the City of Women, which she completed in 1405.[16]

Furthermore, when it comes to textile production, it must be pointed out that, in addition to the earlier opinion that women as professional weavers were eclipsed by their male counterparts due to the advent of the horizontal loom, the emergence of the weaving and textile industries essentially led to an increase in the percentage of men involved in the urban space in textile production in accordance with demand. In the case of weaving, regardless of the type of loom (vertical or horizontal), existing records and accompanying artistic representations undeniably indicate that both men and women worked on them, sometimes together in parallel on the same loom. Despite aggressive favoritism of male weavers, first through certain directives, the work of male weavers increasingly gained prominence starting in the early sixteenth century as the field of women's work narrowed.[17] Further evidence that spinning was considered a way for single women in the Middle Ages and even later to survive and support themselves with their own work, also comes from the widespread use of a name for a woman who spins—such as spinster—in several languages, as a term for a widow or an unmarried woman, meaning a "poor woman" who alone supports herself. An additional counterpart that appears in Dušan's Code is the term *sirota kudeljnica*.[18]

When considering women, one should keep in mind that they undoubtedly belonged to the class of skilled artisans, and in addition to decorative embroidery and metalwork, they also produced illuminated manuscripts, even within scriptoria. Records of women working in scriptoria, as both transcribers and illuminators, has come to light only through new historical research that points to women illuminators in Austria and Germany in the Middle Ages. In Germany alone between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were forty-eight active scriptoria in convents, and around four hundred women produced over four thousand manuscripts. Evidence of women's involvement in producing pigments or in the illumination of manuscripts has come from an analysis of a female skeleton from the eleventh or twelfth century, and a dark blue residue obtained from lapis lazuli was found on a tooth from the necropolis of the Dalheim monastery complex in Germany.[19]

Last, when considering research into women's economic role, including skilled crafts in medieval Serbia, it should be noted that a particular issue is that, due to a lack of sources and insufficiently studied processes, medieval Serbia has long been viewed within

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methodology. This is a result of issues around accepting the Medieval Rus' as a part of medieval Europe, along with other research questions, as has been clearly pointed out in recent times by Christian Raffensperger. Raffensperger 2012: 1–2, and thereafter passim. However, there have recently been some changes to this.

15 Panopoulou 2019: 222. For more on the term and title *maistor*, see: Fostikov 2019: 12–18.

16 In the *City of Ladies*, Pisan defends women by gathering together numerous examples of well known heroines from history and legend. It is of relevance here that de Pisan also included craftswomen who were, according to legend, the inventors of some crafts, including Minerva, the queen Ceres, the maiden Arachne, Pamphile, and the queen Artemisia. Christine de Pizan 1405: 73, 76, 80, 81, 83, 124.

17 Øye 2016: 44–48; Rokai: 2015: 192. See also Notes 8 and 9 above.

18 King 1991: 67; Katić 2009: 217–218, 225; Fostikov 2004: 330 n. 224. For the meaning of noun *sirota* (poor) in the term *sirota kudeljnica* in the Dušan's Code, see: Filipović 1953: 40–47.

19 This article is also important for distribution of lapis lazuli in medieval Europe. Radini *et al*. 2019: 1–8.

the broader historiography as having been isolated from the rest of the world, despite its economic development at the time and being socially involved in medieval European trends. Even Dinić Knežević held at one time that, unlike Dubrovnik, there was "a different social order" in medieval Serbia, which resulted in women being unable to "freely conduct business" as women in Dubrovnik did, with the exception of those in the cities or members of the merchant class, and she did not take into consideration not only the economy in the rural outskirts of urban areas or the economy as a whole, but also the role of women within society as a whole and in accordance with the attitudes and understandings of the time.[20]

Indeed, in medieval Serbia women in both urban and rural areas must have been involved in skilled production, either professionally or as assistants in workshops attached to homes, or through the infrastructure of a particular craft within which they formed the workforce for processing raw materials, or to provide assistance that required minimal skills, as indicated by existing records and parallels which can be drawn not only from facts known from primary sources of foreign provenance, both written and artistic, but also from examples from local neighboring cities and regions, and from rare local mentions.[21] Additionally, the fact that Slavic women were found to have taken part in a military campaign in the early medieval period strongly suggests that they must have been engaged in various professional activities, including skilled crafts.[22]

Records from Kotor, Dubrovnik, and neighboring countries and cities indicate that craftswomen were present within various professions, just as they were throughout the rest of medieval Europe. In addition to being involved in textile production, somewhat further afield in Slovenia there are records of a female tawer (Ptuj, 1513) and a female furrier (Goriza, 1472). Also, membership in guilds was required for the wives of masters, and the masters had to be married in order to achieve their status as masters. As in the rest of medieval Europe, they were referred to as brothers and sisters, and they were also mentioned in the tailors' fraternity in Maribor.[23] In the region between the Sava and the Drava rivers that is now Slavonia, there are also mentions of craftswomen, and their status as widows enabled them to inherit a workshop. The statutes of the Križevci Guild of Locksmiths and Spurriers (1510) and the Gradec Spurriers, Locksmiths, Blacksmiths, and Swordsmiths (1521) stipulated that the guilds must designate a journeyman for the widow of a member for as long as she is in need of assistance in running her workshop. Furthermore, the same statutes indicate that these journeymen often married the widows, in which case they paid only half of the guild's fee. In addition to women weavers and chandlers, there is a record in Gradec from 1588 of a woman cobbler, and a mention of a seamstress in Varaždin in the fifteenth century, as well as mention of a woman sword maker and cleaner whose husband was a locksmith, and who were members of the same guild. Widows of blacksmiths also appear in court records.[24]

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20 Dinić-Knežević 1974: 60.

21 See above, also n. 13. For infrastructures for the different professions of craft production, see: Fostikov 2019, passim.

22 The presence of Slavic women in the military has been noted in sources, see: Fontes Byzantini I, 242. See also note 14 above.

23 Mihelič 2002: 316–318.

24 Karbić 2004: 60–64, 69.

In Dubrovnik, most of the records Dinić-Knežević collected refer to women taking part in the production of textiles and embroidery, and Diversis also provides evidence of women taking part in the production of broadcloth.[25] Although there are currently no known records from Dubrovnik itself regarding women apprenticing, there is evidence from a contract from 1361 that women from Dubrovnik and the hinterland could be accepted for training if they so wished. This contract was drawn up on behalf of a Vlach woman named Velna to learn the craft of tailoring from a man from Dubrovnik named Milan the tailor. Once she completed her ten-year apprenticeship, Milan was expected to provide her with tools for making clothing.[26] In Kotor, along with silk spinning, professions practiced by women that were specifically mentioned included tallow chandlers, *opanak* makers, and even armorers. It seems there was also a woman capmaker, and there is no reason to doubt that women also practiced certain crafts in the interior, just as they did other professions.[27]

Although the only skilled craft practiced by women that appears in sources of local provenance is related to spinning, which is connected the term *sirota kudeljnica* in Dušan's Code (Article 64), according to parallels in other areas, the range of crafts they practiced must have been far greater. The only issue with identifying them rests solely in the lack of available sources. Furthermore, the same article, as in the article concerning a *sirota kudeljnica*'s inability to bring suit, (Article 73), underscores the right and status of a widow to independently earn money and represent herself.[28] Accordingly the mention of the poor spinster could be interpreted as a universal rule related to a widow's business opportunities.

As widows, women in medieval Serbia were most likely able to continue working in a family workshop or to employ a master, just as women in other countries and economic centers were able to. Evidence that they also invested money and could enter into formal business contracts comes from a 1463 agreement between Vladica (Vladislava), widow of Budisav of Srebrenica, and Andrija, a goldbeater and son of Jakob of Genoa. Although there is no mention of Budisav's profession in the document, nor is it known what Vladica's was, it does mention that she entered into a partnership agreement with Andrija, for which she gave him 120 ducats for a year so he could practice "his craft" and teach it to her son Anton. The profits would then be divided between them, with two-thirds going to Andrija and one-third to Vladica.[29] Setting aside the question of which city the late Budisav and his widow Vladica were citizens, especially since many local inhabitants sought to acquire citizenship in Dubrovnik due to privileges,[30] Budisav is indeed mentioned as being a resident of Srebrenica, and judging by Vladica's investment and decisions, the family most likely would have been among the affluent inhabitants originating from that town. It is unknown if

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25 Filip de Diversis 1440: 110; Dinić-Knežević 1974: 9. In addition, Dinić-Knežević wrote a book about the fabric trade in Dubrovnik that provides an extensive overview of women's work in textile production in medieval Serbia, from which fabric was exported to Ragusa, see: Dinić-Knežević 1982, passim.

26 State Archive in Dubrovnik, Debita Notariae (Debts and debit notes registered at the Public Notary) Vol. 4 f. 4v (abbreviated: DAD, Deb. Not. 4 f. 4v); Petrović 1985: 19. I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleague Esad Kurtović for providing me with the two documents from DAD that are quoted in this paper.

27 Blehova Čelebić 2002: 222–224.

28 Radojčić 1960: 55 No. 64, 57 No. 73. Also, see Note 18 above.

29 Kovačević-Kojić 2010: 60.

30 State Archive in Dubrovnik, Debita Notariae (Debts and debit notes registered at the Public Notary) Vol. 36 f. 18v (abbreviated: DAD, Deb. Not. 36 f. 18v); Kovačević-Kojić 2010: 97–104; Fostikov 2019:72. See n. 26.

Vladica's family had any connection to the goldsmith trade, and if they did, what kind it was.

Except as a widow, student, or even craftswoman, a woman's particular role in the skilled trades, as with other matters, lay in the bonds of marriage, whether she was a young woman, a widow, or a daughter, just as it did throughout medieval Europe. Trading houses were connected with each other, and even with other trades, which according to local sources was an already established practice in the early fifteenth century, as is evidenced by the marriage of Nikola the hat-maker to the daughter of a protomaster. Additionally, it was certainly possible through marriage to enter a trade house with an artisan's privilege in accordance with the practice of hereditary crafts known from the Masters' Act as well as parallel comparative examples.[31]

In terms of individual crafts, it is generally known that that women were directly involved in the production and sale of textiles. Textile production demanded not only the work of both sexes, but also an extremely diversified infrastructure, regardless of the genesis of the threads. Thus, in parallel with the term for *kudeljnica*, there is also *kudeljin*, and a term for a male embroiderer (*vezilj*) also appears.[32] Women were involved in processing plant and animal fibers within manorial estates and commercial production houses, and in addition to spinning and weaving for the needs of the home or a master, this work was done as an additional commercial activity. Among the primary products of women's work with fibers, a form of cloth known as *rassia* (раша) can also be considered, which was later sold and also exported, and based on trade and furnishing raw fiber to be worked by women in the hinterland, it can be seen that women from the Slavic hinterland of Dubrovnik also worked professionally within the textile industry.[33] Furthermore, the transformation of fibers, especially linen, into garments was known in Byzantium, and this role of women is glorified by Christianity in which the Virgin Mary is depicted with a spindle, a distaff, or knitting needles in her hands, indicating that she spins and knits. Distaffs were also given to brides in Dubrovnik a symbol of women.[34] With the emergence of the silk industry, women were involved in processing and producing silk, and the entire process from cultivating silkworms to spinning thread and weaving passed through their hands. Although, judging by comparisons, this work was not well-paid, their role in production cannot be dismissed,[35] especially when taking into account that silkweaving requires particular specialization and knowledge of techniques. Judging at least by records from Crete, women taught this skill to female students.[36] Parallels and daily requirements also provide evidence that they were engaged in decorative embroidery.[37]

At the same time, women from the upper classes also turned to artistic professions, and in particular artistic embroidery, as is seen in local sources. Even if we set aside some

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31 Fostikov 2021: 96, 106. Also, see above.

32 Filip de Diversis 1440: 110; Fostikov 2019: 165, 182, 191. See also note 21 above.

33 Dinić-Knežević 1982, passim; Fostikov 2004: 329–330.

34 Lambert 2002: 6 Fig. 1; Matschke 2002: 777; A. Fostikov 2004: 330 n. 24.

35 Ottoman sources and examples from the Ottoman period provide more information women's involvement in in silk-making. According to these, of the 300 silk-spinning machines in Bursa, 150 were owned by women. Katić 2009: 225. It is not known what the situation was in Prizren before it fell under Ottoman rule. However, given that Prizren was considered a center of silk production, women must have been involved in it. Fostikov 2019: 181–182.

36 Panopoulou 2019: 211.

37 Men also worked as embroiderers, see n. 31.

rather suspect information that Queen Helen taught the girls in her court handicrafts "befitting of the female sex," the nun Jefimija, the despot Uglješa's wife Kantakuzina (Katarina), and Ulrich II Celje's widow Mara were certainly well known for their embroidery skills.[38] With such embroidery, and especially embroidery that was so artistic, used expensive materials and required large amounts of time, they must have had some assistance, perhaps from their own court workshops. Additionally, handicrafts, and especially artistic crafts must have been nurtured in convents, as part of the economy to preserve certain crafts, at least for the needs of the sisterhood and royal and noble convents, and it is to be expected that there were women involved with manuscripts in their scriptoria.[39]

Last, when considering the work of women in terms of assisting men, apocryphal hagiographies suggest that women in medieval Serbia were involved in a number of tasks not only in workshops but most likely also at construction sites, which included various peripheral tasks such as carrying stones or mixing mud and pitch.[40]

Limiting women's rights and their work most certainly influenced changes in their activities within the public sphere.[41] Although there are no records of women present within professional organizations, their status in these most likely corresponded at least partially to those in the rest of medieval Europe. Furthermore, as these examples show, widows could invest in workshops and employ masters, and young women could be accepted into workshops to learn a trade. Finally, taking all of this into account, it must be inferred that women in medieval Serbia practiced various trades, and their role cannot be reduced to simply the traditional participation of women in producing fabrics. Further research into existing written sources and the potential discovery of new ones, along with studies of material findings and skeletal analyses, which has not been widely conducted, could contribute to new and more detailed considerations of women's work within professional craftsmanship.[42] In this regard, it is also important to conduct deeper interdisciplinary cooperation so that all possible sources are taken into account in future research.

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38 Fostikov 2004: 329–330. It has recently been suggested that the information in The Life of Queen Helen by Archbishop Daniel II about the first school for girls, which also taught women's crafts at the court of Queen Helen is an interpolation from the life of the Russian empress Catherine II (Czarina Catherine II), who lived and ruled in the eighteenth century. Todić 2019.

39 For more about the court and monastery workshops, see: Fostikov 2021a.

40 *Apokrifi starozavetni*, 118, 127.

41 Women, including those in Dubrovnik, originally had more rights, even when it came to the division of inheritance. Women's positions changed in the thirteenth century. Vadunec 2009: 52. See also note 8 above.

42 Iin future analyses of burials all possible skeletal analyses should also be included. There is currently still no good explanation in the sources for the burials of women with tools or weapons in the Przeworsk culture, but the fact that these even included swords, would seem to indicate this was not just part of a ritual. For more on these burials and armament, see: Bochnak 2020.

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АЛЕКСАНДРА ФОСТИКОВ
Историјски институт Београд

ЗАНАТЛИЈКЕ У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОЈ СРБИЈИ. КОМПАРАТИВНИ ПРЕГЛЕД

Резиме

Активност жена у привреди, а на територији средњовековног европског простора, па и средњовековне Србије, дуго није била у жижи истраживања. Ипак са успоном развоја родне историје, и ова тема је отворена средином 20. века, да би крајем истог столећа већ забележен озбиљан помак у њеном проучавању. Мада се првобитно сматрало да жена сходно ранијим начелима нема улогу од значаја ван дома, те се њена улога своди на улогу домаћице, након постављања нових истраживачких питања, подаци из изворне грађе указали су заправо на сасвим супротне чињенице. Сходно познатим изворима тако се може закључити не само да су права и статус жене били далеко шири у раном средњем веку, већ и да су и у касном средњем веку жене и даље активно суделовале у привредним активностима, те да су се попут мушкараца бавиле и великим бројем занимања, међу којима и оним занатским. Тако се заправо жене на тлу средњовековног европског простора баве свим оним занатима којим и мушкарци, те је исправно рећи да занатлијке као и занатлије представљају важан чинилац у развоју заната. Такође, осим као занатлијке, радиле су и као помоћнице својих супруга у кућним радионицама, а чине и део инфраструктуре појединих заната, који захтевају прераду и обраду сирових материјала. Ипак, већински услед недостатка, али и не проучености извора њихов свакодневни рад остаје и даље делом сакривен од очију истраживача. Осим што се јављају у бројним занатским активностима као активни учесници и произвођачи, занатлијке су биле посредно или непосредно укључене у јавноправне организације. Коначно, жене представљају и значајан чинилац занатства не само као самосталне занатлијке, већ и у статуту су удовице, који им је омогућавао и већа права, а имале су улогу и преносу права на занат и радионицу путем брака. Судећи бар према оним ретким поменима, ситуација није била другачија ни на територији средњовековне Србије, где су жене сходно паралелама морале да чине део мајсторија, било као самосталне занатлијке, или као испомоћ у кућној радионици. Иако се у изворима у унутрашњости јавља директно само помен сироте кудељнице, у смислу исправно наведеног рода у женском полу, заправо је удео жена и у другим занатима морао да буде и већи, као и у самом занатству. У ком обиму су оне и заиста учествовале у производњи или пак грађевинским активностима, показаће даља истраживања како изворне грађе, тако и материјалних налаза.

Кључне речи: жене, занати, занатство, занатлијке, средњи век, Србија, Европа.

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MARINA ŠTETIĆ
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy
0000-0003-0434-0179
marina.stetic@f.bg.ac.rs

EYE TREATMENTS IN THE TREATISE ON SMALLPOX AND MEASLES IN THE *HILANDAR MEDICAL CODEX*[*]

Abstract: This paper examines protections and treatments of the eyes described in the Treatise on Smallpox and Measles in the *Hilandar Medical Codex*, a Serbian medical collection from the mid-sixteenth century. The Treatise on Smallpox and Measles, which, together with the Treatise on the Plague constitutes a single treatise, originates from the *Canon of Medicine*, a work by the Persian physician Avicenna (980–1037). The Old Serbian translation of this treatise was based on the Latin translation of the *Canon of Medicine*, created in Toledo at the end of the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona. In the paper, all medicinals used for treatments of the eyes of those affected by smallpox and measles, some of which have not been previously identified, are precisely identified and presented. Special attention is given to a typical Arab drug called *murri*, which was also not known in previous editions of the codex. Descriptions of individual medicines are found in the List of Simple Remedies in the *Hilandar Medical Codex*, which is a translation of the Latin work *Circa instans*, a famous pharmacopoeia from the Schola Medica Salernitana that dates to the late twelfth century, which is also highlighted.

Keywords: eye treatments, Treatise on Smallpox and Measles, *murri* (*al-murri*), *Hilandar Medical Codex*, Avicenna, *Canon of Medicine*, Old Serbian medical manuscripts, sixteenth century.

The corpus of Old Serbian medical texts, known in historiography as the *Hilandar Medical Codex*,[1] originated in the 1560s (around 1550–1560) as translations of the most significant European medical treatises based on the teachings and works of ancient Greek and Roman (Hippocrates, Aristotle, Dioscorides, Galen) and medieval Arab physicians and philosophers.[2] Although it was discovered in 1952 at the Hilandar Monastery, where it is kept under the number 517,[3] it has been established that this medical

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[1] *HMK* 1980; *HMK* 1989.

[2] Grmek 1961; Katić 1990; Bojanin 2017.

[3] Radojčić 1952.

compendium did not originate on Mount Athos.[4] The *Hilandar Medical Codex* (HMC) contains writings on phlebotomy, various types of fevers, uroscopy, infectious diseases (plague, smallpox, measles, malaria, etc.), poisons, and pediatrics, along with a treatise on simple medicines and another on compound medicines (pills [Old Serbian: **пилѳлѣ**], electuaries [**лѣтѳаріѡ**], oils [**маслѡ**], ointments [**мастъ**], balms/plasters [**ем҃бластъ**], and syrups [**ширѡпъ**, **гюлапъ**]).[5] Some texts in the *Hilandar Medical Codex* are adaptations of translations of the works from the Schola Medica Salernitana that date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The influence of physicians from medical schools in Salerno and Montpellier from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is also present in the HMC. It has thus long been held that Serbian medieval scientific medicine was based exclusively on the achievements of these significant medical schools.[6]

However, Serbian scholars have recently discovered that some of the HMC treatises originate from the *Canon of Medicine*, a work by the renowned Persian physician Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Sina, known in the West as Avicenna (980–1037). This was first pointed out by Stanoje Bojanin, who discovered that the Treatise on Poisons in the HMC originates from Avicenna's *Canon*.[7] Unaware of Bojanin's findings, I also published a study in 2022 linking the HMC's treatise on plague, smallpox, and measles to the *Canon.*[8] I determined the origin of this Old Serbian treatise after examining a contemporary Russian translation of a twelfth-century Arab manuscript of the *Canon*.[9] Given that some of the writings in the HMC were based on medical works from Salerno, I assumed that the Treatise on Plague and the Treatise on Smallpox and Measles found their way into the Old Serbian medical collection through a Latin translation of Avicenna's treatise, which probably also originated from the medical school in Salerno.[10] However, this cannot be case, because the Latin translation of the *Canon of Medicine* (*Canon medicinae*) was created in Toledo at the end of the twelfth century by the prominent translator Gerard of Cremona.[11] Bojanin claims that the Old Serbian Treatise on Poisons from the HMC was translated on the basis of Gerard's Latin translation of the *Canon*.[12] Bojanin makes an additional and significant claim that the *Hilandar Medical Codex* does not solely contain texts from the Salerno and Montpellier medical schools, and as a result should no longer be viewed 'within the scope of influence of certain schools, but rather within the broadest context of medieval Western European science, whose knowledge was also shared by Serbian medieval medicine.'[13]

The *Canon of Medicine*, which contains five books, is also based on the theories of ancient physicians such as Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides along with medical knowledge inherited from southern and southwest Asia, and Persia and India in particular.

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4 Bojanin 2017: 277–279.
5 *HMK* 1980; *HMK* 1989.
6 Grmek 1961; *HMK* 1989: XXXIII–XLVI (Katić); Bojanin 2012: 10–11; *Id*. 2017: 277–294; *Id*. 2022.
7 Bojanin 2021; *Id*. 2023.
8 Štetić 2022.
9 Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV.
10 Štetić 2022: 89, 91–92.
11 Sarton 1955: 42; Bojanin 2021: 69.
12 Bojanin 2021: 70–92; *Id*. 2023: 110–112.
13 Bojanin 2021: 93; *Id*. 2023: 112–113.

It represents one of the most important works of both Arab and European medieval medicine.[14] As previously mentioned, the *Canon* was translated from Arabic into Latin in Toledo in the late twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona and his collaborators. Between the mid-fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries, it became the most frequently printed book in Europe after the Bible.[15] By the mid-sixteenth century, a translation into Old Serbian of certain parts of this famous work had emerged through a Latin translation of the *Canon*.

For this paper, I have consulted the Latin edition of the *Canon* printed in Venice in 1507[16] and the 1595 Venetian edition by the physician and Arabist Andrea Alpago, who had somewhat revised Gerard of Cremona's translation sometime in the early sixteenth century.[17] I also consulted two contemporary translations: a Russian translation of twelfth-century Arabic manuscript of the *Canon of Medicine*[18] and an English translation of a late-sixteenth-century Persian text produced as a translation of an Arabic manuscript of the *Canon*.[19] Bojanin was also the first Serbian scholar to point out the existence of the Latin edition of the *Canon* from 1595 and the contemporary translations of Avicenna's book, including their parallel use.[20] Here, I have for the most part accepted Bojanin's presentation and identification of medicinal drugs.[21]

Since it was believed in medieval medicine that plague, smallpox, and measles belonged to the same genus and had the same cause, the two treatises in the HMC that address them form a single treatise contained in folios 61a–73b. It contains twelve chapters, the first of which reads, '**Зде почнет(ъ) wт(ъ) огнъіце чѫмнѣ и wт(ъ) родовъ кє и wт(ъ) богин(ъ), и wт(ъ) козіачъ, и wт(ъ) дрѫгъиχ(ъ) болести кое приликвютъ къ чѫмномѫ родѫ.**' (Here begins about the plague and its kinds, and smallpox, and measles, and other diseases that belong to the plague genus).[22] In the *Canon*, Avicenna's treatise on the plague, smallpox, and measles appears in Tractate 4 (Tractatus IV) of Part 1 (Fen I) of Book 4 (Liber quartus). This treatise comprises the first twelve of twenty chapters inTractate 4, which is entitled *De febribus pestilentialibus, & que sunt (eis) homogenea, & variolis, & morbillo* (Of pestilential fevers, and [fevers] which are homogeneous [to them], and smallpox, and measles).[23] Despite the same number of chapters and nearly identical content, the chapters in the Latin editions of the *Canon of Medicine* and those in the HMC do not have consistently identical titles nor is the text organized in the same way. Plague is covered in the first four chapters of the HMC, whereas in the *Canon* it appears in the first five. Smallpox and measles are covered in eight chapters of the HMC, whereas in the *Canon* it is divided into seven (Cap. 6–12). The content of the first chapter in the Latin translations of Avicenna's treatise on smallpox and measles (Cap. 6), appears in two chapters in the

[14] Nasr 1988: 306; Bojanin 2021: 69; *Id*. 2023: 109.
[15] Sarton 1955: 42; Siraisi 1987: 19–20, 43–65, 128, 361–366; Bojanin 2021: 69–70; *Id*. 2023: 109–110.
[16] Avicenna 1507.
[17] Avicenna 1595b.
[18] Abu Ali Ibn Sina II; *Id.* IV; *Id.* V.
[19] Avicenna 2; Avicenna 4.
[20] Bojanin 2021: 69–70, n. 26–27; 73–92.
[21] *Ibid*.: 73–92.
[22] *HMK* 1980: 121–146; *HMK* 1989: 261–274. Cf. *HMK* 1989: 67–77.
[23] Avicenna 1507: 416–418' (Cap. 1–12); Avicenna 1595b: 67–76 (Cap 1–12). See also: Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 125–137; Avicenna 4: 258–278.

HMC, as does the content of Avicenna's chapter on healing (Cap. 10), while the final chapter of the Latin editions (Cap. 12) does not appear anywhere in the Old Serbian translation.[24]

Based on the content of Avicenna's treatise in the Latin editions from 1507 and 1595, which are almost identical, it appears that the Old Serbian treatise on plague and smallpox and measles in the HMC was also based on Gerard's translation of the *Canon*. The Latin version of Gerard's translation, which served as a template for the creation of the Old Serbian treatise, is not known. Bojanin holds that the translation of the Old Serbian treatise on poisons was based on a Latin medical book intended for practical use that contained parts of Avicenna's *Canon*. It should also be emphasized that the HMK was created in the mid-sixteenth century as a transcription of either an older medical work or individual texts from several different books.[25]

The chapters on some medicines used to treat and protect the eyes of those with smallpox and measles are found in the HMC's List of Simple Remedies: **Сказаніе кс(тъ)ствѳ wт(ъ) в′сакого билиа, или к врѳкі или к стѳдено или сѳхо, или мокрw. И вѣсако билиє за что є добро. ѳказ ѣ wт(ъ) азѳъ** (Description of the properties of each medicine, whether it is hot, cold, dry, or moist. And for each medicine, what it is good for).[26] In the mid-twentieth century, Mirko Grmek, a historian of medicine, discovered that the Pharmacological List of Simple Remedies in the HMC is an adapted and adjusted translation of the *Liber de simplici medicina*, better known as the *Circa instans*.[27] This pharmacopoeia has been attributed to the teacher Matthaeus Platearius (died 1161) and is one of the most significant works produced by the medical school in Salerno and for European medicine in general. *Circa instans* is lagrely based on *De materia medica*[28] (first century CE), a pharmacopoeia by the Roman military physician Dioscorides, as well as on many other works, including those on medicatons from Arab and Oriental medicine. Depending on the

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[24] The part of the treatise dedicated to smallpox and measles in the HMC includes the following chapters: **Зде покинѣ wтъ богинк и wтъ козїачъ** (66б–67a) – *Here begins about smallpox and measles*; **Ѡт(ъ) козїаче или богинк** (67б–69a) – *About smallpox*; **Бѣл(ѣ)зи wт(ъ) изъшъствїа богин(ъ) или козїачъ** (69a) – *Signs of the eruption of smallpox*; **Ѡт(ъ) др8гагw рода wт(ъ) козїачъ** (69a–69б) – *About another kind of smallpox* (about differences between smallpox and measles); **Бѣлѣзъı wт(ъ) мор'билw** (69б–70a) – *Signs of measles*; **Зде почни виданіе** (70a–71б) – *Here begins the treatment*; **Ѡт(ъ) билиа, за wвѳи истѳ болѣстъ** (71б–72б) – *About medicines for this same disease*; **Ѡ знанїа, кое ѳдовѣ потрѣбѳе чѳвати wт(ъ) варившлъ или wт(ъ) мор'билw** (72б–73б) – *About the knowledge of which limbs need to be protected from smallpox or measles*. *HMK* 1980, 132–146; *HMK* 1989, 267–274.
Avicenna's treatise on smallpox and measles in the Latin editions of the *Canon of Medicine* includes chapters: *De variolis* (Cap. 6) – *About smallpox*; *De signis apparitionis variolarum* / *Signa apparitionis variolarum* (Cap. 7) – *About the signs of the appearance of smallpox / Signs of the appearance of smallpox*; *De morbillo* (Cap. 8) – *About measles*; *De signis salutis eius* / *Signa salutis eius* (Cap. 9) – *About the signs of their appearance / Signs of their appearance*; *De cura* / *Cura* (Cap. 10) – *About the treatment*; *De opservatione membrorum, & defensione eorum a nocumento variolarum, & morbillorum (morbilli)* (Cap. 11) – *About observation parts [of the face and body] and their protection against the harmful effects of smallpox and measles*; *De eradicatione vestigiorum variolarum* (Cap. 12) – *About eradication of traces of smallpox*. Avicenna 1507: 416'–418' (Cap. 1–12); Avicenna 1595b: 72–76.

[25] Bojanin 2021: 72; *Id.* 2023: 108, 110, 112.

[26] *HMK* 1989, 97–157, 293–354.

[27] Grmek 1961: 34–35.

[28] Dioscorides 2000; *Id.* 2017.

manuscript, the *Circa instans* usually contains between about 250 and 280 descriptions of medicinal drugs.[29] The List of Simple Remedies in the HMC contains 145 chapters dedicated to individual medicinal drugs of plant, mineral, or animal origin. It provides information about their basic properties according to humor theory, origin, appearance, characteristics, shelf life, how they can be used in the treatment of various diseases and ailments, and how to use them as specific treatments.[30]

Treatments for the eyes of those suffering from smallpox and measles are contained in the last chapter of HMC's treatise on the plague, smallpox, and measles, called '**ѿ знанїꙗ, коє ѕдовѣ потрѣбѕє чѕвати wт(ъ) вариwлъ или wт(ъ) мор'билw**' (On the knowledge of which limbs must be protected from smallpox or measles).[31] The content of this chapter almost entirely corresponds to the eleventh chapter in the Latin translations of Avicenna's tractate on plague, smallpox, measles, and other related diseases called *De observatione membrorum, & defensione eorum a nocumento variolarum, & morbillorum / morbilli* (On the observation of parts [of the face and body] and their protection against the harmful effects of smallpox and measles).[32] This chapter mentions the possibility of sores appearing and certain parts of the face and internal organs being affected by these diseases, along with measures for prevention and treatment. If sores appear on the eye, Avicenna warns that the afflicted may lose the eye or that it may turn white.[33] To prevent sores from forming, he says it is best to protect the eye with alcohol from *almuri* (Old Serbian: **алкоχолъ wт(ъ) алмир'ри**, Latin: almuri), coriander water (**wт(ъ) водє wт(ъ) коріанъдрw**, aqua coriandri), and rose water (*rodosta*) (**wт(ъ) родоста**, aqua ros.), in which several sumacs (**сѕмак**, sumach) and camphor (**камфор**, camphor) have previously been soaked ('fermented'). This should be applied to the afflicted as soon as the first symptoms of smallpox or measles appear. If these ingredients are not available, only *almuri* (**алмѕри**, almuri) is good for use as an eye ointment.[34]

According to research by Charles Perry, the Arabic medicine *murri* (Arabic: *murrī*) was a liquid seasoning most commonly made from *būdhaj*, which is completely rotten barley dough. Together with *kāmakh* and *bunn*, *murrī* was one of the most prized rotten seasonings in medieval Arab cuisine. The word *būdhaj*, derived from Old Persian *pudag* (rotten), most often appears in recipes in Arabized forms such as *fudhaj* or *fudhanj*.[35] Perry also refers to recipes for making *būdhaj*, which are preserved in two culinary books, the tenth-century *Kitab al-Tabikh* and the thirteenth-century *Kitab Wasf*. A recipe for *būdhaj* is

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29 Ventura 2010; *Id*. 2016; Bojanin 2017: 281; *Id.* 2022, 137–138.
Circa instans is preserved in many enlarged or revised copies, including translations into vernacular languages (Grmek 1961: 40; Ventura 2010; Bojanin 2017, 283, n. 32). The editions used here are Camus 1886; Dorveaux 1913; Ventura 2009.

30 Grmek 1961: 34–35; Katić 1977: 193–275; *Id.* 1981: 129–135; *HMK* 1989: XXXIII–XXXIV (Katić); Katić 1990: 20; Bojanin 2012: 9–15; *Id.* 2017: 279–282.

31 *HMK* 1989: 76–77.

32 Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76. See also: Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 136; Avicenna 4: 276–277.

33 *HMK* 1989: 76–77, 273. See also: Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76; Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 136; Avicenna 4: 276.

34 *HMK* 1989: 273. See also: Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76; Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 136; Avicenna 4: 276.

35 Perry 1988: 169.

also incorporated into one of the *murrī* recipes in the *Kitab Wasf*. Perry also discovered that the recipe for *murrī* from the thirteenth-century *Baghdad Cookery Book* contains incorrect instructions for making *būdhaj*.[36] All the recipes indicate that *būdhaj* was made from either barley flour or equal parts of barley and wheat, and without leaven or salt. Loaves or cakes (according to the recipe in the *Kitab Wasf*, each should weigh one Egyptian *ratl*[37]), which were well-kneaded either dry or with hot water, should be pierced in the middle, wrapped in the leaves and twigs of male figs, and then sprinkled with bran. The loaves or cakes should then be either spread somewhere, placed in a closed container, or buried under ash or straw to ferment for forty to seventy days, after which they were removed and dried. When broken, if the raw bread was seen to contain red roots, then it was fully ripe and well-dried. According to the recipe from *Kitab al-Tabikh*, pieces of hot unleavened bread could also be placed between the loaves, which would accelerate the formation of additional decay and vegetation. At the end of the drying process, decay and cobwebs were to be removed with a knife, and the loaves were crushed in a mortar or ground into flour, which was then used as a seasoning or for making *murrī*.[38]

After the preparation of *būdhaj*, one could proceed to make *murrī*. Two recipes for *murrī* have survived, both of which are found in the *Kitab Wasf*. One recipe describes the '*murrī* of the Iraqis,' and it seems to have later appeared in the *Baghdad Cookery Book*. The other is a recipe for 'infused *murrī* of the North Africans.' The first receipe calls for thirty *ratl*s of *fudhanj* (*būdhaj*) flour and thirty ratls of fine wheat flour (or five ratls each, according to the *Baghdad Cookery Book*). First, the wheat flour should be kneaded well without leaven and salt, baked, dried, and finely ground, then placed in a green washtub together with *fudhanj* flour, twenty *ratl*s of salt, two *rub*s of fennel, and one *rub* of nigella seeds). Then it is left in the sun during the summer heat for forty days and kneaded well three times a day (in the morning, at noon, and in the evening) and sprayed with water. When it turns black, it should be placed in preserving jars, covered with an equal amount of water, and left for another two weeks, during which it should be stirred in the morning and evening. After fermentation (when it swells and settles), the mixture is strained, and this yields the first infusion or *murrī*. The drained residue (sediment) is returned to the vessel (trough), covered with an equal amount of water, and left for another two weeks. When bubbles appear, the second infusion is strained and combined with the first. A third infusion of *murrī* can also be obtained from the residue, which should also be added to the first and second. If the *murrī* is too salty, jujubes are added. To achieve sweet *murrī*, honey and treacle (sweet, uncrystallized syrup) were added to the obtained infusion, which bubbles up and turns black. Saffron, cinnamon, and other good spices were also added to the *murrī*.[39]

For the 'infused *murrī* of the North Africans,' instead of wheat flour, only a certain amount of *būdhaj* was used, to which five measures of flavored salt were added, as well as five measures of dry thyme, milled dry coriander, cumin, nigella seeds, fenugreek, anise, and slightly more fennel. This mixture was then placed in a new wide-mouthed container

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36 *Ibid*.

37 For measurements appearing in prescriptions for *būdhaj* and *murrī*, see: Rebstock 2008.

38 Perry 1988: 172–173.

39 *Ibid*.: 169, 173–174.

or one greased with oil and placed on the roof to be exposed to the sun for most of the day. Water was added to the mixture to achieve a paste or syrup consistency (treacle), as well as abundant quantities of broken carob, fennel roots, lemon leaves, hearts of branches of bitter orange, and two or three pine nuts. When the seeds surfaced, the mixture was stirred with a stick made of fig wood with branches, and a sieve woven from bast and esparto was placed over it, then covered with a cloth to keep out wasps and flies from entering. Water was frequently added to the mixture, and then it was left in the sun for forty days to ferment. After that, for every ten Egyptian *ratl*s, a third of a *ratl* of baked crumbs (coarse wheat flour) kneaded with yeast was added. Then it was broken into crumbs and left in the sun for another ten days. Then the first, highest-quality extraction could be strained and placed in glass containers sealed with oil. To obtain the second infusion of *murrī*, water was again added to the sediment, which was left in the sun for forty days. It was then strained and hot bread added to it. It was then left for another ten days and finally strained again. A third or even fourth series of *murrī* could be obtained by repeating the same process. The strained mixture was dried in the shade and could be used as a seasoning for some dishes.[40]

This infusion of *murrī* obtained after the first or repeated fermentations, may be the 'alcohol from almiri/almuri' (**алкоχѳлъ шт(ъ) алмир'ри**, **алмѯри**) in the HMC's treatise on smallpox and measles. The pharmacopoeia in the *Canon of Medicine* (Book II) contains a chapter on *murrī*, which is said to be dry and hot in the second or third degree. When determining the degree of heat for this substance, a distinction is made between fish *murrī* and barley *murrī*. The *Canon*'s pharmacopoeia states that *murrī* should be applied to the eyes at the onset of smallpox to prevent the eruption of pustules. *Murrī* supposedly helped with ulcerous intestines. In addition to *murrī* prepared from salted fish, there is mention of a *murrī* made from salted meat, both of which were said to prevent the spread of malignant ulcers. This type of *murrī* is believed to have been a marinade or jelly (aspic) made from fish or meat.[41] Considering that ordinary people pronounce *al-muri* with a single *r*, Arabic lexicographers generally assumed that *murrī* was a foreign word. Therefore, the Arabic word *murri*/*almuri*/ *almira* is believed to be derived from the Greek term *halmyris* (salty thing), which further suggests a connection with the Greek sauce *garos* or the Roman *garum*, which is a brine of fermented fish. Although the *murrī* in the recipes in the *Kitab Wasf* did not contain fish, it had certain similarities with the Greek *garos*. Both substances were salty liquid seasonings produced by long fermentation. In the case of *garos*, fish were not actually fermented but instead underwent enzymatic autolysis, as the salty environment prevented microbial decay. However, it is not certain that the type of *murrī* from these Persian books originated as a variant of Greek *garos*.[42]

In the *Kitab Wasf*, a 'Byzantine *murrī*' is also described, which was not made from completely rotten bread but was instead based on toasted bread and caramelized honey. According to this recipe, three *ratl*s of toasted honey and ten loaves of finely ground toasted bread should be added to half a *ratl* of starch, two *uqiyahs* of baked anise, caraway, and nigella seeds (likely referring to the black seeds of this plant), one *uqiyah* of Byzantine

[40] *Ibid*.: 169, 174.
[41] Avicenna 1507: 136; Avicenna 1595a: 360; Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 421. Cf. Avicenna 2: 493–494.
[42] Perry 1988: 169–170. See also: Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 421, n. 1.

saffron and celery seeds, half a *ratl* of Syrian carob, fifty peeled walnuts (half a *ratl*), five split quinces, half a *makkuk* of salt dissolved in honey, and thrity *ratl*s of water. All the ingredients were cooked together over low heat until a third of the water evaporated, and then it was well-strained into a clean bag and placed in a greased glass or pottery container with a narrow neck. Finally, a little lemon was added. If a little water was poured onto the dough, boiled, and strained, a second infusion could be obtained.[43] This type of Byzantine unfermented *murrī* seems to have been known among ordinary people in Spain as well. The *Manuscrito Anonimo*, a work from the thirteenth century states that, regarding *al-murri*, only the infusion should be used, as well as *murrī* made from grape juice with spices and without toasted bread. *Murrī* made from toasted honey and toasted bread, made by common people, should by no means be used, as it tends to produce 'black bile' (melancholy) and has neither benefit nor a sharp taste. Here, a similarity is observed between the *murrī* to which a mixture of honey and patoka is added (*murrī of the Iraqis*) and the Byzantine and Spanish *murrī* based on honey or grape juice.[44]

As mentioned earlier, alcohol or a *murrī* infusion was recommended a treatment to protect the eyes from smallpox and measles in combination with coriander juice and rose water, in which several sumacs and camphor had been soaked. Coriander[45] (Greek: *κορίαννον*; Latin: *coriandrum*, *coliandrum*; Old Serbian: **коріан'дрѫмъ**, **кѫлиан'дрѫмъ**) is described in the List of Simple Remedies in the *Hilandar Medical Codex* (**Ѿт(ъ) коріан'дрѫмъ**), where it is said to be the seed of a herb that can often be found.[46] However, the coriander water mentioned in the treatise on smallpox and measles in the HMC was probably obtained from the plant's boiled leaves. Sumac (Arabic, Persian: *summāq*; Latin: *sumach*; Old Serbian: **сѫмак**) refers to a small, stone-like, sour fruit the size of a lentil that is green or red in color, and to the seed of a tree of the same name that is still widely used in the Middle East, primarily as a spice.[47] Rose water was widely applied in medical treatments as one of the ingredients in numerous ointments, balms, and other complex medicines. The Old Serbian term for rose water (**родостома** – 'rodostoma') is derived from **родомон**, which comes from the Greek name for rose (*ρόδον*).[48] A method for making rose water is given in the chapter on roses (**Ѿт(ъ) ръци. Ѿт(ъ) рожѣ. Съірѣч(ъ) рѫжица**) in the HMC's pharmacological list of simple remedies. Roses were to be picked while still not fully in bloom and the fresh petals placed in a covered container with an opening at the bottom under which a glass container was placed. A fire lit beneath the vessels created steam

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43 Perry 1988: 170, 174–175.

44 *Ibid*.: 170, 175.

45 The botanical name for coriander is: *Coriandrum sativum* L., *f. Umbelliferae*. Hooper, Field 1937: 106; Simonović 1959: 140; Tucakov 1971: 368–369; Katić 1982: 89; *Id.* 1987: 73; Stannard 1999: XVII 419; Paavilainen 2009: 343, 509; Jarić i dr. 2011: 607; Quattrocchi 2016: 1131–1132

46 *HMK* 1989: 131, 329. See also: Camus 1886: 55; Dorveaux 1913: XIII, 205. The *Canon*'s pharmacopoeia states that a poultice of coriander leaves prevents unhealthy matter from enthering the eye. Avicenna 1507: 104–104'; Avicenna 1595a: 294–295; Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 352, 355–356; Avicenna 2: 315–319.

47 The scientific name of sumac is *Rhus Coriaria* L., *f. Anacardiaceae*. Hooper, Field 1937: 164; Simonović 1959: 399; Quattrocchi 2016: 3209. See also: Camus 1886: 124; Dorveaux 1913: XV, 179, 246; Ventura 2009: 751–752; Avicenna 1507: 153; Avicenna 1595a: 395; Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 461–462; Avicenna 2: 1057–1060.

48 Katić 1982: 128; *Id.* 1987: 116. The botanical name for the genus of roses is *Rosa* L.*, f. Rosaceae*. Simonović 1959: 402–403; Paavilainen 2009: 554; Jarić i dr. 2011: 612; Quattrocchi 2016: 3237–3240.

that dripped through the opening into the bottom glass container in the form of rose water. The water was then left to stand in a well-sealed glass container in the sun for thrity days before it could be used.[49]

Camphor (Arabic, Persian: *kāfūr*; Latin: *camphor*; Old Serbian: **камфоръ**) is a white, crystalline, aromatic drug in the form of the solid part of an essential oil or resin obtained from the high tropical evergreen tree *Cinnamomum camphora* Nees et Eberm, *f. Lauraceae*, which originated in the Far East. It is one of the most valuable and luxurious resins, and it has been used since ancient times as an ingredient in many medicines and perfumes. It was ingested or used for embalming and fumigation. Europeans obtained it from the Arabs in the sixth century. Its use has also been recored in several practical recipes for eye diseases.[50] The HMC's pharmacological list of simple remedies also contains a chapter on camphor. It states that, according to Dioscorides and other scholars, camphor is obtained from the juice of a plant harvested in May. Good camphor was considered to be light, pure, and bright like glass. Camphor is also recommended here for use in treatments for various diseases and ailments and in combination with rose water for treating the eyes. Camphor mixed with rose water was strained through a clean red cloth. This medicinal liquid was then applied to the eyes with a soaked feather in cases of inflammation of the mucous membrane ('for those experiencing intense heat in the eyes').[51]

As another treatment for the eyes, the treatise on smallpox and measles recommends taking *alcohol* (**алкохѡлъ**, alcohol) and grinding it very finely. The finely ground *alcohol* should then be placed in coriander water (**въ вѡдѣ ѡт(ъ) кѯлиан'дрє**, aqua coriandri; coliandium) and sumac water, to which a little camphor should be added. This should then be frequently applied to the eye.[52] Here, *alcohol* refers to *kohl* (Persian: *kohl*, *al-kuḥl*, *kuḥūl*, *surmah*; Arabic: *ithmīd*, *kohl*), an ancient substance made mostly from lead sulfide (*galena*)[53] or from stibnite, i.e., powdered antimony, used in eye cosmetics and medicine for eye diseases. The Arabic and Persian word *kohl*, as well as the Syriac-Aramaic *kuhla*, were derived from the Akkadian term *guhlu(m)*, which specifically denotes stibnite (*stibium*) or antimony (*antimonium*). The Greek form *στίβι* and the Latin *stibium*, however, were derived from the Egyptian word *msdmt*, which was used for eye-paint in general and black in particular. Kohl is still widely used in the Middle East, South Asia, and in North, West, and Northeast Africa as an eye pencil for outlining and darkening the eyelids and eyelashes, even for children. The contents of kohl and how it is prepared vary by country and tradition. In ancient Egypt, it was used as early as the predynastic period to protect

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[49] *HMK* 1989: 149–150, 348–349. See also: Dorveaux 1913: XV, 164–167; Ventura 2009: 682–683. The properties and effects of several types of roses are described in the pharmacopoeia of the *Canon*. Avicenna 1507: 146–146'; Avicenna 1595a: 380–381; Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 223–225, 424–425; Avicenna 2: 369–371, 938–943.

[50] Simonović 1959: 123; Tucakov 1971: 330; Paavilainen 2009: 399; Jarić i dr. 2011: 607; Quattrocchi 2016: 955; Amar, Lev 2017: 67, 134, 144–148. Cf. Katić 1982: 86; *Id.* 1987: 69.

[51] *HMK* 1989: 122, 318–319. See also: Dorveaux 1913: XIII, 36–38, 201; Ventura 2009: 314–315. Cf. Avicenna 1507: 102'–103; Avicenna 1595a: 291; Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 322–323; Avicenna 2: 185–187.

[52] *HMK* 1989, 77, 273. See also: Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76. The Russian edition of the *Canon of Medicine* mentions "boiled khol" (Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 136). The English translation of the Persian version of the *Canon* mentions "ordinary khol" (Avicenna 4: 276).

[53] The HMC's list of simple remedies contains a chapter on lead (Serbian: *olovo*) – **Ѡт(ъ) пѯмблѯмъ. Съирѣч(ъ) ѡлѡв(ѡ)**. *HMK* 1989, 149, 348. See also: Dorveaux 1913: XV, 162–163; Ventura 2009 (*plumbum*).

against eye diseases, and it was later used as a cosmetic for the eyes made from *galena* (lead sulfide). Camphor and medicinal herbs were also added to kohl as eye medicine in Ayurvedic and Indian classical herbal medicine.[54] The *Canon*'s pharmacopoeia also states that *antimonium* ('substantia plumbi mortui') protects the eyes and removes infections.[55]

The treatise also states that, at the beginning of an infection, it is also very good to apply juice from the 'seeds of the sour pomegranate' (**сокомъ wт(ъ) зрънъ wт(ъ) кисѣлїихъ шипъкъ**)[56] to the eye, and recommends frequently applying camphor (**с кам'форwмъ**) and rose water (**с родостомъ**) immediately before the appearance of exanthemas.[57] In sixteenth-century Latin translations and the Russian translation of the Arabic version of the *Canon*, the use of pomegranate pulp juice (Latin: succus pulpae / pulpe granatorum) is also advised at the first stages of the disease, and a mixture of kohl, rose water and camphor (Latin: alcohol cum aqua ros. & camphora) immediately after the eruption of exanthema.[58] In the Latin editions, kohl mixed with white naphtha (alcohol cum naphta alba) is also recommended.[59] *Naphta alba* (Arabic, Persian: *nift*), or white bitumen, refers to white refined naphthalene (*napthalanum liquidum raffinarum*), a medicinal type of oil from the city of Naftalan in Azerbaijan, which has been used since ancient times to treat skin diseases. The chapter on naphtha in Book II of the *Canon* claims that white naphtha is rare yet helpful for pain in the legs and joints, among other things. It also claims that naphtha is useful for treating opacity of the cornea, cataracts, and eye wounds in general.[60]

Further on in the Old Serbian treatise on smallpox and measles, the use of pistachio oil (**маслo wт(ъ) фицици**, oleum de fisticis) is also recommended.[61] The Latin term *fistici* (Old Serbian: **фицици**) comes from the Persian *fistak*, *pistah* (Arabic: *fustuq*).[62] The *Circa*

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54 Sweha 1982; Tiffany-Castiglioni and others 2012: 4; Avicenna 2: 262–263. Even today, in North Africa and the Middle East, kohl is usually made from galenite powder, while in the West, amorphous carbon or organic charcoal are generally used instead of lead. Some studies suggest there is a danger in using this type of cosmetics, namely possible lead poisoning, but others refute this. Mahmood and others 2009; Tiffany-Castiglioni and others 2012.

55 Avicenna 1507: 89; Avicenna 1595a: 261–262; Avicenna 2: 262–264.

56 Pomegranate (Latin. *malum granata*; *mala granata*; *malum punicum*) is the fruit of the plant *Punica granatum* L., *f. Punicaceae*, while its common name is *pomme granate* (Serbian: *granat-jabuka*). Hooper, Field 1937: 159–160; Simonović 1959: 387; Tucakov 1971: 478–480; Paavilainen 2009: 457; Jarić i dr. 2011: 612; Quattrocchi 2016: 3142–3143. The list of simple remedies in the HMC also contains a chapter on pomegranate fruits (**Wт(ъ) малорѣм(ъ) гранаторѣмъ. Сърѣч(ъ) великъıи шипции**), otherwise called *veliki shiptsi* (**великъıи шипции**), and mentions that they can be sweet or sour (*HMK* 1989: 138, 336). See also: Camus 1886: 87; Dorveaux 1913: XIV, 54, 225; Ventura 2009: 567–569. The pharmacopoeia of the Russian translation of the *Canon* states that the juice of sour pomegranate helps with pterygoid hymen (a degenerative change in the conjunctiva and cornea). Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 580–581. Cf. Avicenna 1507: 120'; Avicenna 1595a: 328–329; Avicenna 2: 877–882.

57 *HMK* 1989: 77, 273.

58 Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76; Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 136. Cf. Avicenna 4: 276 (the mention of khol is ommitted in this edition).

59 Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76.

60 Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 434; Avicenna 2: 130–131.

61 *HMK* 1989: 273. Cf. *Ibid*.: 77, 434 (In this edition **фицици** are wrongly identified as figs).

62 Avicenna 2: 867; Paavilainen 2009: 550. Pistachios are fruits of the plant *Pistacia vera L., f. Anacardiaceae*. Simonović 1959: 360; Quattrocchi 2016: 2962–2963.

instans versions clearly state that *fistici* is another name for pistachios (*pistace*/*pistaceae*).[63] The Old Serbian treatise states that women 'in our country' often apply pistachio oil when they see smallpox or measles in their eyes. It also claims that pistachio oil is highly effective at clarifying and cleansing the eyes and removing smallpox or measles.[64] The *Canon* explains in more detail that this oil will cleanse and brighten the eyes in the event of cataracts (Latin: caliginem, cataracta; Old Serbian: **павлага** – *pavlaga*[65]). Here it is also advised to rub the eyes with a white ointment or white collyrium (Latin: *collyrium album*) after an outbreak of smallpox.[66]

As demonstrated here, the eye treatments contained in the HMC's treatise on smallpox and measles correspond almost completely to treatments from Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*, from which this Old Serbian medical text originates. Among the medicines mentioned as eye treatments in the Old Serbian manuscript, a specific Arabic medicine—*murri*—is first mentioned, which could be of plant or animal origin depending on the type. The other medicines most frequently appear in the form of parts of plants (coriander, rose), fruits (sumac, pomegranate), oils from plant fruits (pistachio oil), and resin (camphor). There is also a medicine made of *kohl* (lead sulfide [galena] or stibnite [antimony] in powder form), which comes from a mineral. Alcohol from *al-murri* was considered the best medicine for protecting the eyes from the formation of wounds due to smallpox or measles, and it could be used alone or in combination with coriander water, rose water, sumac, and camphor. Another recipe involved using a mixture made from ground kohl, coriander juice, sumac juice, and a bit of camphor. Pomegranate juice was advised for treating the eyes at the beginning of the infection, and a combination of camphor and rose water just before the appearance of exanthema. Pistachio oil was recommended after the appearance of exanthema in the eyes, and it served to remove wounds, cleanse, and brighten the eyes. Avicenna's treatise on smallpox and measles also mentions white naphtha and white collyrium, which do not appear in the Old Serbian manuscript.

The pharmacopoeia of the *Canon of Medicine* (Book II) also mentions *murri*'s medicinal properties for protecting the eyes from smallpox and measles. There were several types of this medicine or spice, among which two were most common: one was a fermented liquid substance made from completely rotted barley dough, and the other was prepared from salted fish or salted meat, which was generally recommended in the *Canon*'s pharmacopoeia for combating malignant ulcers. It cannot be determined with certainty which type is referred to in the treatise on smallpox and measles, or how extensively this medicine was actually used in practice. Some of the other medicines mentioned here also appear in the pharmacopoeias of the *Canon* and the HMC as being effective for eye diseases. In the *Canon*, white naphtha also appears as a remedy for treating eye wounds, and pistachio

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63 Pistachios are said to be hot and moist and are the fruit of a tree that grows "across the sea," and resembles pine nuts. Camus 1886: 105; Dorveaux 1913: XV, 162, 236; Ventura 2009: 842. There is also a chapter on pistachios in the Pharmacopoeia in the *Canon of Medicine* (Book II), where they are described as bitter and pleasantly fragrant, while Syrian pistachios resemble pine nuts. Among other uses, pistachio oil is recommended for liver pain. Abu Ali Ibn Sina II: 526–527; Avicenna 2: 867–869.

64 *HMK* 1989: 273.

65 *Ibid*.: 422.

66 Avicenna 1507: 418'; Avicenna 1595b: 76. See also: Abu Ali Ibn Sina IV: 136; Avicenna 4: 276–277.

oil is recommended for cataracts. The list of simple remedies in the HMC also recommended a mixture of camphor and rose water as a treatment for diseases of the eye. Most of the Old Serbian names for these medicines were originally Arabic names—al-murri (**алмѫри**, **алмир'ри**), camphor (**камфора**), sumac (**сѫмак**), kohl (**алкохѡлъ**)—that were adopted through Latin medical texts. Pistachios, or *fìshtitsi* (**фицици**), however, appear in the typical Persian form. *Rodosta*, the Old Serbian name for rose water (**родоста**) and coriander (**корїан'дрѫмъ**) come from Greek, and the word for pomegranate is Serbian: *shipak*, *shiptsi* (**шипъкъ**, **шипции**).

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МАРИНА ШТЕТИЋ
Универзитет у Београду
Филозофски факултет

ОЧНИ ТРЕТМАНИ У СПИСУ О ВЕЛИКИМ И МАЛИМ БОГИЊАМА *ХИЛАНДАРСКОГ МЕДИЦИНСКОГ КОДЕКСА*

Резиме

Хиландарски медицински кодекс представља зборник старосрпских лекарских списа из средине 16. века (око 1550–1560), који се чува у Хиландару под бројем 517. Списи *ХМК* настали су у виду латинских превода најзначајнијих дела средњовековне европске медицине, засноване на теоријама и учењима најистакнутијих античких и арапских лекара. Старосрпски спис о великим и малим богињама (вариолама и морбилама), који заједно са списом о куги чини један трактат, потиче из IV књиге *Канона медицине*, дела чувеног персијског лекара и филозофа Авицене (980–1037). Спис је настао на основу неког од издања латинског превода *Канона медицине*, који је са арапског преведен крајем XII века у Толеду, од стране Герарда из Кремоне, премда латински предложак који је послужио за старосрпски превод није познат. Тртман за заштиту од избијања богиња у очима и њихово лечење налази се у последњем поглављу трактата о куги и богињама *ХМК* под насловом: **Ѡⷪ знанїꙗ, кое ѕдовѣ потрѣбѕе чѕвати шт(ъ) вариѡлъ или шт(ъ) мор'билѡ** (*О познавању (тога) које удове је потребно чувати од вариоле или морбиле*). Садржај овог поглавља скоро у потпуности одговара 11. поглављу Авиценине трактата о куги, вариолама, морбилама и болестима сличног рода, садржаном у латинским издањима *Канона* из 1507. и 1595. године (*De opservatione membrorum, & defensione eorum a nocumento variolarum, & morbillorum* / *morbilli*).

Најбољим леком за заштиту ока од стварања рана услед вариола и морбила сматрао се *алкохол од алмире* или *алмури* (стсрп. **алкохолъ шт(ъ) алмир'ри**, **алмѕри**; лат. almuri), који се могао користити самостално или у комбинацији са водом од коријандера (**коріан'дрѕмъ**, **кѕлиан'дрѕмъ**; coriandrum, coliandrum) и ружином водицом (**родоста**, aqua ros.), сумаком (**сѕмак**, sumach) и камфором (**камфор**, camphor). *Мури* или *алмури* представља специфичну материју арапског порекла, добијену сложеним поступком, која је коришћена као лек и зачин. Постојало је више врста мурија, од којих су две најпознатије. Једна представља мури у виду ферментисане течне супстанце настале од потпуно иструлелог јечменог теста. Друга врста је мури припремљен од усољене рибе или усољеног меса. На основу списа о вариолама и морбилама не може се тврдити са сигурношћу о којој врсти је реч и колико је овај лек заиста имао примену у пракси. За превенцију од стварања рана у очима препоручује се и употреба смесе од иситњеног *алкохола* (**алкоχѡлъ**, alcohol), сока од коријандера, сока од сумака и мало камфора. *Алкохол* представља *кохл*, односно олово-сулфид (галенит) или стибнит (антимон) у праху, који су се од давнина користили за лечење очних болести, али и у козметици, за исцртавање очију црном бојом. На почетку заразе саветован је и сок од зрна киселог нара (**сокъ шт(ъ) зрънъ шт(ъ) кисѣлїихъ шипъкъ**), а непосредно пре појаве егзантема у очима камфор и ружина водица. Уље од пистаћа (**масло шт(ъ) фицици**, oleum de fisticis) употребљавано је након појаве богиња у очима, у функцији одстрањивања рана, чишћења и посветљивања ока.

За разлику од мурија, материје биљног или животињског порекла, и кохла као дроге минералног порекла, све остале лековите супстанце добијене су од делова биљака (коријандер,

латице ружа), као и њихових плодова у виду воћа (сумак, нар, пистаћи) или смоле (камфор). У Авиценином трактату јављају се и *бела нафта* (*naphta alba*), тј. бели нафталан, као и *бели колирцијум* (*collyrium album*), који нису присутни у старосрпском рукопису. Смеса од камфора и ружине водице се у терапији за очне болести препоручује и у поглављу о камфору унутар списа о једноставним лековима *ХМК*, који представља прилагођени превод чувеног дела *Circa instans* медицинске школе у Салерну из друге половине XII века. Већина старосрпских назива поменутих лекова представља оригинално арапска имена (алмури, камфор, сумак, кохл), усвојена посредством латинских медицинских текстова, док се пистаћи јављају у типично персијском облику (перс. *fistak*; арап. *fustuq*). Старосрпска имена за ружину водицу (*родоста*) и коријандер потичу из грчког језика, док зрна нара носе српски назив (шипак, шипци).

Кључне речи: очна терапија, спис о великим и малим богињама, *мури* (*алмури*), *Хиландарски медицински кодекс*, Авицена, *Канон медицине*, старосрпски медицински списи, 16. век.

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KSENIJA AYKUT
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology, Department of Oriental Studies
0000-0001-9775-0024
ksenija.aykut@fil.bg.ac.rs

MARIJA MITIĆ
University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Italian and Ibero-American Studies
0009-0001-0931-2444
marija.mitic@ff.uns.ac.rs

CORRESPONDENCE OF VENETIAN EMISSARIES IN CONSTANTINOPLE: TURKISMS IN THEIR EPISTLES AND THEIR LINGUISTIC FORMS IN THE BALKANS

Abstract: The political and trade ties between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century significantly impacted cultural history and linguistic development. Skilled in the Ottoman language and the art of drafting official epistles, Venetian dragomans facilitated the incorporation of many Ottoman words into Italian, where they persist today. This linguistic exchange is documented in the reports of Venetian envoys in Constantinople, who recorded numerous Turkisms, including, political and economic terminology in particular and terms denoting occupations in the Ottoman Empire. Many of these Turkisms have remained in use in the Balkans. These reports are therefore vital cultural artifacts and valuable sources for researching culture, literature, and linguistics in Turkey, Italy, and the Balkans.

Keywords: Italian comparative studies, Turkisms, epistles, reports, cultural history, literary history, history of language, Ottoman Empire, Republic of Venice, Balkans.

Beginning in the Middle Ages, the Republic of Venice[1] played an important role in establishing relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The reasons for the establishing ties between Venice and the Ottoman Empire were primarily commercial and economic, which is why diplomacy between the two was initiated. Between

[1] The Venetian Republic (*La Repubblica di Venezia*, in some sources also known as the *Serenissima*) existed from 1172 to 1797. It was one of the most prominent city-states that played an important role in trade and economic ties between Europe and the Middle East. In addition to diplomatic and economic ties, this maritime republic also had significant ties with the Middle East related to culture and social exchange (Zorzi 2012: 10–51; Diedo 1751: 23–55).

the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, trade ties became increasingly fruitful, and the Venetians sent representatives to strengthen diplomatic relations with the Ottomans, the most important of whom was the *bailo*[2] in Constantinople.[3]

Much valuable information was recorded in the epistles of the Venetian envoys (*lettere missive e lettere familiari*) and in travelogues (*relazioni dei viaggi e diari dei viaggi*) regarding politics, economy, and diplomacy as well as culture, literature and linguistics.[4] It is precisely for this reason that these documents written by the Venetians in Constantinople are very important sources for studying history and the history of literature and culture; but it is in the domain of language history that they form an important part of Italian cultural heritage. The language in which the epistles were written is fascinating for the study of language history because these epistles are the only surviving sources written in the Venetian dialect of Old Italian,[5] and they also contain a large number of Provençalisms[6] and words from Turkish. The presence of a lexicon from Turkish related to politics, culture, and everyday life confirms that the influence of Ottoman culture and language on the study of Italian lexicology during the late Middle Ages, humanism, and the Renaissance was significant.[7]

In this paper, we deal with the lexicon represented in the correspondence of the Venetian envoys in Constantinople, which inevitably became the subject of reports from the Ottoman court. This lexicon reflected to the greatest extent the influence of Turkish during a certain period and includes words that were used in the Venetian dialect in this corpus. Some of these have remained permanently in modern Italian which still uses them and is why we can qualify them as Turkisms in Italian.

Unlike Italian, Turkish had a much greater influence on the languages of the people within the Ottoman Empire, and a large number of Turkish words remained permanently in the vocabularies of primarily Balkan languages. In our analysis of the Turkish words used in Venetian historical writings, we will also show the forms and derivatives adopted into Balkan languages, where they have remained and are completely woven into the linguistic fabric. We will use examples from Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian, which are the languages

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2 The term *bailo* (lat. *bailus, baylos*) means one who rules, that is, one who leads. From the fifteenth century onward, it denoted the Venetian representative in the Ottoman Empire. This term was first used for the Venetian envoy Bartolomeo Marcello, who concluded a peace treaty with the Ottomans on April 18, 1454 (De Vaan 2008: 68).

3 Dursteler 2001: 1–30; Baldocci 2010: 333–342.

4 Pedani 2005: 18–21; Mitić 2020: 20–35.

5 Old Italian belongs to the Western Romance languages that began forming during the Middle Ages. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire on the Apennine Peninsula, the official language was Latin. However, during the Middle Ages, different variants of Vulgar Latin language began to developing within Late Latinity, from which Italian also originates. Each of the Italian city-states during this period began forming its own variant of the vernacular, often also referred to as the vulgar or *la lingua volgare*. Moreover, starting from the Middle Ages, the tendency to write in the vernacular grew stronger. Thus, some of the most important works of great authors such as Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch were written in the vernacular, that is, the vulgar. As a result the Tuscan dialect became the basis of the literary Italian language. However, in addition to Tuscan, there are other dialects of the Old Italian language. One of them is Venetian. Given that the Italian literary tradition also values works written in dialects, the reports of the Venetian envoys' reports are important testimonies that form part of the cultural and historical heritage (Morandi 1887: 3–25; Cortelazzo: 1982, 59–73).

6 The Provençal dialect was once a separate language from the Occitan dialect of the Ibero-Romance group, which is spoken today in Italy, Monaco, and France (Anglade 1929: XXX-448).

7 Viallon 2008: 41–60.

with the largest number of adopted Turkish words, which are referred to in linguistics as Turkisms.[8] A contrastive analysis will clearly show the influence of Turkish as a language of peripheral contact on Italian and its influence on Slavic languages through direct interference. Also, it is important to note that dispatches were sent from the Ottoman capital to the Italian city-states via parts of the Balkans. In fact, this area was an intermediate space through which all the letters of the Venetian and other envoys traveled. The dispatches were first sent from Constantinople to Kotor, a port center on the Montenegrin coast that was part of the Venetian Republic at the time, and from there they traveled to other Italian cities. Even dispatches from other European countries, such as France, were dispatched in the same way as letters from Italian envoys.[9] Also, a large number of dragomans engaged in translation work at the *bailo*'s office were of Slavic origin, and in addition to Ottoman Turkish and Venetian, they also knew Serbo-Slavonic. Precisely for the these reasons, the study of the influence of words from Turkish on Venetian is an important topic not only for researchers from Italy and Turkey but also for Balkan researchers from the areas where BCMS[10] is spoken.

1. The role of Venetian dragomans in the process of language transfer

Regarding Turkish influence on Venetian, it is important to note that an important part of this process were the translators, better known as dragomans (*tercüman*), who served as interpreters during negotiations at the sultan's court and played an important role in interpreting written documents. In 1551, the Venetians began educating their first cadres of dragomans, known as "young men of the language" (*giovani della lingua*), who studied other Oriental languages spoken in Constantinople in addition to Turkish and also acquired the skill of writing official epistles.[11]

The study of Oriental languages in Venice began even earlier in the first half of the sixteenth century, and it is linked to the invention of the printing press.[12] However, dragomans have a special place in the process of language transfer, because they served as mediators within a cultural and linguistic context by translating official and unofficial reports by Venetian envoys and books written in Ottoman Turkish.[13] For example, in *Letteratura Turchesca*, Giambattista Toderini, a Jesuit abbot and philosopher from Venice, mentions translations of several books in Italian: *Traduzioni delle dispute di Ibni Yusuf*, *Storia di Emin Celebì*, *Geografia universale di Chiatib Celebì, Spiegaz. della poesia divertimento di Ibrahim Celebì*, and others.[14]

Dragomans significantly contributed to the penetration of the Turkish lexicon into the Venetian language not only through their translations but also by writing official and

[8] Teodosijević 2016: 9–25
[9] Alberi 1855: XIII–XX.
[10] BCSM: Acronym used to refer to the languages spoken in Bosnia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia. For our purposes here, we will use the abbreviation SC.
[11] Hitzel 2013: 23–31.
[12] Tiraboschi 1833: 110–111.
[13] Rothman 2013: 390–421.
[14] Toderini 1737: 60–75.

unofficial epistles. Most likely due to a lack of Italian words for certain terms, they kept the original words from Turkish, which they then adapted to Italian orthography, and as a result, certain words entered Italian and remained as loanwords. This was certainly the case for the corpus we analyzed for this study. For us, loanwords from Turkish in the Venetian epistles are an interesting topic that has not been fully addressed.

Despite a lack of precise linguistic research, there are nevertheless some works dealing with the influence of Oriental cultures on Italian language and culture. Since the nineteenth century, studies on Oriental languages have emerged in Venice and across Italy. For example, in the nineteenth century, the renowned Italian scholar Eugenio Alberi compiled a collection of reports from Italian envoys in Constantinople.[15] Also, the renowned Orientalist Ettore Rossi dealt with the historical connections between Venice and the Ottoman Empire.[16] Finally, the Orientalist Alessio Bombaci dealt with literary and historical linguistic connections.[17] Within these studies, works translated from Ottoman to Italian are discussed, as are the first Turkish grammars and dictionaries printed in Italy. In the nineteenth century, the Italian historian, encyclopedist, and librarian Francesco Predari published *Origine e progresso dello studio delle lingue orientali in Italia*, in which he pointed out that many prominent Italians such as Lorenzo de' Medici, Pico della Mirandola and Angelo Poliziano wanted to promote Oriental cultures and languages. As Predari claims, many of them were also interested in manuscripts written in Oriental languages, including Gregorio Giorgi, a Venetian who established the first Arabic printing press[18] in Europe in 1514 in the Italian city of Fano.[19]

2. The first Turkish grammars and dictionaries in Italy

According to Predari, there were Italian Orientalists, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who wrote the first grammars and dictionaries. Among them, he mentions Maggio, who wrote a manual for Arabic and Turkish orthography, published in Rome in 1670. Additionally, he mentions an Italian–Turkish dictionary by Molino, entitled *Dittionario della lingua italiana e turchesca con l'indice degli vocaboli turcheschi e brevi rudimenti di detta lingua*, that was printed in Rome in 1644. Predari also mentions a Tuscan[20]–Turkish dictionary by a Neapolitan writer named Mascis that was published in Florence in 1677 called *Vocabolario toscano-turchesco arrichito di molte voci arabe, persiane, tartare e grecche, neccessarie alla perfetta cognizione della stessa lingua turchesca, con la giunta di alcuni rudimenti grammaticali*

15 Alberi 1855: 125.

16 Rossi 1943: 364–369.

17 Bombaci 1956.

18 A keen interest in publishing works in Arabic in Venice and in other Italian city-states arose after Alessandro Paganino published the Koran in Arabic in the first half of the sixteenth century. Given that in this period Ottoman was written in the same alphabet as Arabic, interest began to appear in publishing works in the Ottoman language (Barbieri 1991: 127–131).

19 Predari 1822: 427.

20 The Tuscan dialect is a variety of Italian spoken in the area of Tuscany in Italy on which the modern Italian language is based. The Tuscan language became the official language of all Italian city-states after the formation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 (Giacomelli 1975: 179–191).

utili per l'impossessarsi del vero idioma turchesco.[21]

There were, of course, other writers in the seventeenth century. In letters written by the Italian writer, composer, and Orientalist Pietro della Valla, which chronicled his journey to the East (*Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*), he mentions that he had also written a Turkish grammar.[22] In the eighteenth century, the vicar apostolic and philologist Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano published a complex Turkish grammar he had written while in Constantinople on a clerical mission. In the introduction, he explains the subject of writing the manual in which there are separate chapters on nouns, verbs, adverbs and various grammatical constructions.[23]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were Italian Orientalists who distinguished themselves as writers of Turkish grammars and dictionaries, and there were certainly Venetian scholars and writers who made significant contributions to the history of language and literature. Much was written in their epistles about Ottoman literacy and divan literature, but some dictionaries and grammars of the Turkish language were also mentioned. For example, Giovanni Battista Donado, a seventeenth century Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, wrote about Ottoman culture and literature in his memoirs, which were published as *Della letteratura de' Turchi*. In them he also mentioned *Rudimenti della Grammatica Turca* by the consul Andrea di Rier and *Grammatica Turchesca* by Giovanni Agaup, among others.[24]

Interestingly, bailo Donado himself showed a talent for translation and a very good command of Turkish, which is especially evident in his translations of Turkish folk proverbs and verses from divan poetry. He had mostly likely heard these proverbs and verses as part of the oral tradition and recorded them by adapting Turkish words to Italian orthography. He also did some translations for the dragoman Giovanni Rinaldo Carli.[25]

In addition to Donado, a century later another Venetian representative abbot Giovanni Battista Toderini went to Constantinople, and his *Letteratura Turchesca* was published in Venice in 1787. He also recorded his observations about Turkish literacy and culture and pointed out that there were Turkish grammars available then but they were mostly works by French authors.[26]

Although these writers made observations about Turkish grammars and references published in Italian city-states,[27] there seems to be a lack of significant analyses and studies addressing the influence of the Turkish lexicon on Italian. Therefore, we will focus on analyzing a selected corpus of Turkisms related to politics and the military recorded in the epistles of the Venetian envoys.[28]

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21 *Ibid*. 15–16.

22 Della Valle 1843: 8.

23 De Carbognano 1794:7–8.

24 Donado 1683: 426.

25 *Ibid*. 442–450.

26 Toderini 1787: 78.

27 Italian city-states were politically and territorially independent entities that existed on the Apennine Peninsula from the Middle Ages until the founding of the Kingdom of Italy. Beginning in the eleventh century, many Italian cities such as Venice, Milan, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Siena, and others became major trade centers and gained independence from their formal rulers, thus becoming city-states (Martines 1988: 7–58).

28 Here we will not consider examples of Turkism recorded in the travelogues of Venetian envoys.

3. 1. Turkisms in the military and political lexicons

Words from Turkish make up a large part of the military and political terminology in the epistles written by the Venetians in Constantinople. This can be seen in examples of official letters (*lettere missive*) which include reports and dispatches (*relazioni e dispacci*). The bulk of these documents originates from the sixteenth century, but there are also important sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the more significant documents is a report written by the bailo Pietro Bragadin,[29] which dates from the first half of the sixteenth century. This is a passage from Bragadin's report which includes military and political terminology:

> Sono due bilarbei, uno della Grecia, ch'è Ebraim bassà ed ha sotto di sè 35 sangiacchi, ed uno della Natolia, qual ha etiam sangiacchi 35; è unghero, vecchio. [...]
> Disse d' ciaùs, capigi, solachi e salitari, che son certi officj; item dello agà de gianizzeri e che il signor ha gianizzeri 10,000 in piedi tutti. [...]
> Poi disse del caso delle fuste prese per il nostro proveditor dell' armata Busdam Rais qual scrisse una lettera dolendosi molto. [...][30]

Similar vocabulary also appears in a report from the second half of the sixteenth century by the *bailo* Antonio Erizzo.[31]

> La spesa ordinaria che esce dalla casnà si paga di questo modo ed è tale:
> Alli gianizzeri e alli spai.
> Alli arcieri e altri stipendiati a cavallo.
> Alli capiagi della porta.
> Alli agi della casa. [...]
> Alli azamoglani gianizzerari.
> All' emin dell' arsenale.
> All saremin per le spese della strada della città e fuori, e deii sertagli, delle donne e delli garzoni.
> Al beglierbei di Buda.[32]

In Antonio Erizzo's report, there is also an explanation related to the title of the Ottoman sultan. Interestingly, the bailo provides the name of this title in different languages.

Examples of Turkisms related to military and political terminology can also be seen in a report by the bailo Paolo Contarini[33] from the sixteenth century:

> Appresso questa milizia di timatioti vi sono 10 000 spai della Porta, pagati ogni tre mesi dal casnà compartiti sotto sei squadre, ma chiamati ora con due soli nomi, cioè spaoglani e salitari [...][34]

A report by the bailo Gianfrancesco Morosini[35] from the same period also contains

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29 Pietro Bragadin was the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople from 1523 to 1526 (Alberi 1855: 93–94).
30 *Ibid*. 106–108.
31 Antonio Erizzo was the *bailo* in Constantinople from 1554 to 1556 (*Ibid.*125).
32 *Ibid.*130.
33 Paolo Contarini served as the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople from 1580 to 1583. (*Ibid*. 212–214)
34 *Ibid*. 219.
35 Gianfrancesco Morosini was Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople from 1582 to 1585 (Soranzo 1885: 132).

some examples of Turkisms from this field:

> [...] E di continuo sono frattenuti con soldo ordinario 500 reis, che noi chiamiamo sopracomiti, e numero grande di assap, che servono per marinaresca[...][36]

Epistles from seventeenth-century Venetian envoys contain similar military and political terminology. This is evidenced by examples of Turkism in the writings of the bailos Agostino Nani[37] and Simone Contarini[38] published in a collection of reports edited by Barozzi and Berchet:

> [...] La famiglia dell' ambasciator di Francia Chiaus Bassì con più di cento Chiaussi seco erano molti altri principali Turchi. Gianizzeri, Spai ed Amoglani [...][39]
> Giunto a Constantinopoli dipoi, fu dal Gran Signore a contempazione Murat, dichiarato Visir e Beglerbei della Grecia, e dipoi Bassà a Babilonia. [...]
> Poco inanzi al mio partire morì il vecchio Capi Agà che poco sempre valse per sè, e nulla per gli altri.[40]

Here is an example of an epistle from the eighteenth century in which similar terminology appears. It is one of the bailo Francesco Foscari's[41] dispatches from a collection edited and published by Filippo Maria Paladini. These excerpts contain Turkisms that were present during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries:

> Incontrato colà il primo visir, lo seguitassimo, ed avvanzatisi nel primo, poscia nel secondo cortile, apparvero distese le numerose file de' gianizzeri ed altre molte delli differenti uffizi e serviggi di quella vasta casa di gran signore. [...]
> Supplite le formalità precedenti all' ingresso nella camera del sultano, viene condotto dal chiaus-bassì al atrio del ultimo cortile.[...]
> Gl'eunuchi-bianchi formarano due lunghe ali distesi alle pareti del vestibulo.[42]

From the examples from these passages, we have identified the following loanwords from Ottoman Turkish as appearing most frequently in Venetian:

- ***bilarbei*, *beglierbei*** (from tur. *beylerbeyi*, derived from *beyler* [pl.] and *bey* [sing.]) – the supreme military and civil commander of a larger area or province that consisted of several sanjaks. In the Balkans, a derivative was created in the form of anthroponyms, e.g., the surname *Beglerbegović*.[43]
- ***bassà*** (in some sources *bascià*, from *paşa*) a title for high dignitaries and military personnel with the rank of general. This title was always placed after the name.

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36 Alberi, *op.cit.,*263.
37 Agostino Nani was the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople from 1601 to 1603 (Cicogna 1853: 549).
38 Simone Contarini served as the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople from 1608 to 1610 (Del Lungo 1894: 425).
39 Barozzi, Berchet 1866; 23.
40 *Ibid*. 146–147.
41 Francesco Foscari was an eighteenth-century Venetian bailo and ambassador in Constantinople (Preto 1997).
42 Paladini 2007: 25–26.
43 Škaljić 1966: 130.

In Serbo-Croatian (SC) there is the derivative *pašaluk*,[44] meaning either a territory under the administration of a pasha or the office held by a pasha. Personal names have also been recorded (the feminine *Pašana* and masculine *Pašan*,[45]) and surnames such as *Pašić*, *Pašalić*, *Pašagić*.[46]

- ***sangiacchi**,* sing. *sangiacco* (in some sources *sanzacco*, from tur. *sancak*) – 1) flag, banner; 2) a region in the Ottoman Empire 3) a region in Serbia mostly inhabited by Muslims and whose name is domesticated in use in the spoken language.
- ***solachi**,* sing. *solaco* (from tur. *solak*) – 1) left-handed; 2) a member of a special janissary detachment.[47]
- ***chaùs*** (from tur. *çavuş*) – in the Ottoman Empire, a chaush was initially an officer's rank, but in the Janissary units, a chaush was a military commander. A Chaush was also an assistant in a craft organization, a keeper of a telegraph line, or a leader of wedding guests in a wedding procession. In a military band, the *mehter çavuş* was also at the head of the column in the Balkans. In the Balkan region, the surname *Čaušević* is a derivative.[48]
- ***chaùs-bassì*** (compound formed by the possessive construction[49] *çavuş - başı* from tur. *çavuş* i *baş*) - head of the causa, sergeant.
- ***agà*** (in some sources *agha*, from tur. *ağa*) - the original meaning was great, elder, and later gentleman, champion, or landowner. Also, this is a term that referred to all military commanders in the Turkish mercenary army and is added as a title after a personal name (eg., Ahmet-aga).[50]
- ***gianizzeri,*** sing. *gianizzero* (in some sources *iannizero*, from tur. *yeni-çeri,* from *yeni = new* i *çeri = army*) –Janissaries were members of the elite infantry units that comprised the Ottoman sultan's household troops, which were the first modern standing army in Europe.
- ***spai*** (in some sources *spachidi*, from tur. *sipahi* < pers. *sipahi*) – in Serbian *spahija*[51] one who owns a *timar* or *spahiluk* (in SC *spahiluk* is the possession of a *spahija*). The surnames *Spahić* and *Spaho*, which are most often found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are derived from this word,.
- ***azamoglani**,* sing. *azamoglano* (in some sources *azamiglio*, from tur. *acemi* < ar. *agamiyy,* from tur. *acem* < ar. *agam*) - trainee Janissary, candidate Janissaries, a

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44 In accordance with phonetic characteristics, the Turkish four-variant suffix *-lık, -lik, -luk, -lük* in SC was retained only in the form *–luk.*

45 Škaljić, *op.cit,* 512.

46 Aykut 2009: 87.

47 Škaljić*, op.cit.,* 569.

48 Aykut, *op.cit.* 87

49 In Turkish, the semantic and syntactic possessive relation of the genitive construction consists of two nouns. The first noun (lat. *determinans*) closely determines the second (lat. *determinatum*) and functions as its attribute. Therefore, it often stands instead of an adjective. This attribute function of the noun is called the indefinite possessive (genitive) construction (*belirsiz isim tamlaması*).

50 Škaljić, *op.cit,*72.

51 In the Slavic languages of Balkan region, it is characteristic to add the additional suffix *–ja* to the already existing suffixes *–ci* and *–li* to enable declension according to grammatical rules. (Aykut 2021: 81–94).

young male conscript.

- ***emin*** (from tur. *emin* < ar. *amin*)- faithful, safe, trustworthy man. In the Balkans, the personal names *Emin* and *Emina* were derived from this adjective.
- ***saremin*** (from pers. *sar "head"* and from tur. *emin,* from ar. *amīn*). Although this word is not found as a term in the available literature, based on the context of a specific epistle, it seems to refer to the head chamberlain (ser + emin) who accompanied the Sultana and her sons when leaving the palace.
- ***sertagli*** hypercorrection according to *seraglio* (from tur. *saray* < pers. *seray*) - court, palace. In the Balkans, this word gave rise to the name of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina: *Sarajevo* (Saraj-Bosna/ Saraybosna), as well as the inhabitants of Sarajevo in the form *Sarajlija*.
- ***patisciah*** (from tur. *padişah* < pers. *padišah)*- ruler, sultan, king.
- ***sciach*** (from pers. *padišah*) – ruler, king.
- ***cunchiar*** (from pers. *hünkâr*) – It appears from the context of this epistle that the writer was referring to the ruler, i.e., the sultan, since the sentence containing it enumerates the titles of rulers within the Ottoman Empire.
- ***timarioti,*** sing. *timariota* (from tur. *tımar* < ar. *timar*) – a feudal estate in the Ottoman Empire that brought in up to 20,000 akçi annually. In SC, it has remained as a historical term that is a synonym for *spahiluk*.
- ***salatari***, sing. ***slitaro*** (from tur. *silahdar* < tur. *silah* < ar. *silah* + persian suffix –dar) – the title of an official of a vizier or pasha who was an armorer and took care of weapons. In SC it is found in historical literary sources as *silahdar* and *silahtar* and has two phonetic variants - dar/-tar.
- ***spaoglani***, sing. ***spaoglano*** (from tur. *sipahi oğlan* < pers. *sipahi* + tur. *oğlan*) - This expression rarely appears in the sources as a term. It is mostly mentioned as its literal meaning "son of Spahia." For this sense, see the example provided in Shaw's *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, in which *sipahi* children are mentioned.[52]
- ***visir*** (from tur. *vezir* < ar. *wazir*) – vizier – a high official in the Ottoman Empire). In the Balkans, the word *vezir* is used as a historical term.
- ***sultano*** (in some sources *soldano,* from tur. *sultan* ar. *sultān*) – emperor, ruler. In SC, the derivatives *sultan* for the masculine gender, i.e., for sultans and their sons and brothers, and *sultania* for the feminine gender, i.e., for the wives and daughters of sultans, appear as Turkisms.

In general, most of these Turkish words originate from Persian or Arabic, and they also form compounds with originally Turkish words. It is evident that these words came to Venetian through Ottoman Turkish. Also, we noted that all terms and expressions were adapted to Italian orthography and pronunciation with major or minor differences compared to the original version.[53]

[52] Shaw 1976: 124.
[53] Rocchi 2007: 6–10.

3. 2. Terminology related to occupations

Interestingly, terminology related to occupations also appears in the Venetian envoys' epistles in addition to military and political terms. For example, in a seventeenth century report, the Venetian *bailo* Ottaviano Bon[54] provided and clearly explained a list of occupations that existed in the Ottoman Empire, as can be seen in this excerpt:

> *Il Solicitar Agà* – Quello che porta spada al re
> *Il Scodradar Agà* – Quello che gli porta il veste
> *Il Miriacubar Agà* – Palafreniere maggiore
> *Il Masdrabà Agà* – Quello che gli porta il vaso dell' acqua
> *Il Dulbendar Agà* – Quello che porta e fa il dulipante
> *Il Capiglier chiaiassì* – Cameriere maggiore
> *Il Casnagir Bassì* – Scalco maggiore
> *Il Chilerghì Bassì* – Credenziere maggiore
> *Il Denangi Bassì* – Falconiero maggiore
> *Il Scarabdar Bassì* – Coppiero maggiore
> *Il Casnadar Bassì* – Contista maggiore del tesoro
> *Il Turnachi Bassì* – Quello che gli taglia le unghie
> *Il Berberi Bassi* – Barbiero maggiore
> *L'Amanghi Bassì* – Quello che lo lava in stufa.[55]

We have extracted the following corpus of Turkisms from this list in Ottaviano Bon's report:

- ***salicitar agà,*** in some sources *slitaro* (from tur. *silahdar* < tur. *silah* < ar. *silah* + per. suffix *-dar/tar* = weapon, and from tur. *ağa= commander, elder*) – the title of an official of a vizier or pasha who was an armorer and took care of weapons, as previously mentioned.
- ***scodradar agà*** - (from gr. *skodra* < lat. *scodra*, -ae < it. *scutari*, loanword from Latin via Italian and from Turkish *ağa = commander, elder*). Based on the meaning provided in the epistle, we believe it may be a chamberlain who was in charge of the sultan's clothes.
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The name of the Istanbul district *Üsküdar* also originated from the same root as did the names of Lake Skadar located between Albania and Montenegro and the city of Shkodër in Albania. In the oral and written tradition of Serbian literature, Shkodër is depicted as the city of *Skadar* in legend. A well-known bohemian quarter Belgrade is called Skadarlija and its main street is called Skadarska Street.

- ***miriacubar agà*** (from tur. *miri* < pers. *miri* < pers. *mir* < ar. *amir* = *ruler*, *commander*, *cubar* from tur. *kubur* = *small gun* and from tur. *ağa* = *commander*, *elder*) - it has the following meanings: 1) land holdings standardized with a

[54] Ottaviano Bon was famous Venetian diplomat who served as the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople from 1604 to 1609 (Pasdera 1969: 421–24).

[55] Barozzi, Berchet, *op.cit.,*84.

special legal regulation, standardized according to the so-called Ramadan law. Erazikanunnama. 2) Imperial property, imperial treasure, peace in the Balkans, called *mirija*.[56]

- ***masdrabà agà*** 1. (from tur. *maşraba, maşrapa* < ar. misraba = that from which to drink, 2. from tur. *matara* < ar. *matara* = water container and from tur. *ağa* = *commander, elder*) - chief courtier in charge of water. *Mataradžija*, a surname found in the Balkans, originated from it.[57]
- ***dulbendar agà*** (from tur. *tülbent*, from which the French word *turban*, a woman's head covering in the form of a turban that was fashionable in the West in the 1920s, was later derived, and from tur. *ağa = commander, elder*). The Balkan Ottomanist Šabanović also mentions the terms *tülbend gulami* or *tülbend-ağa*, a personal courtier responsible for his master's turbans, *chamashir*s, and *saruk*s, and for dressing him in these garments as needed.[58]
- ***capiglier chiaiassì*** (from tur. *kapı = door* and from tur. *kâhya* and *kihaya* < pers. *kadxuda* < tur. *kethüda,* meaning manager of a house or estate). Šabanović mentions the same term as being present in the Balkans during the Ottoman rule, *kapidžilar-ćehaja* (from tur. *kapicilar kethüdasi* and *kethüda-i bevvaban*) - refers to the head doorkeeper and denotes the title held by all doorkeepers at the Ottoman court.[59]
- ***casnagir bassì*** (from tur. *hazine* and *hazna* < ar. *hazina= treasury*, and from tur. *baş = head*, *peak, beginning, head, elder*) - gave rise to the SC compound *haznadar-aga* and *haznadarbaša,* which means guardian of the treasury, chief treasurer. The treasurers served under the Bosnian governors and appeared as early as the fifteenth century in various missions in Dubrovnik.[60]
- ***chilerghi bassì*** (from tur. *kiler* < pers. *kilar* < lat. *cella, cellarum*, and from tur. *baş = head, top, beginning, head, elder*). In Šabanović, we were able to find an equivalent that was used in the Balkans, *kilardžibaša* (tur. *kilarcibaşı*), denoting a personal courtier responsible for attending to the master's treasury.[61]
- ***denanghi bassì*** – (from tur. *doğan = falcon* and tur. *baş = elder*) According to our research, a *Doğancı başı* is a falconer. It's worth noting that the person who wrote this word transcribed what he heard because he could not read the Ottoman text, which resulted in a significant phonetic modification.
- ***scarabdar bassì*** (from tur. *şarap* < ar. *şarab* = drink and from pers. suffix *-dar* = to hold. *Dar* is used as a suffix in Turkish compounds denoting occupations. Another word *bassì* is from tur. *baş = head, top, beginning, head, elder*) - this compound means the chief cup bearer at the ruler's court. This occupation is also

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[56] Nişanyan 2000–2022: avaliable at: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/mir (05/06/2023); Škaljić, *op.cit.,* 421–465.

[57] Škaljić, *op.cit.,* 448.

[58] Šabanović 1973: 24.

[59] Nişanyan, avaliable at: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/kahya (05/06/2023); Šabanović, *op.cit.,*29.

[60] Nişanyan, avaliable at: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/kiler (05/06/2023); Šabanović, *op. cit.,* 36.

[61] Škaljić, *op.cit.,*122; Šabanović, *op.cit.,* 27.

mentioned at the court of the Bosnian Beglerbegs in the fifteenth century.[62]

- ***turnachi bassì*** (from tur. *tırnak* , which means human nail or raptor's nail. The word originated from the Old Turkish verb *tırna-* and *tırma= to scratch*, with the suffix *(-ik*), and from tur. *baş = head, top, beginning, head, elder*) – refers to a courtier who attended to and trimmed the ruler's nails once a week. The term for this occupation in Turkish is *tırnakçıbaşı*, and it underwent phonetic modifications during the transition to Italian. Primarily, we observe two changes in Italian. The vowel ı from Turkish transformed into the vowel U in Italian. Additionally, the Ç sound was lost, replaced by the equivalent C sound in Italian.
- ***berberi bassì*** (from tur. *berber* < it. *barbier* and *barbiere*= one who shaves the beard < it. *barba= beard*) – refers to the chief barber responsible for shaving the master at court (Turkish *berberbaşı*). In the Balkans, the term *berberin* is utilized.[63]
- ***amanghi bassì*** (from tur. *hamamcı* < tur. *hamam = bathroom* and from tur. *baş = head, top, beginning, head, elder*) – means the manager of a public bath. In the Balkans, there are the words *hamamdžija* and *amamdžija*.[64] In the Balkan region, these Turkisms originated from the word *hamamcıbaşı*. In Italian, it underwent phonetic modification. The group –GH in Italian replaced the sound C in Turkish, and de-voicing occurred.

In examining these Turkisms, we observed varying degrees of difference compared to the original words transcribed in Turkish. Some of these words have etymological roots in Arabic or Persian. In these occupational nouns, we identified endings that differ from those typically found in Latin and other Romance languages or in words of Germanic or Greek origin. The most common suffixes in these Turkisms denoting occupations are *<gi>, <chi>, <ghi>, <dar>, <ir>,<ri>,<i>.*[65] The equivalents in the Turkish language are: *-cı, -ci, -cu, -cü; -çı, -çi, -çu, -çü; <tar>, <gift>; -lık, -lik, -lük, -lük*>.[66]

4. Conclusion

Based on analyses of complete or partial epistles written by Venetian envoys in Constantinople from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, we have found that, in addition to loanwords from other Romance languages, there were also numerous words from Ottoman Turkish. They were primarily used to denote terms in military, political, and economic contexts and to denote occupations. We also observed certain phonetic and morphological changes in the Italian language. However, in terms of semantics, we found that the meanings of words derived from Turkish mostly remained the same. Dragomans played a crucial role in facilitating the transfer of language. Although

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62 Nişanyan, avaliable at: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/%C5%9Farap (05/06/2023); Šabanović, *op.cit.,*28; Škaljić, *op. cit.,*22.

63 Nişanyan, avaliable at: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/berber (05/06/2023); Šabanović, *op. cit.,*28.

64 Škaljić, *op. cit.,*308.

65 Fornaciari 1872: 84–95.

66 Aykut 2014: 133–149.

they were trained as translators, when transcribing words from Turkish they relied heavily on what they heard. Given that many of the terms we analyzed from the corpus found in the epistles of the Venetian envoys are also present in SC-speaking regions, they are an important source for scholars, historians, and linguists from Turkey and Italy as well as those from the Balkans.

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КСЕНИЈА АЈКУТ
Универзитет у Београду
Филолошки факултет
Одсек за оријенталне студије

МАРИЈА МИТИЋ
Универзитет у Новом Саду
Филозофски факултет
Одсек за италијанске и иберо-америчке студије

ПРЕПИСКА МЛЕТАЧКИХ ИЗЛАСНИКА У ЦАРИГРАДУ И ТУРЦИЗМИ У ЊИХОВИМ ЕПИСТОЛАМА УКЉУЧУЈУЋИ ЊИХОВЕ ЈЕЗИЧКЕ ОБЛИКЕ НА БАЛКАНУ

Резиме

Политичке и трговинске везе између Османског царства и Млетачке републике од 16. до 18. века значајно су утицале на културну историју и језички развој. Венецијански драгомани, вешти у османском језику и вештини састављања званичних писама, утицали су на продирање многих османских речи у италијански језик, које се и данас користе. Ова језичка размена документована је у извештајима млетачких посланика у Цариграду, у којима су забележени бројни турцизми, посебно у војно-политичкој и економској терминологији, као и термини који означавају занимања у Османском царству. Поред тога, многи од ових турцизама остали су у употреби на Балкану. Сходно томе, ови извештаји су значајни културни артефакти и вредни истраживачки извори у области културе, књижевности и лингвистике у Турској, Италији и на Балкану.

Кључне речи: италијанистика, компаратистика, турцизми, епистоле, извештаји, културна историја, књижевна историја, историја језика, Османско царство, Млетачка република, Балкан.

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АЛЕКСАНДР АЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧ МАНОХИН
Российский Государственный Гуманитарный университет
0000-0002-6407-4514
mnoh@inbox.ru

ИОСИФ ВОЛОЦКИЙ, МИТРОПОЛИТ ЗОСИМА И СУДЬБА 12 СЛОВА «ПРОСВЕТИТЕЛЯ»*

Аннотация: Иосиф Волоцкий известен как борец с «жидовствующими», но до сих пор не ясны причины, побудившие его к борьбе, равно как и время написания первых посланий. Послание о Троице ему не принадлежит, а тексты о конце 7000 года - не антиеретические. Таким образом, первыми антиеретическими текстами были три послания против анонимного митрополита-сквернителя. Из «Просветителя» мы узнаём, что это Зосима, митрополит Московский и всея Руси (1490–1495). Послания против митрополита написаны между осенью 1493 и 9 февраля 1495, когда Зосима поссорился с великим князем Иваном III и оставил кафедру. Иосиф обвинил Зосиму в ереси «жидовствующих» и осквернении, подразумевая содомию. Согласно Иосифу, это делало все священнодействия митрополита ложными. Этой мысли посвящено 12 Слово «Просветителя». Но «иосифляне», ученики и последователи Иосифа Волоцкого, не разделяли его взгляда на Зосиму. Племянник Иосифа Досифей (Топорков) согласился с обвинениями в ереси, но отверг идею о недействительности священнодействий. Именно он удалил 12 Слово из «Просветителя» в двух древнейших волоколамских списках. Другие иосифляне отвергли обвинения в ереси, но согласились с обвинением в скверне. Эта позиция была широко распространена в 1520-х годах. Третий игумен Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря Нифонт (Кормилицын) полностью отверг все обвинения против Зосимы в 1530-х годах. Именно Нифонт переделал труды Иосифа и создал новую версию 12 Слова. Иосиф пишет, что содомит-Зосима был рекомендован Ивану III протопопом Алексеем, обвиненным в ереси Геннадием Новгородским. Иосиф сопоставил эти два факта и начал борьбу с Зосимой и всеми еретиками-«жидовствующими».

Ключевые слова: Иосиф Волоцкий, Зосима митрополит Московский и всея Руси, Филофей Псковский, Досифей (Топорков), Нифонт (Кормилицын), жидовствующие, иосифляне, «Просветитель», ересь, гомосексуализм, кодикология.

В литературе по-прежнему нет единства мнений касательно момента вступления Иосифа Волоцкого в борьбу с еретиками (около 1492 года или рубеж XV–XVI веков).[1] Ранее все исследователи считали, что Иосиф Волоцкий вступил в полемику примерно в то же время, когда и Геннадий,

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[1] Alekseev 2019: 322–327; Kazakov 2022: 140–157.

архиепископ Новгородский, и даже раньше. Об этом прямо написано во всех трёх текстах, посвящённых жизни Иосифа: Надгробном слове Досифея Топоркова, Анонимном Житии (видимо, за авторством Аникиты Льва Филолога) и Житии, составленном Саввой Чёрным.[2] Однако во всех трёх текстах события двух Соборов, 1490 и 1504 года, перемешаны. Везде подчёркнута совместная борьба Иосифа и Геннадия Новгородского с ересью. Но у нас нет явных свидетельств непосредственной переписки Геннадия с Иосифом, хотя книги из Новгорода волоцкий игумен, несомненно, получал.[3]

Я.С. Лурье, издатель источников по новгородской ереси, считал отдельные антиеретические послания источниками единой «Книги на новгородских еретиков».[4] И лишь одно из них было предположительно датировано временем до активной антиеретической деятельности архиепископа Геннадия (1487–1490 годы). Это Послание о Троице архимандриту Вассиану, датированное временем до 1479 года.[5] Однако А.И. Алексеев в своей докторской диссертации и двух книгах, основанных на ней, передвинул начало активной борьбы Иосифа с еретиками к 1502 году, поставив послания в зависимость от «Книги».[6] Когда же было написано это Послание? В своей статье и книге я показал, что необходимо отвергнуть атрибуцию Послания о Троице Иосифу Волоцкому.[7] Надо согласиться с А.И. Алексеевым в том, что адресатом был Вассиан – брат Иосифа, архимандрит Симонова монастыря, а послание написано во время его настоятельства (не позже 1502–1506).[8]

Мне удалось найти ещё один аргумент в пользу того, что Послание написано не Иосифом Волоцким. Это текст, который мог быть создан тем же анонимным автором. Речь о фрагменте № 73.II из «Русского феодального архива».[9] Здесь также есть мотив неразумия и глупости автора. У текстов даже есть общий речевой оборот.

Фрагмент № 73.II: «*Аз же всегда заблужаюсь своим неразумием», «есми несложно писал своею глупостию»,*	Послание о Троице[10]: «*Что господине мене глупаго и ненаученаго», « дръзнух к тебе писати своею глупостию по твоему велению»,*

Таблица 1. Общий оборот «писать своею глупостию».

Фрагмент № 73.II: *«Да то бы, господине, ты ведал один. А иной никто тому бы еси писанию моему не посмеялся, ни понес».*	Послание о Троице: *«А лучит ти ся, господине, кому искусну мужу то казати, и ты бы, господине, нашего имени не являл никому»*

Таблица 2. Общий мотив анонимности.

[2] Nevostruev 1865a: 34–38; Nevostruev 1865b: 108–112; Nevostruev 1865c: 171–174.
[3] Kazakov 2022: 129, 133, 157–168.
[4] Lur'e 1960: 112–121.
[5] Kazakova, Lur'e 1955: 305–309; Zimin, Lur'e 1959: 113–115, 139–144, 243–244.
[6] Alekseev 2012: 428–438; Alekseev 2019: 323.
[7] Manohin 2022: 59–65; *Id.* 2023: 173–181.
[8] Alekseev 2012: 431.
[9] RFA 2008: 248–249.
[10] Eremin 1959: 139, 143, 144.

Из таблицы 2 видно, что в случае фрагмента № 73.II автор ещё не готов к распространению своего писания – это переписка с духовником, как заключил издатель А.И. Плигузов. Послание о Троице предназначено и для других глаз, но автор по-прежнему не готов объявлять своего имени. Однако в обоих случаях автор надеется реакцию читателей.

Фрагмент № 73.II: *«Да прочет, господине, отпиши ко мне, как тебя Бог вразумит»*	Послание о Троице: *«ты бы, господине, то отписал к нам подлинно, что възговорят, или чем похулять»*

Таблица 3. Надежда на письменный ответ адресата с реакцией.

Как и автор Послания о Троице, автор фрагмента находится с адресатом в одном монастыре. Опубликованный фрагмент находится в рукописи после грамоты инока Троице-Сергиева монастыря Симона и других документов 1480-х – начала 1490-х годов. Фрагмент следует за грамотой и лишён заголовка, как и некоторые списки Послания о Троице. Всё это делает авторство Иосифа ещё более сомнительным. Таким образом, Иосиф Волоцкий не принимал участия в антиеретической кампании Геннадия, архиепископа Новгородского. Однако справедливо и обратное – Геннадий также не принял в дальнейшем участия в борьбе Иосифа Волоцкого с еретиками и больше не писал посланий против них. Почему же эпистолярная активность двух главных обвинителей разнесена во времени?

Между тем исследователи не поставили вопрос, почему Иосиф Волоцкий вообще возобновил борьбу с еретиками, уже, казалось бы, завершённую на Соборе 1490 года. Иосиф – игумен новосозданного монастыря, чей авторитет будут подвергать сомнению при жизни и после смерти. В нашем распоряжении есть тексты, приливающие свет на этот вопрос.

Свидетельство о существовании Сказаний о скончании 7 тысячи, где явно затрагивается вопрос о ереси, содержит Надгробное слово Досифея Топоркова. Племянник Иосифа упоминает о первом из них в единственном, ныне утраченном списке, бывшем за № 664 по описи волоколамской библиотеки 1854 года, и переданном в Епархиальную библиотеку.[11] Мне удалось вновь вернуть в научный оборот древний (1500-е годы) и волоколамский список «Сказаний», свидетельствующий об их написании ещё раньше.[12] Однако сам текст Сказания, вопреки показанию Надгробного слова, не антиеретический. В нём вообще нет слов с корнем «ересь», а неправильно мудрствующие названы просто «некими».[13]

Несомненно антиеретические по характеру – три послания, направленные против «сквернителя митрополичьего престола». Это Послание архимандриту Евфимию, Послание брату Вассиану и Послание Нифонту, епископу Суздальскому. Исследователи до А.И. Алексеева считали Послания написанными во время

[11] Nevostruev 1865c: 171, note 108; Kazakov 2022: 140–145.
[12] Manohin 2024: 71–78.
[13] Kazakova, Lur'e 1955: 391–401; Kazakov 2022: 142–145.

предстоятельства митрополита Зосимы, чьё имя названо в Сказании о новоявившейся ереси, предисловии к «Книге на новгородских еретиков». А.И. Алексеев, напротив, поставил послания в зависимость от «Книги».[14] Внимание А.И. Алексеева сосредоточено на «Книге на еретиков», и поэтому гораздо меньшее внимание уделено Посланию архимандриту Евфимию, которое совпадает только отдельными оборотами и только со Сказанием о новоявившейся ереси.[15] Между тем, именно это Послание даёт основания для уточнения времени кампании Иосифа против митрополита Зосимы.[16] Сведём упоминания о Зосиме в таблицу в предполагаемом хронологическом порядке.[17]

Послание Евфимию	Послание Вассиану	Послание Нифонту	Сказание
Заклати многажды дерзнул еси сквернаго сатанина иерея… яко же многажды ми о твоем во благом потщании в писаниих явленно			Иноческий же чин… не могущи терпети пагубныя и богохульныя буря… обличиша того отступление и сквернаа дела содомьскаа, он же несмирную брань на тех въздвизает… Они же не престааху обличающе
Сам злобу ту имеет, но и многих уловляет мрежами своих зол		Сам отступи от Христа и диаволу прилепися, но инех учит отврещися Христа	Сказание о новоявившейся ереси новгородских еретиков Алексея протопопа и Дениса попа и Феодора Курицына и инех иже тако же мудрьствующих.
Его же яда сам окаянный упився некогда от втораго Ария – протопопа, глаголю, диавола	Мнози уклонишася к диявольскым чарованием	Отступиша убо мнози от православныя и непорочныя Христовы веры… вси о вере пытают… от проклятых на Соборе, от протопоповых детей, и его зятя, и от их учеников… и от самаго того сатанина сосуда и дияволова, митрополита	Потом же Алексей научи многых жидовству, еще же и зятя своего Ивашка Максимова и отца его попа Максима и многых от попов и от диаков и от простых людей <…> не реку архимандрита, но съквернителя… именем Зосиму На торжищих и в домех о вере люопрение творяху

[14] Alekseev 2012: 343–368, 431–435; Alekseev 2019: 240–322.
[15] Alekseev 2012: 316–317; Alekseev 2019: 235–236.
[16] Manohin 2020: 207–216.
[17] Kobrin 1966: 236–239; Zimin, Lur’e 1959: 173–175, 160–168; Kazakova, Lur’e 1955: 466–477.

Церковь Богоматере…[18] оскверняему от змия того	Олядиневшу убо винограду Рускиа земля	В велицей убо церкве Пречистыа Богородица… ныне седит скверный злобесный волк	[Алексей] волъхвованием подойде дръжавнаго, да поставит на великом престоле святительском сквернаго съсуда сатанина… Зосиму глаголю… Скверный же и злобесный вълк оболокъся в пастырьскую одежу И в сей ныне пребываа черный он вран, изимает очеса напившимся жиита сего суетнаго
Сатанин угодник вооружается зле и ухищряет многи козни… на вас глаголю, и на брата нашего		А сказывал ти и самому, господину моему, брат мой Васьян	Геннадие присылает к дръжавному и к митрополиту Зосиме, еще бо не ведомо бяше злодейственое сквернъныя душа его Прииде же к митрополиту Зосиме, еще не ведяще известно, яко той есть началник и учитель еретиком. Зосима же творяше ся христианская мудръствуя
Но ты… обличи змиева та дела вся, дабы милосердный Бог подвигом вашим церковь очистил, а вы бы милостию его и без крови венечницы были	Подвигнися убо и ты, брате… да твоими подвиги очистит Господь церковную и доброцветущую ниву… и мечем уст своих отсечет главу сатанина и дивия вепря… осквернившаго святительский великий престол, и исторгнет тя от зубов его	И ныне, господине, о том стати накрепко некому, опроче тебя… Молю, яко да наказуеши и учиши все православное христьяньство, еже не приходити к сквернителю оному	Овии же спострадуютъ тем, аще не изгнанием, но писанием утешительным.

[18] Т.е. Успенский собор московского Кремля, как отмечено В.Б. Кобриным

Ещё же злый сатанин первенец инако ухищряет на вас и простирает сеть своего коварства, яко да ласканием и обещанием честей же и даров премногих уловить кого от вас тщится.	Дондеже уставит Господь жидовьскую бурю… и явит истиннаго кръмчия	Отступиша бо человеци... зряще на сквернаго пастыря	Но и еще велико съсуд злобе и главия съдомскаго огня изоставшиа, змий тмоглавный, огню геоньскому пища, Арие новый, Манента злейший, сатанин первенец, Зосима прескверный…

Таблица 4. Упоминания о Зосиме в источниках.

Совпадающие места между Посланиями и Сказанием уже указывались ранее А.И. Алексеевым.[19] Как видно из первой ячейки таблицы 4, только архимандрит Евфимий посмел нападать на митрополита Зосиму, причём неоднократно. Брат Вассиан – пострадавшая сторона, а Нифонт Суздальский – третья сторона, которую братья Санины, сначала Вассиан, а затем Иосиф Волоцкий, пытаются привлечь к делу

Таким образом, о злодействах Зосимы Иосиф узнаёт именно от Евфимия, а не от брата Вассиана. Это ответ на справедливый вопрос, поставленный А.И. Алексеевым, откуда Иосиф Волоцкий из провинциального монастыря узнаёт о тайных подробностях жизни митрополита.[20] В Послании Нифонту упоминаются достоверные свидетели – это Вассиан и архимандрит Евфимий.[21] Более того, о действиях Евфимия против Зосимы прямо указано в Сказании о новоявившейся ереси.[22]

Как видно из третьей строки таблицы 4, к «*жидовской зиме*» и отступничеству Зосиму привлёк «*второй Арий*» протопоп, под которым понимается Алексей.[23] В Послании Евфимию более ни о каких еретиках речь не идёт. В Послании брату Вассиану уже «*мнози уклониша ся к диавольским чарованиям*». Ещё шире картина отступления нарисована в Послании Нифонту: «*отступиша убо мнози*», «*вси о вере пытают*». Снова без имени упоминается протопоп, но появляется ещё и его зять, и иные многие ученики. Однако в Послании Нифонту массовое отступничество связано не только с ними, но и с деятельностью митрополита: «*овех убо жидовству уча, инех же содомскыими сквернами скверня*».[24] Налицо **расширение конфликта**: от личного между Евфимием, братьями Саниными и Зосимой к общественному. Порядок написания текстов должен следовать за порядком расширения вовлечённой в дело аудитории – от Послания Евфимию к Посланию Нифонту.

Ни в одном из трёх посланий нет ни Дениса, ни Фёдора Курицына, постоянно фигурирующих в «Книге на еретиков», начиная с заголовка.[25] Более того, А.И.

[19] Kobrin 1966: 236, 239.
[20] Alekseev 2012: 347–348; Alekseev 2020: 112.
[21] Zimin, Lur'e 1959: 161, 163.
[22] Manohin 2020: 214–215.
[23] Kobrin 1966: 236, 239.
[24] Zimin, Lur'e 1959: 173, 161.
[25] Kazakova, Lur'e 1955: 466, 477.

Алексеев отметил, что имя Фёдора Курицына в списке ОР ГИМ. Епархиальное собрание. № 340 отсутствует в 8-10 Словах, и появляется в других списках «Книги», что свидетельствует в пользу большей древности списка из Епархиального собрания.[26] В таком ракурсе утверждение А.И. Алексеева, что Иосиф не знал о ереси Зосимы в момент создания «Книги на еретиков», противоречит отмеченной самим исследователем тенденции.[27] Напротив, именно из-за включения в конфликт с Зосимой Иосиф Волоцкий и обратился к созданию этой самой «Книги», куда постепенно добавлял всё новых действующих лиц.

Как видно из четвёртого столбца таблицы 4, ни в одном из трёх посланий имён нет вообще, в то время как в Сказании, напротив, имён весьма много, включая имена злодеев Посланий – протопопа Алексея, его зятя Ивана Максимова (из Послания Нифонту) и митрополита Зосимы. Мы не можем предполагать, что Иосиф исключил имена в текстах, вторичных по отношению к Сказанию и всей «Книге на еретиков». Напротив, имя Зосимы встречается и в 15 Слове «Книги», написанном позже первых 13-ти, с отсылкой на Сказание: «*Зосима митрополит, иже бяше началник еретиком, и втоможе слове написано есть*», «*к митрополиту окаянному Зосиме*», «*учителя безбожнаго и нечестиваго Зосиму митрополита*».[28]

Иосиф Волоцкий употребляет настоящее время глаголов, обвиняя Зосиму. Я.С. Лурье отметил, что оно есть и в Сказании о новоявившейся ереси, что не свидетельствовало о написании Сказания в момент описываемых событий.[29] Однако важна не только форма, но и содержание этих глаголов, а также указание на того, кому эти оскорбления адресованы. Совокупность этих моментов и даёт основания полагать, что Послания написаны раньше остальных антиеретических текстов Иосифа Волоцкого.[30] Мной ранее приводились аргументы в пользу датировки Посланий временем 1493–1494 годы.[31] К ним можно добавить ещё несколько, чтобы уточнить датировку. В конце Послания к брату сказано, что Иосиф собирается плавать на волнах солёных вод скорбей, пока Господь не явит истинного кормчего.[32] Очевидно, что этого «*кормчего*», то есть митрополита, ещё нет. Сказано о «*благоприятном времени*», когда «*воссияла весна постная*», однако это не даёт никакой привязки к конкретному году.

В Посланиях сквернитель-митрополит анонимен, его имя есть лишь в «Книге». Как и в Посланиях, в Сказании о новоявившейся ереси тоже есть настоящее время: «*и в сей ныне пребываа черный он вран, изимает очеса напившимся житиа сего суетнаго*».[33] «Сия», в которой ныне пребывает митрополит Зосима – церковь Божией Матери со святительским престолом, то есть Успенский собор. Я.С. Лурье отметил, что это может быть риторическим приёмом, но злодей здесь именован, чтобы

[26] Alekseev 2012: 304–305; Alekseev 2019: 222.
[27] Alekseev 2020: 113.
[28] Prosvetitel' 1896: 416 – 417, 422.
[29] Lur'e 1960: 103–104.
[30] Manohin 2023: 285 – 286, 402–405.
[31] Manohin 2020: 209; Manohin 2023: 277–289.
[32] Zimin, Lur'e 1959: 173, 175.
[33] Kazakova, Lur'e 1955: 473.

читатель не спутал его с Симоном. Таким образом, появление в тексте имён злодеев связано в первую очередь с тем, что Зосима давно оставил свой престол, а митрополитом стал Симон – несомненный сторонник Иосифа Волоцкого.

А.И. Алексеев справедливо поставил вопрос, что каким-то образом Иосиф не был наказан за призыв к епархиальному архиерею не причащаться с действующим митрополитом, которого оскорблял.[34] Однако есть промежуток времени, когда Зосима ещё был действующим митрополитом, но уже не имел всей полноты власти – между 17 мая 1494 и 9 февраля 1495. Конфликт же Зосимы с Иваном III начался уже осенью 1493 – митрополит не фигурирует в придворных событиях зимы.[35] В.Д. Назаров пришёл к выводу, что Зосима оставил митрополию добровольно, удалившись в Симонов монастырь. Соответственно, все три текста должны быть написаны в промежуток осень 1493 – 9 февраля 1495. Отсюда «*весна постная*» из Послания брату Вассиану – это март 1494, а Послание Нифонту Суздальскому с призывом удаляться от общения с митрополитом идёт последним и явно после 17 мая 1494.

Встаёт также и вопрос, почему Иосиф с братом Вассианом пишут о Зосиме Нифонту Суздальскому, а не своему непосредственному начальнику, архиепископу Геннадию Новгородскому. Помимо личного знакомства Иосифа и Нифонта по Кирилло-Белозерскому монастырю, Нифонт мог знать и о жизни Зосимы в Симоновом монастыре, настоятелем которого Нифонт стал после настоятельства на Белоозере.[36] Однако Нифонт не был постриженикомПафнутия Боровского.[37] Источник этой мысли – публикация Послания Иосифа Волоцкого Нифонту Суздальскому 1847 года. На самом деле слова о совместном пребывании в Пафнутьево-Боровском монастыре относятся к брату Иосифа Вассиану, а не Нифонту.[38]

В распоряжении исследователей есть ещё один текст, напрямую связанный с Зосимой. Это 12 Слово «Книги на еретиков». А.И. Алексееву удалось доказать, что оно было в составе «Книги» с самого начала как раз потому, что его содержание упомянуто в связи с митрополитом.[39] Очевидно, что оно было создано раньше Сказания о новоявившейся ереси, но было ли оно раньше Посланий? Прежде чем решать этот вопрос[40], необходимо поставить вопрос, **в каком именно виде** 12 Слово было изначально. Проблема в том, что древнейший список 12 Слова – это ОР РНБ. Ф. 550 (основное собрание рукописной книги). Q.XVII.15 (далее – Q.XVII.15), в 4°. Это рукопись 1522–1543 годов, составленная Нифонтом (Кормилицыным) в бытность его игуменом Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря. 12 Слово отсутствует в прижизненных волоколамских списках «Книги». Из списка Епархиального собрания № 340 (далее – Епарх.340) 12 Слово было вырвано, а в список ОР ГИМ. Епархиальное собрание № 339 (далее – Епарх.339) взято не было. Отсутствовало оно изначально и в опубликованном списке ОР РНБ. Ф. 717 (библиотека Соловецкого монастыря) №

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34 Alekseev 2012: 348, 427–428.

35 Nazarov 2011: 411–419. Сердечно благодарю А.А. Казакова за указание на эту статью.

36 Manohin 2020: 213; Manohin 2023: 283–284.

37 Pechnikov 2018: 291–294.

38 P. K. 1847: I, 10; Zimin, Lur'e 1959: 174.

39 Alekseev 2012: 305; Alekseev 2019: 223.

40 Alekseev 2012: 341–350; Alekseev 2019: 276–286.

326/346, созданном вне стен Иосифова монастыря. Такая датировка Q.XVII.15 делает возможной **редактуру** текста, выполненную **не** самим автором. Наблюдения над кодикологическими особенностями Q.XVII.15 позволяют сделать вывод о наличии такой редактуры.[41]

В Q.XVII.15 текст 12 Слова (листы 189–192) чётко делится на две части после л. 190 об., написанные разным цветом и разными почерками. Вторая часть в точности совпадает с Посланием Нифонту и написана на половинке кувшинчика, на котором написаны и лл. 5–8 этого списка. Листы 5–8 Q.XVII.15 очень примечательны – на них полностью отсутствуют все выпады против митрополита Зосимы, и таким образом сформирована III редакция Сказания о новоявившейся ереси. Отсюда необходимо заключить, что текст Послания Нифонту привлекался ради **искажения** 12 Слова при помощи той же бумаги, при помощи которой искажено Сказание.

Ещё один заметный след искажения 12 Слова – полное **отсутствие имени** Зосимы в нём. Как показано выше, Иосиф Волоцкий, напротив, шёл по пути добавления имён персонажей-еретиков в свои сочинения. Невозможно предполагать, что он сам вдруг отказался упоминать Зосиму, в связи с которым и было составлено 12 Слово, тем более, что в 15 Слове Зосима вновь фигурирует. Отсюда следует, что имя Зосимы (и других еретиков) из 12 Слова удалил кто-то другой.

Видимо, это проделал составитель книги, «иосифлянин», игумен Нифонт (Кормилицын). Ему же принадлежал сборник с единственным списком Краткой редакции Послания Иосифа Нифонту Суздальскому, из которого тоже удалены все выпады против Зосимы.[42] Тенденция считать Зосиму полностью православным прослеживается и в Житиях Иосифа Волоцкого, составленных во второй четверти XVI века.[43] Это обстоятельство требует задать вопрос: есть ли другие свидетельства неприятия «иосифлянами», постриженниками и соратниками Иосифа Волоцкого в борьбе с еретиками, его обвинений против митрополита Зосимы? Такие свидетельства **есть**.

Первое из них – летописное. В. Д. Назаров, как и А.И. Алексеев, пишут, что ни одно летописное известие не обвиняет Зосиму в ереси, и ранее я не сумел это оспорить.[44] Однако В. Д. Назаров приводит цитату с таким летописным известием. Оно тем более ценно, что автор этого летописного памятника, как и время его составления, известны. Это Русский Хронограф «редакции 1512 года», составителем которого был Досифей Топорков, племянник Иосифа Волоцкого. Как показал Б.М. Клосс, временем составления Русского Хронографа был рубеж 1510-х – 1520-х годов.[45] И в нём Зосима обвинён в ереси **прямо**: «*Тоя же весны ереси ради и многого ради сквръненія и пьянства сведе с митропольи Зосиму на Симонов маиа в 17*».[46] Это предложение тем более примечательно, что в современном ему митрополичьем своде 1518 года о ереси действительно ничего не сказано:

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41 Manohin 2023: 311–325, 330–332, 391–407.
42 Zimin, Lur'e 1959: 101–107, 126–127.
43 Kazakov 2022: 164–166.
44 Nazarov 2011: 418; Alekseev 2018: 357–360; Alekseev 2020: 114; Manohin 2023: 402.
45 Kloss 2005: IV–XIV.
46 PSRL 22: 463.

«*Тое же весны, маиа 17, митрополит Зосима остави митрополию не своею волею, но непомерно пития держаше ся и о церкви Божии не рядяше; и тако сниде в келию на Симаново и оттоле к Трощи в Сергеев монастырь*».[47]

Точно такая же формулировка содержится в «иосифлянской» летописи митрополита Даниила – Никоновской.[48] Таким образом, Досифей Топорков был убеждён в ереси Зосимы, в то время как митрополит Варлаам и его преемник Даниил – нет.

Второе свидетельство содержит Волоколамский патерик. Он также составлялся Досифеем Топорковым и содержит прямое указание на неприятие им идеи 12 Слова:

«*Елици и ересь тайно имуще в себе и страха людскаго ради творяще по преданию соборныя церкви, и мы, <…> не повреждаемся ничимже, Бог бо совершает своя таинъства Святым Духом и сужением ангильским*».[49]

В Епарх.339 12 Слово было аккуратно изъято, видны следы вырезания листов, но нумерация тетрадей не была нарушена. Таким образом, 12 Слово было удалено в волоколамском монастыре в 1500-х годах при жизни автора.[50] Соединив эти наблюдения с упоминанием о ереси Зосимы в Русском Хронографе и словами Волоколамского патерика, необходимо заключить, что 12 Слово было **удалено Досифеем Топорковым**.

Итак, это первая тенденция «иосифлян» – признание ереси Зосимы, но непризнание идеи, что из-за этого все его священнодействия (а главное, рукоположения) недействительны.[51] Была и иная тенденция – непризнание ереси Зосимы, но готовность наказывать тайных еретиков. Она также представлена «иосифлянскими» памятниками. Первый из них – «Послание о соблюдении соборного приговора». Использование Сказания в нём несомненно, и А.И. Алексеев обратил внимание на отсутствие в Послании имени Зосимы.[52] Помимо прочего, это служило мне одним из аргументов в пользу атрибуции послания митрополиту Симону, соратнику Иосифа и организатору Собора 1504 года.[53] Здесь необходимо вернуться к официальному митрополичьему летописанию. И в Уваровской летописи, составленной при преемнике Симона Варлааме, и в Никоновской, составленной Даниилом, преемником Варлаама, содержится упоминание о нечестивой жизни Зосимы, но ничего не говорится о его ереси. Таким образом, это – второй и третий памятники, где Зосима не признаётся в качестве еретика. Как видно, эта тенденция преобладает на рубеже 1510-х – 1520-х годов и далее.

К этому же времени относится ещё один «иосифлянский» памятник, где убраны упоминания о ереси митрополита. Это II редакция Сказания о новоявившейся

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47 PSRL 28: 325.
48 PSRL 12: 238.
49 Ol'shevskaya, Travnikov 1999: 85.
50 Manohin 2023: С. 330–332.
51 Alekseev 2012: 349; Alekseev 2019: 284–285.
52 Alekseev 2012: 364–365; Alekseev 2019: 305.
53 Manohin 2023: 348–353.

ереси, и конкретно список ОР ГИМ. Епархиальное собрание. № 338. Этот список восходит к Епарх.340[54]. Есть и иной вид II редакции, представленный списком НИОР РГБ. Ф. 304/I (основное собрание Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры). № 187, вышедший не из волоколамской среды. Полная таблица разночтений мной ранее приводилась.[55] Эти два вида не возводимы один к другому и представляют собой две попытки удалить из Сказания все выпады против Зосимы, кроме самого первого. В нём Зосима не обвиняется в ереси, но сказано о его нечестивой жизни: «*не реку архимандрита, но сквернителя, радующеся калу блудному, именем Зосиму*».[56] Уместно напомнить, что специфическим обвинением против Зосимы была содомия.

Содомия упоминается ещё в одном весьма известном памятнике – Послании Филофея Василию III, между 1524-1526 годами, в обеих редакциях.[57] Филофей пишет о третьей вине, которую Василий III должен искоренить. «*Сии горькии плевелъ, о нѣм же и ныне свидѣтельствует пламень жюпельного горящаго огня в содомских стогнах*». И далее: «*Да сия мерзость умножися не токмо в мирских, но и в прочих, о них же помолчю, чтыи же да разумеет*». Читающий, который должен всё понять – это Василий III. Но в ком, кроме мирских, умножилась мерзость, и о которых отказался вслух упоминать Филофей? Это должны быть клирики и монашествующие, известные Василию III. Очевидно, речь идёт о Зосиме, «*радующемся калу блудному*» и тех, кого он «*содомскими сквернами скверня*». Таким образом, этот пассаж Филофея становится понятным в контексте выпадов Иосифа Волоцкого против Зосимы. И это – ещё одно свидетельство, что обвинения Иосифом Зосимы в непотребствах было воспринято весьма широким кругом русских книжников.

О распространённости педофилии и содомии пишет и сам Иосиф Волоцкий, хоть и не в антиеретическом ключе – в своём монастырском Уставе («Духовной грамоте»). 10 Слово Краткой редакции посвящено запрету держать мальчиков в монастырях, «*да не како на лице взиранием семя похотениа от врага прием… понеже многы опаливь теми диавол, и вечному огню предал есть*»[58]

Однако наличие второй тенденции вовсе не исключало первую (признание ереси Зосимы, но непризнание идеи 12 Слова). В Иосифо-Волоколамском же монастыре в 1530-х годах происходит восстановление I редакции Сказания на основании двух списков. Это рукопись ОР ГИМ. Епархиальное собрание. № 337, по-прежнему лишённая 12 Слова. Все выпады против Зосимы написаны одним почерком с «юсом большим» на особой бумаге.[59]

Подводя итог, можно констатировать, что фигура митрополита Московского и всея Руси Зосимы – ключ к пониманию судьбы антиеретических текстов Иосифа Волоцкого. Именно действия митрополита привели вовсе не авторитетного игумена нового монастыря, находящегося на землях удельного князя Бориса Волоцкого, к антиеретической борьбе, проводимой великим князем Иваном III. Иосиф Волоцкий

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54 Pliguzov 2020: 58–62.
55 Alekseev 2012: 310–311; Manohin 2023: 364–366.
56 Kazakova, Lur’e 1955: 481.
57 Sinicyna 1998: 358–363.
58 Zimin, Lur’e 1959: 319.
59 Manohin 2023: 383–387.

узнаёт о скверне митрополита от архимандрита Евфимия. Брат Иосифа, Вассиан (Санин), тоже о ней знает. Иосиф узнаёт, что Зосиму на митрополичий престол рекомендовал Алексей, обвиняемый Геннадием Новгородским в ереси. В ходе борьбы со «сквернителем митрополичьего престола» вскрываются всё новые и новые связанные с Зосимой еретики – последователи Алексея. Так Иосиф Волоцкий приходит к мысли о создании своего знаменитого «Просветителя» против всех еретиков вместе ради их повторного осуждения и возобновляет антиеретическую кампанию, завершённую Собором 1490 года. Против Зосимы Иосифом Волоцким было написано 12 Слово о недействительности священнодействий еретика. Согласно нему, все рукоположенные и причащавшиеся с еретиком должны быть лишены своих степеней и причастия. Собор состоялся в 1504 году, но главный виновник повторного Собора не был на нём осуждён. Идея Иосифа о ереси митрополита Зосимы была воспринята современниками негативно, в первую очередь, из-за того, что это означало масштабную чистку клира. В дальнейшем имя Зосимы вновь вернулось в Сказание о новоявившейся ереси, но было навсегда удалено из 12 Слова «Просветителя». Между тем идея о скверне Зосимы в бытность архимандритом нашла широкое признание. По-видимому, от содомии архимандрита каким-то образом пострадал брат Иосифа Вассиан, и это обстоятельство послужило спусковым крючком нового этапа антиеретической борьбы на Руси, проводимой уже новым борцом – Иосифом Волоцким. Однако его антиеретические сочинения были отредактированы учениками – и представляют собой уже плод коллективного творчества, а не только самого волоцкого игумена.

Таким образом, фигура Зосимы – ключевая сразу в двух аспектах. Именно конфликт с Зосимой привёл Иосифа Волоцкого к антиеретической борьбе и именно из-за обвинений против Зосимы плоды этой борьбы, сочинения Иосифа Волоцкого, были существенно переделаны его учениками.

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ALEKSANDR ALEXANDROVICH MANOKHIN
Russian State University for the Humanities

JOSEPH VOLOTSKY, METROPOLITAN ZOSIMA AND THE 12TH WORD OF ENLIGHTENER

Summary

Joseph Volotsky is famous for his struggle against heretics "Judaizers". But the reasons, why he had started this campaign, are not obvious. I had proved that Joseph Volotsky didn't take part in struggle against heretics during the first stage (1487–1490) and Epistle about Holy Trinity doesn't belong to him. I have added new argument in this article. Consequently the first Joseph's writings which had mentioned heretics were those against anonymous Metropolitan-defilier. Joseph had sent them to abbot Euphymius, brother Vassian and Nifont, Suzdal Bishop. Joseph had written Metropolitan's name in the "Enlightener" – Zosimus, Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia. According to my conclusions the line of events is this one: 1) Zosimus was recommended by archpriest Alexey, Judaizer; 2) Abbot Euthymius and Joseph's brother Vassian started campaign against Metropolitan Zosimus accusing him of sodomy; 3) Joseph Volotsky found out Zosimus' sodomy from Euphymius and Alexey's heresy from Gennady, Archbishop of Novgorod; 4) He combined these two facts and concluded that Judaizer heresy was evil and the cause of brother's sufferings; 5) Then Joseph wrote three epistles against Zosimus in support of his brother and Enlightener against all heretics where Zosimus is one of 4 main characters; 6) But Josephits rejected accusations against Zosimus and remade the "Enlightener" in three separate ways: 6.1) Joseph's nephew Dositheus (Toporkov) had rejected the idea of the 12th Discourse and thorn it out from the "Enlightener" in 1500s. 6.2) Metropolitan Simon had accepted the sodomy accusation and had rejected the idea of Zosimus' heresy. This point of view prevailed from 1500s up to 1530s. 6.3) Nifont (Kormilitsyn), the third abbot of Joseph-Volokolamsk monastery, had rejected both accusations and had completely remade the "Enlightener".

So Zosimus is the key to whole second antiheretical campaign at the beginning of the 16th century. It was conflict with Zosimus that was the reason why Joseph had written his "Enlightener". And it was accusation in heresy against Zosimus that was the reason why Josephites had completely remade the "Enlightener".

Keywords: Joseph Volotsky, Zosimus Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, Philotheus of Pskov, Dositheus (Toporkov), Nifont (Kormilitsyn), Judaizers, Josephites, "Enlightener", heresy, homosexuality, codicology.

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NENAD NINKOVIĆ
University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History
0000-0001-9648-3876
nenad.ninkovic@ff.uns.ac.rs

MARRIAGE IN THE METROPOLITANATE OF KARLOVCI IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Abstract: In the late eighteenth century, matrimony and marriage law in the Habsburg monarchy underwent changes due to the reforms of Emperor Joseph II and new political and social circumstances brought about by the war with France. These changes affected all Christian Churches, including the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. In the 1790s, Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović was able to adapt to new circumstances and new laws, even though they were not always in accordance with his beliefs. This paper will present these changes and provide examples demonstrating how the episcopate of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci and its head responded to these new circumstances. It will also point to specificities that emerged during this time among Serbs and Orthodox Christians within the Habsburg monarchy.

Keywords: Habsburg monarchy, Metropolitanate of Karlovci, Serbs, Stefan Stratimirović, Military Frontier, marriage.

1. Imperial Reforms of Marriage Law in the Habsburg Monarchy in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

In the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, matrimony is one of the seven Holy Sacraments by which two Christians are united through the Holy Spirit. Church authorities recognized the existence of marriage as far back as the Old Testament, and according to them, Jesus Christ had imbued it with deeper meaning. This understanding of marriage in Christian lands left all aspects of it to the jurisdiction of the Church, which controlled how it was concluded and even resolved disputes related to inheritance law.[1] Until the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–1780), marriage in the Habsburg monarchy had been solely under the

[1] A sacrament is a visible sacred act through which, according to the teachings of the Orthodox Church, God’s grace imparted miraculous gifts to those who accepted it. What and how many there are vary from one Christian Church to another. The Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churchs recognize seven, but most Protestant faiths recognize two. For more, see: Nenadović 1758: 4; Mogila 1763: 59; Rajić 1773: 17.

jurisdiction of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. New aspects were introduced to this domain as part of centralizing reforms, during which the state's influence was increased at the expense of the Church's. The first step Maria Theresa took was to issue an Imperial Patent dated April 12, 1753, which imposed limitations on the Church regarding underage marriages. As it had been previously, for such a marriage to occur, the consent of the parents or guardians of the minor spouses had to be given, but now consent also had to come from representatives of the local secular government rather than the ecclesiastical authorities. Only then could the marriage be performed by a priest as it had been earlier, and all marriages of underage couples that had been concluded differently were considered invalid.[2] The Engagement of Minors Act did not affect the sacrament of marriage nor did later legislation, but it did radically change something else—the state's jurisdiction at the expense of the Church's.

On January 16, 1783, three decades after the Engagement of Minors Act, Emperor Joseph II (1765/1780–1790) enacted the Marriage Patent (*Ehepatent*), which gave secular courts precedence over ecclesiastical courts in marital disputes. In the future, only secular courts could rule in cases of consanguinity, and they had jurisdiction over all marriages and divorces.[3] Priests performed weddings as civil servants, and if there was a discrepancy between secular and ecclesiastical law, the clergy was required to act in accordance with the state's interests and perform marriages as ordered by the state administration. Failure to do so would incur severe sanctions. Marriage was thus considered to be a civil agreement or contract.[4]

The Marriage Patent was something new for the Catholic Church because, unlike the Orthodox Church, it did not allow for divorce. Instead, couples were permitted to separate, or as it was called in the sources, "divorce from table and bed." This did not violate the sacrament of marriage: spouses were still formally married but were unable to enter into another marriage until one of them died. The Marriage Patent transferred the right to rule on separation from the consistory—the ecclesiastical court—to the secular courts, which gave a ruling if it determined there was no realistic possibility for cohabitation.[5] Initially, separation from table and bed was only possible if both partners agreed. The Court Decree of October 16, 1786, allowed one partner to bring the matter to court if there was abuse or if one partner deliberately refused to agree to dissolve the marriage. Marriage law thus defined became part of the Josephine Code of 1786 and later of the General Civil Code of 1811. This was followed by a Court Decree of November 10, 1811, which stipulated that the court would divide property between spouses separated from table and bed.[6]

In 1783, the validity of the Marriage Patent was extended to the Erblande, Galicia, and the Military Frontier, and in 1786 it was extended throughout Hungary by a special decree of the Lieutenancy Council making it mandatory throughout the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. It was published in Serbian that same year.[7] Separations from table and bed were

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2 Michel 1870: 77–78; Floßmann 2008, 81–82.

3 Beales 2013: 322–323.

4 Floßmann 2008: 86.

5 Griesebner 2020: 22, 25–26.

6 Tschannett 2015: 10–11, 39–40; Griesebner-Planer-Dober 2021: 257–258; Rieder-Zagkla 2022: 98–99.

7 The Karlovci archbishopric and metropolitanate were created after the Orthodox dioceses in the Habsburg

not common practice in the metropolitanate after 1786. A ruling in favor of this type of separation was made only when cohabitation was impossible or if the life of one of the spouses was endangered. A period of separation was meant to allow the spouses to consider their situation and ultimately recommit to cohabitation. During their separation, the husband was required to support his wife financially, but in the end, if cohabitation was impossible, the consistory could grant them a divorce.[8]

The Marriage Patent was repealed in Hungary in 1790, and the Hungarian Diet of 1791–1792 returned jurisdiction over marriage to the Catholic and Orthodox consistories, which it did not do for the Protestants because for them it was not a sacrament.[9] The same Diet also passed Article 26 (§26/1791), which permitted mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants, but they could only be performed by Catholic priests. If the father was Catholic and the mother Protestant, any children from the marriage would be raised in the Catholic faith. If the mother was Catholic, the daughters would be Catholics and the sons could remain Protestant. All matrimonial disputes involving existing mixed marriages and those that had not yet been concluded were under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church.[10] This law was meant to applied exclusively to Catholic–Protestant marriages and was not formally connected to Orthodox Christians; in practice, however, this was not the case. A provision was added on October, 12, 1807 that left open the possibility for children of mixed marriages to become Catholic if they so wished.[11] A few days earlier, on October 6, 1807, a resolution had been passed according to which mixed marriages (Catholic–Protestant and Catholic–Orthodox) performed by Protestant pastors or Orthodox priests were considered invalid and had to be repeated by a Catholic priest. Because these marriages were considered illegitimate, so too were the children they had produced, and these children were unable to inherit their parents' property. The emperor ordered the courts to temporarily suspend this interpretation until the marriage was concluded again by a Catholic priest, and that the children could inherit property in the event of their parents' deaths.[12] Other minor changes to marriage law followed in 1815 when it was determined that unknown individuals could not be married without the consent of a guardian or secular jurisdictional authority, and that the Church must be vigilant regarding underage marriages and must prevent any marriages from being conducted to avoid military service.[13]

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monarchy were reorganized in 1695 by Patriarch Asenije III Crnojević (1673–1706) of Peć with the permission of Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705). The metropolitanate was founded de jure in 1708 and was an autonomous part of the Patriarchate of Peć until the Patriarchate was abolished in 1766, after which it became an autocephalous Orthodox Church de facto. Although it was formed at the end of the seventeenth century as a church for Serbs, in the early eighteenth century it gained jurisdiction over other Orthodox Christian peoples (Romanians, Greeks, Aromanians, and Ruthenians) living within its borders. Its jurisdiction was then extended to all Orthodox Christians under Habsburg rule (Transylvania in 1761, Bukovina in 1783, and Dalmatia in 1828), but exclusively in regard to overseeing the spiritual and dogmatic teachings of the Orthodox Church. For more on this, see: Vasin, Ninković 2022, 159–160, 178.

8 ASANUK, MPA, K, 81/1797.

9 Nagy 2019: 821.

10 https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=79000026.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei? keyword%3D1790

11 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 102/1807.

12 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 104/1807.

13 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 16. and 88/1815.

2. Mixed Orthodox–Catholic Marriages in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Reign of Maria Theresa

Marriages between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians were not common, but did occasionally happen in Croatia, which sporadically led to problems. The first to address these marriages was the Catholic Diocese of Senj, whose spiritual authority extended through Lika and Krbava, where, according to the 1712 census, 77.35 percent of the population were Orthodox (Serbs) and 32.65 percent were Roman Catholic (Croats, Bunjevci, and converted Muslims).[14] People of different faiths living side by side inevitably led to mixed-faith marriages. Entering into a mixed marriage also required religious conversion, so in 1714, the Senj diocese tried to prevent them by prohibiting Roman Catholic women from marrying Orthodox Christian men.[15]

However, this ruling was not followed, and in response, Bishop Ivan Antun Benzoni (1731–1745) insisted that all mixed marriages be considered Catholic and ordered that these marriages could only be performed in the future by Roman Catholic priests. This meant that children born to these marriages were raised in the Roman Catholic faith. In 1744, Aleksije Andrejević (1744–1749) of Kostanjica and Pavle Nenadović (1744–1749) of Upper Karlovac, two Orthodox bishops whose dioceses were mostly located within the Military Frontier (the Karlovac Generalate and the Banovina), appealed to Empress Maria Theresa against the bishop's decision and sought permission for Serbian Orthodox priests to marry Orthodox Christian men to Roman Catholic women.[16] The empress did not render judgment at the time, but Nenadović continued his appeal, especially after he became the metropolitan of Karlovci in 1749, a position he held until his death in 1768.[17] After several appeals, on December 13, 1758, Maria Theresa issued a resolution permitting mixed marriages so long as the spouses remained within their own faiths after they were married. Any children resulting from the union would be raised in the faith of their same-sex parent (boys in the faith of their father and girls in the faith of their mother).[18] The possibility was left open for Orthodox children to freely convert to the Uniate or Roman Catholic Churches.[19]

This resolution also announced that anyone already in a mixed marriage would be examined, which the local military authorities (in the Karlovac Generalate) saw as an invitation to interfere in marriage law. Officers tried forcing the Serbs living there who were in mixed marriages to convert to Catholicism, even though no specific decree regarding this had been issued.[20] Furthermore, to maintain control over future marriages, they ordered that no marriages could take place without formal permission from the military government, regardless of the couple's faiths. Marriages could only be performed once written

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14 Kaser 2003: 19–42.
15 Dabić 2000: 301–302.
16 Točanac Radović 2015: 127.
17 Ninković 2017: passim.
18 This ruling did not apply to Trieste because the empress believed it would cause unrest. For this reason, she permitted parents to decide in which faith to raise their children. (ASANUK, MPA „A" 8−10/1757; AV, IDKD, 2407, 2450. and 2452; Kostić 2013: 167)
19 ASANUK, MPA, „B" 44/1758.
20 Točanac Radović 2015: 128

permission from a regimental officer had been received and presented to the priest. These decisions were not decrees issued by state institutions and applied only to the Karlovac Generalate in the Military Frontier, but they set a serious precedent, because of which the metropolitan unsuccessfully took legal action against Maria Theresa in 1764. Moreover, over time they became mandatory for the commands of other parts of the Military Frontier where officers granted the Grenzers permission to marry.[21]

The Council that was convened in 1769 to choose a successor to Metropolitan Pavle also considered the issue of mixed marriages in the diocese of Upper Karlovac (Karlovac Generalate). At the Council, Danilo Jakšić (1751–1771), the diocese's bishop, sought from the empress a ban on mixed marriages so there would be no further disputes. However, through the General *Regulament* of 1770, the empress ordered that mixed marriages would fall exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic and Uniate bishops.[22] That same year, a special resolution stipulated that children of mixed marriages could only be raised as either Roman Catholics or Uniates. The Council of 1774 sought the annulment of these decrees and compliance with the resolution of December 13, 1758. Once again, the empress did not concede to their demands and the earlier decrees in the *Regulament* of 1777 remained in force. In 1778, Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović Vidak (1774–1780) again petitioned for these decrees to be changed but was unsuccessful, and they were upheld for the third time in §68 of the *Declaritorium* of 1779.[23]

3. Mixed Marriages in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci after 1791

The adoption of §26/1791 reiterated the precedence of the Roman Catholic Church over the Orthodox Church and its right to perform mixed marriages. Although this article was not meant to apply to mixed marriages between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians, it was nevertheless amended in 1793. This was a consequence of a particular mixed marriage of which the consistory of the Catholic Csanád diocese had informed Bishop Pavle Avakumović (1786–1815) of Arad, by writing to him that this marriage would be performed by a Catholic priest. The bishop then informed the metropolitan, who filed suit with the Hungarian Court Chancellery, arguing that §26/1791 could not be applied to Orthodox Christians. The Chancellery replied that §26/1791 also applied to Catholic–Orthodox marriages.[24] Stratimirović again appealed to the Hungarian Court Chancellery and the Lieutenancy Council to seek an explanation, noting that this practice that applied to Protestants could not be applied to Orthodox Christians because, for them, marriage was a Holy Sacrament, just as it was for Roman Catholics. He noted that all of this contradicted §27/1791, which had granted Orthodox Christians rights as citizens in Hungary and put

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21 ASANUK, MPA „A" 72/1764.

22 Through the process of reform, Maria Theresa sought to introduce a permanent legal system for Serbs and Orthodox Christians within the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. To this end, she issued the first *Regulament* in 1770 via the Illyrian Court Deputation. Due to Serbian resistance, it was replaced in 1777 by the second *Regulament* but it did not quell the resistance. This resulted in a third act, the *Declatorium* of 1779. There was essentially no difference between these two laws. For more on this, see:Mikavica, Lemajić, Vasin i Ninković 2016: 172–179.

23 Točanac Radović 2015: 128–129.

24 ASANUK, MPA „A" 4, 57. i 67/1793. Dobrovšak 2005: 81, 91.

them on equal footing with Roman Catholics.[25] Last, he referred to the resolution of 1758.[26] His arguments were answered by the Lieutenancy Council's resolution of April 19, 1793, which stipulated that mixed marriages were the jurisdiction of Catholic priests.[27] Stratimirović immediately informed his bishops of this decree, but Bishop Kiril Živković (1786–1807) of Pakrac wanted to seek the opinion of Emperor Francis II (1792–1835).[28] There is no evidence that the metropolitan did so, but in March 1794 he brought suit against the Hungarian chancellor Count Karol Pálffy over the same issue, using the same arguments as before. This time, he asked the emperor for a final ruling based on §27/1791,[29] but the Hungarian Court Chancellery answered that it was the will of the emperor that §27/1791 be upheld, and that mixed marriages could only be Roman Catholic priests.[30] On October 9, 1799, the Lieutenancy Council repeated the earlier provisions regarding marriages between Catholics and Orthodox Christians, of which Metropolitan Stefan then informed the episcopate.[31]

The first mixed marriages were performed by Catholic priests in mid-1793, but issues soon arose over details that had not been properly regulated.[32]The first of these came before the consistory of the Diocese of Arad in 1794 when Sofija, daughter of Stefan Tenecki (1720–1798) a painter and an Orthodox Christian, married a Roman Catholic officer after the death of her first husband. Since she had become Catholic through this marriage, the question of which faith her daughter Katarina from her first marriage needed to be resolved. Stefan Tenecki opposed his granddaughter being raised Roman Catholic and took guardianship over her. After a period of time, however, Sofija petitioned the Arad County for her child to be returned.[33] The final ruling handed down by the Lieutenancy Council confirmed Stefan Tenecki's suspicion that this would entail a religious conversion: The council announced that the daughter must be raised in the faith of her mother, which in this case was Roman Catholicism. Stratimirović sought intervention from the emperor, but the Lieutenancy Council replied that this decision was, in fact, the will of the emperor.[34]

Stratimirović became an opponent of mixed marriages because of these sorts of rulings, and he repeatedly told his bishops and priests that they should try to prevent any mixed marriages, especially in civil Hungary and Croatia. In the Military Frontier, however, his hands were tied despite his desire to prevent them. There, rulings permitting mixed marriages came from the military authorities rather than the Church. This did not diminish his admonitions to the priests to use various means, primarily persuasion, to dissuade the faithful from marrying women of other faiths.

In August 1794 he reported this to Jelisej Popović, a military priest accompanying Count Ignác Gyulay's volunteer regiment in Worms. Stratimirović asked Popović to

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25 ASANUK, MPA „A" 67/1793; Mikavica, Gavrilović, Vasin 2007: 128.
26 ASANUK, MPA „A" 71/1793.
27 ASANUK, MPA „A" 82/1793.
28 ASANUK, MPA „A" 103. and 147/1793.
29 ASANUK, MPA „A" 315/1794.
30 ASANUK, MPA „A" 324/1794.
31 ASANUK, MPA „B" 23/1799.
32 ASANUK, MPA „A" 164/1793.
33 ASANUK, MPA „A" 263/1793.
34 ASANUK, MPA „A" 302, 304. and 466/1794.

persuade Serbian officers not to marry Roman Catholic women by pointing to the drawbacks of mixed marriages, including the fact that their future children would be raised in different faiths. If the military authorities approved a mixed marriage, the priest should warn the Serbian officers that they would be married by a Catholic priest rather than an Orthodox one.[35] Stratimirović raised the possibility that these marriages could be performed if the bride first accepted the Orthodox faith, but the priests would have to act publicly and voluntarily rather than under pressure.[36] Based on these instructions, in late 1798, Popović married officers after their fiancées had converted to Orthodoxy.[37]

In 1799, Stratimirović expressed a similar position to Gavrilo Isaković, the protopresbyter of Mitrovica, when he told him that a Grenzer named Jovan Milutinović from Šašinci, who was asking for his birth certificate for the third time so he could marry a Catholic, to dissuade him by explaining to him all the problems that came with mixed marriages.[38] In 1801 he also advised Sofronije Eraković, another military priest, to prevent a marriage between Sima Selaković, and Orthodox Christian, and Ana Barbara, a Roman Catholic with whom Selaković already had two children. However, when Colonel Andrija von Stojčević, the commander of Petrovaradin regiment, permitted the marriage, Stratimirović ordered Eraković to do everything he could to satisfy the command.[39]

Stratimirović's position regarding marriages between Orthodox men and Protestant women was quite different. He always accommodated them and gave priests permission to perform them, but he also noted that it would be better for the Protestant women to first convert to Orthodoxy before the marriage took place. The only question remaining was if it was necessary for them to undergo a six-week examination, which was required for Catholic women converting to Orthodoxy.[40] After consulting with the Protestants, Stratimirović concluded that there was no need, and they could convert without any examination. It was only important that the priests determine if they were entering the marriage willingly or for an illicit reason. If they were marrying out of love, the priests should marry them straight away while also respecting Orthodox traditions, of which the most important was to announce the future nuptials in church three times.[41] There were several examples of marriages between the Orthodox Grenzers and Protestant women. In 1797, a miliary priest named Aksentije Molović married four Orthodox men to four Lutheran women, of whom only one had converted to Orthodoxy.[42] In 1801 Stratimirović assented to a marriage between Mojsij Mijić, a Grenzer from the village of Šimanovci, and Johanna Dorotea Schultz, a Protestant from Prussia who had converted to Orthodoxy.[43]

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35 ASANUK, MPA „A" 435/1794.
36 ASANUK, MPA „A" 62. and 452/1794.
37 ASANUK, MPA „A" 329/1798.
38 ASANUK, MPA „A" 112/1799.
39 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 10/1801.
40 Examinations served to confirm if a Catholic woman had changed her faith voluntarily or under duress.
41 When an upcoming marriage was announced to the community, enough time was left for the priest to be informed of any reasons why the couple should not marry. ASANUK, MPA „A" 324/1798.
42 ASANUK, MPA „A" 329/1798.
43 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 5/1801.

4. Second and Third Marriages

Unlike the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church permitted divorce, which had been regulated since the Middle Ages when Saint Sava, the first Serbian archbishop, translated the Nomocanon into Serbian (1219/1220). Stratimirović referred to this legal code for delicate situations when divorce was required. According to the Nomocanon, a husband could divorce his wife if she had acted against his or the state's interests, if she had committed adultery, or if she had in any way conducted herself immorally. Divorce was also possible for the same reasons if the wife initiated it due to her husband's behavior. She could recover her dowry and even claim some of her husband's estate. If it was the husband rather than the wife who had committed adultery, the divorce did not have to be granted. A divorce could also be granted if the husband appeared to have been impotent for a period of three years, if he was a soldier of which nothing had heard for five or more years, or if one of the spouses chose to enter a monastery. It could also be granted if the husband debased his wife, intentionally made her life difficult, or threatened her life. Divorces were also granted in cases involving homosexuality, fetishization of or sexual intercourse with animals, castration, anal sex, masturbation, or infanticide.[44]

The metropolitan communicated his views on divorce to the Lieutenancy Council, which was had an interest due to a large number of petitions for new marriages from widows in Banat who had lost their husbands during the last Austro-Turkish War (1788–1791) but were unable to prove it. For these cases, the practice, also partially established by the Nomocanon, was that the widows were required to provide at least two statements: either written depositions issued by secular or ecclesiastical institutions, or two oral statements given under oath to a consistory by those who had witnessed their spouse's death or conversion. This law applied regardless of the sex of the person petitioning for a new marriage.[45] If the witnesses were priests, they took a spiritual oath, and laymen were subject to harsh penalties if they were found to have been untruthful.[46] If the required testimonies provided evidence of either death or conversion, the consistory would grant permission for a second marriage.[47] If it was not possible to obtain such evidence, and one of the spouses had disappeared within the Habsburg monarchy, a public summons to return to the marriage was issued to the spouse every two months. After the third summons, if the spouses still did not appear before an ecclesiastical or secular court, the marriage could be annulled. This, however, could not be applied to prisoners of war when it was unknown where the individual had gone missing, or if they had gone missing in a country where there was no possibility of hearing a public summons.[48]

In the bishopric of Vršac, permissions for marriage became a pressing issue because it had suffered the most casualties in 1788 when Ottoman troops invaded Banat.[49] Three years after the war ended, there were many widows who could not substantiate their

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44 Petrović 1990: 33–37; Petrović 2004: 507–508, 719–723; Hadžić 2010: 59–200.
45 ASANUK, MPA, K, 1. and 5/1795.
46 ASANUK, MPA, K, 5/1795.
47 ASANUK, MPA, K, 56/1797.
48 ASANUK, MPA „A" 189/1798.
49 Ilić 2020: 146–151.

husbands' deaths. Their petitions to be allowed to remarry reached the military command in Timisoara, which asked Bishop Josif Jovanović Šakabenta for detailed information on the subject. The bishop's reply, dated April 26, 1794, included information about 493 people who were divided into three categories: 442 people who were still being held in the Ottoman Empire, twenty-five people who had been captured in 1788 but it was unknown whether they were still living, and twenty-six of whom nothing was known other than they had abandoned their wives. Šakabenta also expressed his opposition to the emperor's intention to adopt a general dispensation that would essentially grant permission to marry for all who could not prove their partner was dead.[50] The bishop held that searching for runaway spouses in the Ottoman Empire was not possible due to its size, but that the Church could allow remarriages when five years had passed since the spouse had disappeared, although he did wonder what would happen if the spouse returned after five years. If this happened, he believed there would be no issues around dividing property because the wife was only entitled to what she had brought into the marriage with her dowry. The custody of the children, however, would be significantly more complicated. In the end, Šakabenta felt that the final decision should rest with the emperor because the canons did not offer a solution. The solution was that it would be sufficient to provide one deposition stipulating that an individual was no longer listed in their records, and this could be provided to the military authorities. This satisfied the secular institutions, and it satisfied the Church by implementing the Nomocanon and Canon 93 of the Quinisext Council (691–692), which permitted marriages for widows of soldiers of whom nothing had been known for five years and for whom it was reasonable to assume were deceased.[51]

In 1795, the Lieutenancy Council was particularly interested in whether the canons of the Orthodox Church permitted divorce in cases of adultery, and if so, did they only resolve the question of cohabitation (separation of table and bed) or of divorce and termination of the marriage. They requested information about how such cases were handled before it adopted Emperor Joseph II's Marriage Patent. The metropolitan answered that the ancient canons were in contradiction with the civil code and were thus inapplicable because they only referred to the death of an adulterer. In the Habsburg monarchy, the Metropolitanate of Karlovci rarely permitted divorce on grounds of adultery, and only allowed it if the wife's life was in danger or if there was a possibility of conversion to Islam after entering the Ottoman Empire. These matrimonial disputes could only be resolved by the *Apelatorija*,[52] which the emperor confirmed through a special act.[53]

Adultery could be a serious matrimonial issue, regardless of the metropolitan's position. Two examples illustrate this. The first dates from 1794 and occurred in Timisoara, where Marija Kostić, the wife of Georgij Nikolajević, sought a divorce after her husband beat her and threated to kill her because he was living with another woman whom he loved.

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50 ASANUK, MPA „A" 358/1794.

51 ASANUK, MPA „A" 358/1794.

52 Each diocese within the Metropolitanate of Karlovci had its own consistory. Anyone dissatisfied with its rulings could appeal to a higher court of the metropolitanate's consistory, which is referred to in the sources as the *Apelatorija*. It could only consider judgments that had already been made by a diocesan consistory. For more, see: Vasin and Ninković 2022: 146–149, 158.

53 ASANUK, MPA „A" 30., 35. and 60/1795. and 166/1796.

She claimed there was nothing she could hope for from her savage and infatuated husband, so she was asking for a divorce and for him to pay her dowry, which was in accordance with the rules of the Church.[54] The other case occurred in 1799 in the diocese governed by the metropolitan himself, when a priest named Mihajlo Cikuša fell in love with the wife of a local officer who had been gone for a long time fighting on the battlefields against France. During this time, the priest and his mistress maintained a relationship that had produced a child, even though Cikuša already had a family from a previous marriage. The military command requested he be transferred to another village, which the metropolitan quickly granted. The priest then brought suit against Stratimirović for giving him a less prosperous parish than his previous one, because of which he was now suffering financially. He also added that he did not want to be separated from his mistress. However, he was forced to concede after being pressured by the command and the metropolitan.[55]

The French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1801) created new issues for women whose husbands had been gone for years and about whom nothing was known. Many soldiers died or became invalids during these wars. In 1793, the Lieutenancy Council asked Stratimirović to persuade the priests under civil authority not to marry invalids without the permission of the secular authorities.[56] On February 25, 1794, it also stipulated that those claiming their marital partner had died and wished to enter into a second marriage must present written proof of death issued by the Church.[57] The metropolitan respected these directives, and he himself was opposed to anyone being granted permission to marry if there was no solid evidence that one of the spouses was deceased or had converted to Islam.[58] Here too, he considered only one deposition to be sufficient, as he had for the case in bishopric of Vršac after the last Ottoman–Habsburg war. His only requirement was that the judgment should come from the diocesan consistories rather than the secular authorities.[59]

The urgency of the issue became apparent in 1801 when the Treaty of Lunéville was signed and the Grenzers' years-long military service came to an end. In the aftermath of the war, it became clear that adultery, illegitimate children, and infanticide had occurred in the Military Frontier during the war.[60] In late 1802, the Court suggested a blanket permission allowing all women whose husbands had not returned from the war to remarry. Stratimirović opposed this and demanded that the consistories hand down judgments in accordance with previous practice and on a case-by-case basis.[61] After October 25, 1803, the Court issued a law deciding that all those in the Military Frontier wishing to remarry and who did not possess two written depositions about the death of their husband or two living witnesses to their death should appeal to the military command. In further proceedings, the command would question witnesses who might have some knowledge of what had befallen the missing husband. The officers and Grenzers from the unit he had belonged to were

54 ASANUK, MPA „A" 340/1794.
55 Ninković 2015: 174–175.
56 ASANUK, MPA „A" 3/1793.
57 ASANUK, MPA „A" 307/1794.
58 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 49. and 50/1801.
59 ASANUK, MPA „A" 200/1800.
60 Ninković 2023: 421.
61 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 164/1802.

questioned, as were soldiers with whom he may have been imprisoned with or undergone medical treatment. When the place where he had been captured was identified or if it was unknown whether he was deceased, a request was submitted to the Imperial War Council to confirm through the embassies if he was living in another country or if his death could be confirmed. All available evidence was sent to the consistories.[62] In practice, however, the embassies were passed over and everything was left to the regimental commands and the consistories, who would organize their own investigations conducted by protopresbyters. They directly collected what information they could, and the consistories always made their rulings, such as permitting a new marriage, on the basis of what they found.[63] Initially, this law only applied to the Military Frontier, but on April 7, 1807 it was extended to the area under civil administration, after which widows of Grenzers could also marry there.[64] The laws remained unchanged in the following period, with the exception of permission given in mid-1816 to women who had been abandoned by their husbands to seek permission to remarry exclusively from the *Apelatorija* rather than the diocesan consistories.[65]

5. Fourth Marriages and Clerical Marriages

Many Orthodox Christians from the Military Frontier had perished during the wars, and along with the many diseases that were incurable in the eighteenth century and the Orthodox Church permitting divorce, it became more likely that widows, widowers, and divorced people would remarry. Despite attempts to ban fourth marriages, which the Church Synod did in 1776 and Maria Theresa upheld by law in 1777, there occasionally were petitions for a fourth marriage, which could only be granted by a bishop. Stratimirović was formally opposed to fourth marriages, but in practice he did grant permission for them. He always insisted that priests educate the spouses-to-be about how problematic these marriages could be from the standpoint of the Church, and to then determine an appropriate penitential remedy (*epitimion*) for them. An illustrative example is that of Teodora, the widow of Marko Marković from Bešenovački Prnjavor. The metropolitan ordered the abbot of the Bešenova Monastery, Teofil Novaković, to have a clergyman hear Teodora's confession before the wedding and inform her that she would remain a penitent for the rest of her life, which meant penance and an obligation to teach her children the Orthodox faith and the basic Christian payers.[66]

The primary motivations for the metropolitan permitting fourth marriages were economic and social. He was always accommodating with young people who could still have children, when a family's financial stability depended on a fourth marriage, or when a wife was needed to properly raise children. Often when there was a fourth marriage, both spouses had already married three times, or one of them may have had two. It was rare for a man who had been married two or three times to marry a woman who had never been married.

Surviving documents illustrate Stratimirović's understanding of the need for fourth marriages. In 1793, when he granted permission to Stojan Vukovarac from the

62 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 55/1803.
63 ASANUK, MPA, K, 2, 3, 14, 37, 93, 97, 110, 111, 115, 131–133, 145. and 146/1803.
64 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 119/1807.
65 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 42/1777. and 183/1816.
66 ASANUK, MPA „A" 342/1794.

village of Grk to marry the thrice-married Marija Lozjanin, he noted that Stojan was thirty-six years old and had a small child who needed a mother. Furthermore, considering Stojan's age, if he did not marry, he would most likely sin by cohabitating with Marjia anyway. For this reason, he considered a fourth marriage to be the lesser sin.[67] He always granted permission to merchants because the nature of their business meant they were away from home for long periods of time, and they would need a wife to care for the children and their households.[68] The case of Gavrilo Bakalović, a merchant from Vukovar, is an example of this and why a third or fourth marriage was not something of which to be proud. Bakalović was not young when he sought permission to marry for a third time in 1799. By then he already had a married daughter and a son who was engaged, but he needed a wife to run his household. He was ashamed to announce his third marriage in church due to his age and because he had grown children. He petitioned the metropolitan to make an exception for him; if not, he would give up on the marriage. Stratimirović obliged him.[69]

In specific cases, the metropolitan was known to grant permission for marriages under extraordinary circumstances. In 1799, he permitted fifteen-year-old Kuzman Đurić of Jamena to marry, even though the Orthodox Church considered sixteen to be the age of majority. Stratimirović allowed this marriage because the village was located in the Military Frontier, which had suffered heavy losses, and any marriage that could produce children would help repopulate the area.[70] In 1815, the Court cautioned all the heads of the churches in the Habsburg monarchy keep a close eye on underage marriages being entered into as a means of avoiding military service, but by this time, the large-scale wars against France and Napoleon had already ended, so this decree could be enforced. [71]

Clerical marriages were a particular challenge for the metropolitan when it was young priests who had been widowed. The Orthodox Church did not allow priests to remarry, but after the *Regulamenat* and the *Declaratorium*, widowed priests could remain with their parishes until their deaths and were not forced to become monks. Eventually, there were cases of widowed priests cohabitating with women, often under the pretense that the women were caring for the household and children because the priests' spiritual duties kept them otherwise occupied. When such a case presented itself in the diocese of Upper Karlovac in 1795, its bishop Genadije Dimović (1786–1796) told Stratimirović that there had never been anything like it before and asked for his advice. The case in question was Petar Orlić, a priest from Karlovac who had been living with a widow for the past six years. Being that she was now pregnant for the second time, he asked Bishop Genadija to unfrock him so he could marry her. The metropolitan was unsure as to how to proceed; the priesthood and marriage were Holy Sacraments, but he could not allow a priest to live in sin. Stratimirović decided that Bishop Genadija should try to steer Petar Orlić toward a moral life, but if he still wished to cohabitate with this widow, being unfrocked would be a lesser sin than living with a woman to whom he was not married.[72]

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67 ASANUK, MPA „A" 4/1793.
68 ASANUK, MPA „A" 329/1794.
69 ASANUK, MPA „A" 12/1799.
70 ASANUK, MPA „A" 25/1799.
71 ASANUK, MPA „A" 88/1815.
72 ASANUK, MPA, „A" 116/1795.

A more difficult question was the marriage of Atanasije Božić of Vršac, a deacon who had married Ana, the daughter of Jovan Zafirović, a merchant from Ciacova in 1793. She was five months pregnant when they married, which Atanasije claimed not to have known. Ana gave birth four months later, and her husband sent her and the child back to her father. Meanwhile, Atanasije sought advice from Bishop Josif Jovanović Šakabenta as to what to do. He feared he would not only lose his position as deacon but would also be unable to enter the priesthood in the future. He was willing to remain married to Ana if it would prevent this. The bishop and the consistory should have rendered the final verdict, but they had no precedent to consult from, so they turned to the metropolitan. Stratimirović indicated there were two problems: the first concerned the deacon and the second his wife. He asked Atanasije if he had known Ana had had intimate relations even before he became a deacon, and if so, had he confessed this to his priest. If he had known and confessed, then he was at fault, could never become a priest, and must be sanctioned. However, the bishop who had ordained him as a deacon also bore the sin if he had been aware of this. But if Atanasije had known nothing of this before he was ordained, then he was innocent and could not only remain a deacon but could still enter the priesthood. However, a period of penance would be required. It was necessary to question Ana to determine whether she had had intimate relations before or during her marriage, whether this was conscious or unconscious, or if she had sinned because she was unable to exercise good judgment. If she had been aware of the sin, then the marriage must be considered null and void, and Atanasije would be free to marry again. If the sin had not been a conscious one, then Stratimirović ordered that the bishop to determine her penance. He explained this by referring to the canons of the Orthodox Church, and in particular Canon 18 of the Apostolic Canons, according to which a man married to a widow, a divorced woman, a harlot, a servant, or an actress was not permitted to become either a deacon or a bishop. According to the canons of Theodore Balsamon, the bishop must sanction the deacon because it had been his obligation to make inquiries about his future wife. If the deacon admitted he had not done so and knew little about Ana before they were married, he must be sanctioned, and the bishop must monitor improvements in his behavior, on which his priestly ordination would depend. It was clear to Stratimirović that the canons could not always be followed precisely, because here they would have required Ana to enter a convent, and no one had the power to force her to do so. Therefore, he concluded that it would be best for both of them to do penance and continue to cohabitate as a married couple.[73]

* * *

Marriage law as domain exclusive to the Church within the Habsburg monarchy first became subject to Maria Theresa's reforms in 1753. In 1783, Emperor Joseph II subordinated it to the interests of the state through centralization and secularization. Although some rights were returned to the ecclesiastical courts after his rule, Joseph II's reforms essentially remained in place. This meant there was basically no difference between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and all changes related to marriages also applied to the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. The most significant change affected mixed marriages

[73] ASANUK, MPA „A" 312/1794.

between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians, which gradually fell under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, as outlined by Maria Theresa (1770, 1777, and 1779). To keep marriage law under the metropolitanate's jurisdiction, Stratimirović would accommodate the state whenever possible, especially when it concerned the Military Frontier. The metropolitan was much more rigid about marriages between Orthodox spouses, which did not concern the state, than he was about issues discussed by local secular or military authorities. He was particularly opposed to mixed marriages between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians but showed no animosity toward Protestants.

When the canons contradicted secular law, the metropolitan made judgments as required by the state, and recommended that his bishops do the same. The justifications for his decisions were rooted in Church practice, but some of these required original interpretations when there was no precedent to which he could refer. The many requests for remarriage from widows whose spouses had not returned from the wars with France were particularly challenging. The state and the Church worked together with the best of intentions to secure them permission, especially so those who were young and still able to bear children could continue their lives. This example perfectly illustrates how cooperation between the state and Metropolitanate of Karlovci at the end of the eighteenth century tended to favor practical solutions, yet still followed the path dictated by the state. This cooperation, even regarding marriage, strengthened Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović's position and enabled the expansion of his authority as both a Church leader and as an official of the state.

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НЕНАД НИНКОВИЋ
Универзитет у Новом Саду
Филозофски факултет, Одсек за историју

БРАК У КАРЛОВАЧКОЈ АРХИЕПИСКОПИЈИ КРАЈЕМ XVIII ВЕКА

Резиме

Брак и брачно право су у Хабзбуршкој монархији током последње две деценије XVIII века били предмет промена, с једне стране услед реформске политике цара Јозефа II, а са друге услед нових политичких и друштвених околности изазваних ратом против Француске. Промене су се односиле на све хришћанске цркве укључујући и Карловачку архиепископију. Последња деценија XVIII века показала је колико је архиепископ Стефан Стратимировић могао да се прилагоди новим околностима и новим законима упркос што они нису били увек у складу са његовим схватањима. У раду се презентују ове промене и наводе примери из којих се види однос према новим околностима епископата Карловачке архиепископије и њеног поглавара. Указује се и на специфичности које су се појавиле у ово време у српском и православном друштву Хабзбуршке монархије.

Кључне речи: Хабзбуршка монархија, Карловачка архиепискпија, Срби, Стефан Стратимировић, Војна граница, брак.

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ŽARKO D. ILIĆ
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History
0000-0002-3675-4424
zarko.ilic95@yahoo.com

QUARANTINE STATIONS AND *SASTANCI* ON THE BORDERS IN SERBIA (1829–1839)*

Abstract: Between 1829 and 1839 a quarantine system was established and developed in the Principality of Serbia to protect the population from contagious diseases threatening from abroad. The most important element was the quarantine station, and the border *sastanci* (trading posts) were important as economic and sanitary institutions. This paper focuses on the establishment of the first quarantine stations in the Pashalik of Belgrade and later on in the Principality of Serbia. It will show when the quarantine stations and *sastanci* were established, what their role was and how they operated, which laws they were regulated by. The duration of quarantine is also reconstructed. Special attention will be paid to the duration of the quarantine and the procedures followed. The paper is based on unpublished and published archival materials, and on relevant literature.

Keywords: Principality of Serbia, Prince Miloš, quarantine, sastanak, bubonic plague, border, cordon sanitaire.

Serbia is located in the central part of the Balkan peninsula, a position with many benefits but also burdened by political history. Serbia and its population were not safe from its impact on the public health. The bubonic plague, also known as the Black Death, spread through the Balkans and medieval Serbia between 1346 and 1351. The plague swept across the Balkans again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and this had serious consequences for its demography. There were at least five waves of the plague in the eighteenth century, with epidemics lasting for several years.[1] It was during this century, which witnessed the most frequent plague epidemics in Serbia, that the first quarantine stations emerged. Due to Austrian rule over the Kingdom of Serbia between 1718 and 1739, the first quarantines were established in 1718 in Paraćin and Crna Bara, located on the

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1 For more, see: Ivanić 1937: 15–42; Hrabak 1981: 5–39; Šešum 2021: 12–15.

border with the Ottoman Empire. Later, in 1733, the quarantine in Crna Bara was moved to Prnjavor.[2] The Austrian period was also the first time sanitary regulations were implemented in the Kingdom of Serbia. These regulations clearly defined quarantine practices. They were inherited from Venetian regulations and adjusted to the needs of the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1770, all of these regulations were published as part of the General Norm of the Sanitary Service, which had been preceded by Plague Patent of 1710, Charles VI's Patent of October 22, 1728, establishing a cordon sanitaire, and regulations from 1731 regarding the duties of officials working in quarantine stations.[3]

With the end of Habsburg rule over the former Kingdom of Serbia and the establishment of a border on the Danube and the Sava, the short-lived period of organized sanitary service in the area south of the two rivers came to an end. There was no cordon sanitaire in the Ottoman Empire, that was organized through quarantine. The semi-autonomy of the Serbian people in the Pashalik of Belgrade—established after the Second Serbian Uprising, based on an oral agreement between Prince Miloš and Marashli Ali Pasha, and confirmed by *firman*s issued in the winter of 1815/1816—did not mean the Serbs could establish quarantines independently. Despite the Serbs concern over it, the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade was still an administrative line separating the provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[4] In order to organize a cordon sanitaire independently, it was necessary to have precisely defined state borders separating the autonomous region from the rest of the empire.[5]

1. The First Quarantine Stations

The establishment of the Principality of Serbia, enabled by the Porte's legal documents (*Hatt-i-sharif*s from 1829, 1830, and 1833), and the delineation of its borders paved the way for quarantine stations to be established along them. Although the first *Hatt-i-sharif* did not provide new rights to the Serbian people, and instead repeated the earlier Russian–Turkish provisions,[6] it nevertheless guaranteed the fulfillment of Serbian demands. Although the Serbs' right to build quarantine stations along the border was not mentioned at all in the *Hatt-i-sharif* of 1829, it seems that it led to the establishment of these institutions

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2 Ivanić 1937: 15, 26, 28; Đorđević 2016: 29–36.

3 Jesner 2021: 31–48; Bronza 2019: 177–181; Jagodić 2021: 56.

4 Ljušić 2022: 36, 84–86.

5 There are several studies in the recent literature about the Serbian cordon sanitaire between 1830 and 1839: Petrović 1897: 349–351; Mihailović 1937: 29–88; Mihailović 1961; Stojančević 1952: 61–85; Stojančević 1975: 3–10; Živković 1973: 53–78; Petković 2008: 33–36; Milojević 2023. Even with such extensive literature about how the quarantines and *sastanci* (trading posts) were organized, many questions remain about the history of the Serbian border cordon during this period, including some very basic ones such as when the first quarantine stations and a permanent border cordon were established; how long the quarantine period lasted when the *stastanci* established and where on the Serbian border were they located; what were the dynamics of their operation during the late 1840s; and many other questions. Thus after a detailed analysis of the archival material, it is necessary to offer a new overview of the development of the Serbian border sanitary service during the 1830s to address all of these questions. There are many errors in the cited literature, so commentary has been avoided, since it would require a considerable amount of work.

6 Article 8 of the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), Article 5 and the Separate Act of the Ackermann Convention, Article 6 of the Treaty of Adrianople (Ljušić 1984: 1–20; Ljušić 2022: 88).

for sanitary protection on the borders of the Pashalik of Belgrade. Encouraged by the fact that the Serbian demands would soon be fulfilled, and the Serbian state would establish a border, with a yet uncertain direction, Prince Miloš took steps to enact health safety measures to protect the population under his control.

The idea to establish quarantines along the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade emerged in the latter part of 1829 and was initiated by an outbreak of plague spreading through the area of Vidin. Two quarantine stations were built around the same time: one in Poreč and another in Ćuprija. The quarantine in Poreč was built in the latter part of November 1829.[7] Unlike in Poreč, opening a station in Ćuprija was somewhat more complicated. The Turks and Arnauts living there were opposed to any quarantine measures along the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade. The Belgrade vizier had to be informed about the directive to establish a station in Ćuprija and his approval had to be obtained, at least in principle. Although the vizier agreed with Prince Miloš's directive, due to the presence of the Arnauts and the pasha's army in Niš, he dared not issue a permit without the approval of the Porte.[8] The vizier suggested the prince obtain the permit of the authorities in Niš, while Mileta Radojković and Milosav Zdravković were on their way to establish a quarantine in Ćuprija. After they arrived, they informed the Turks of Prince Miloš's decision. No quarantine building was built, and instead three Turkish buildings with fifteen rooms were rented. This was how the quarantine in Ćuprija was established, and the quarantine regulations were applied immediately. Similar to Poreč, the guards were deployed along the borders of Temnić and Resava to prevent free passage of the population and to direct them to the quarantine in Ćuprija.[9]

The Turks and Arnauts who remained in Ćuprija soon openly expressed their frustrations caused by the quarantine due to financial, religious, and political circumstances. Their main market was in Paraćin, and their mills were also located there. Given that a ten-day quarantine was required at each border crossing, the financial concerns behind their dissatisfaction are clear. Also, they were not prepared to have their children quarantined alongside 'infidels' or to comply with their measures. Apart from that, the more clearly defined border between the Pashalik of Belgrade and the area south of its borders made it more difficult to maintain contact with their compatriots. The situation was resolved by a letter from the Belgrade vizier in which he stated that they would be expelled south of the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade if they failed to comply with the quarantine rules.[10]

Only a few notes have been preserved about the Poreč and Ćuprija quarantines after they were opened. It is certain that the quarantine period in Ćuprija immediately after its establishment was ten days. What else went on at this quarantine until the second half of 1831 is not known, but it appears that quarantine regulations were not applied for some time. The quarantine period was most likely abolished or reduced to one day in the first half of 1830. The favorable epidemiological situation in the regions south of the Pashalik of Belgrade would suggest this. Political circumstances and dissatisfaction among the Turks

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7 The State Archives of Serbia, Belgrade, Chancellery of the Principality, Požarevačka nahija sa Porečom (=XXI), 976. (DAS, KK).

8 DAS, KK, Beogradski konzulat (=VII), 632.

9 DAS, KK, XXXI, 494.

10 DAS, KK, VII, 634; DAS, KK, Ćuprijska nahija (=XXXI), 574; Šešum 2016: 142.

and Albanians also had an influence. However, this does not mean the station itself had been closed. It remained there throughout 1830, and only the quarantine period was abolished or significantly reduced.[11]

Unlike the station in Ćuprija, how the Poreč quarantine operated appears to be somewhat clearer. It is not known how long the quarantine period was after it was opened, but in May 1830 the quarantine was reduced to only twenty-four hours, where it remained until July 1830 when it again increased to seven days. In the second half of the year, the number of necessary quarantine days was certainly reduced at some point, but it is not known by how much. Also, in early 1830, the Poreč station was relocated and expanded due to flooding.[12]

An outbreak of plague in Bucharest at the beginning of 1831, followed by a cholera outbreak throughout almost all of the Principality of Serbia in the middle of that year gave a new impetus to the development of the quarantine system in the principality.[13] The outbreak of plague in Bucharest led to the period in Poreč being extended to seven days for all travelers coming from Wallachia. Travelers from Vidin, where cholera was not yet present, only needed to be quarantined for day and a half (thirty-six hours).[14] When news of the increased spread of cholera arrived in Poreč, the quarantine period there was increased to twenty days. Only the pasha of Ada Kaleh's men were either fully exempt from quarantine or allowed to continue their journey to Belgrade after only one day.[15] The quarantine period remained unchanged in Poreč until early September 1831, when the number of days was decreased to fourteen, then seven, and then raised again to fifteen days after cholera had taken firmer hold in Wallachia.[16]

The station near Ćuprija continued to be used to protect the population in the Pashalik of Belgrade from cholera. The issues that had arisen when the quarantine was established in 1829 appeared again, and the Turks once again opposed the quarantine regulations. In order to keep cholera from spreading to the country, the Turks were forced to remain in quarantine for five days. At one point, the Turkish opposition threatened to escalate into an armed rebellion against Zdravković, who was in charge of implementing the quarantine regulations. Zdravković was forced to take refuge in Ravanica due to the mounting tensions. The Turks were most likely forced to comply with the quarantine regulations once the Serbian prince and the Belgrade vizier took action. By the beginning of December, all those entering the Principality of Serbia via Ćuprija were in full compliance with the quarantine decree.[17]

By early September, it became evident that quarantining was not particularly successful at preventing the spread of cholera, as was the case in Aleksinac. The quarantine period was

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11 Turks and Albanians not adhering to the quarantine regulations was reported in a letter from Milosav Zdravković to Prince Miloš from mid-August 1931. He said he had warned the Turks about the new epidemics, and that they would have to stop meeting with people from Paraćin. DAS, KK, XXXI, 574; VII, 634; Šešum 2021: 15–16; Mihailović 1937: 20–30.

12 DAS, KK, XXI, 981, 1010, 1018, 1039, 1052.

13 Mihailović 1961: 1–37.

14 DAS, KK, XXI, 1128; Plavšić, Milovanović 2012: 169.

15 Mihailović 1961: 11.

16 DAS, KK, XXI, 1254.

17 DAS, KK, XXXI, 574, 575, 576, 577; DAS, KK, Turci sa strane knezu Milošu (=XXX), 773; Marković, Mišković 2010: 529.

soon shortened, and it was decided that in the future the quarantine period would last only twenty-four hours. This was motivated partly by a lack of storage space at the Ćuprija station.[18]

Mitigation of the epidemic of cholera made quarantines and their role less important in the Principality of Serbia. As a result, there is little archival information available about the Ćuprija and Poreč stations after 183. However, it is clear that both stations were active later on. Ilija Čarapić remained in charge of the Poreč station, and after mid-1833 Mateja Hristić was in charge of the one in Ćuprija.[19] Eventually both stations become obsolete after the areas surrounding them become part of the Principality of Serbia following a rebellion, and the nahiyas of Kruševac, Paraćin and Ražanj were annexed to the Principality of Serbia in late 1832 and May 1833, along with a part of the Vidin Sanjak, which was supposed to be annexed to the Principality of Serbia according to the Russian–Turkish commission.[20]

It is important to note that the stations opened in Poreč and Ćuprija in 1829 were among the first founded in the Ottoman Empire. Local authorities had established a quarantine station on the island of Hydra a few years earlier (1818), and there were similar institutions on the islands of Chios, Crete, which were autonomous islands.[21] Two years after the stations were opened in Ćuprija and Poreč, one was established in Constantinople (1831) and around the same time, Mohammed Ali-pasha established stations along the Nile valley and the coast of the Red Sea, and then later in Syria.[22] Inspired by the Austrian practice, Prince Miloš became the first to set up a cordon sanitaire within the Ottoman territory under his control. This area was still fully under Ottoman rule and without autonomy, so these were the first real quarantine stations in the empire.[23] Considering later Ottoman practice, which placed quarantines under the jurisdiction of the local authorities, the stations and the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade were not in opposition. What did cause friction was that the order had been issued by Prince Miloš rather than the vizier of Belgrade. However, after the second *Hatt-i sharif* (1830), the right to impose quarantines became one of the rights of the Serbian people within the autonomous Principality of Serbia, thus fully legalizing the stations opened in 1829.[24]

Austrian sanitary practices and legislation related to it had a greater influence on the establishment and regulation of quarantine stations and quarantine regulations, first in the Pashalik of Belgrade, and then in the Principality of Serbia. In addition, the Austrian

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18 Mihailović 1961: 35–36.

19 DAS, KK, XXXI, 677; Plavšić, Milovanović 2012: 258–259.

20 Ljušić 1984: 30–33.

21 Barlagianis 2020: 16.

22 Ayalon 2015: 183.

23 Hamed-Troyansky 2021: 242–243.

24 Apart from the quarantines in Ćuprija and Poreč, claims can be found in the literature that in 1831 there were quarantine stations in Belgrade, Golubac and Dobrinja. Of these stations, a similar institution existed only in Belgrade for a short time in 1831 in the second half of August, and it was not a proper quarantine station. It consisted of two warehouses on the Serbian side of the Sava that were used only for storing goods, and travelers from Zemun were not permitted to enter Belgrade during the cholera epidemic. This station was closed in early September. Quarantine stations were never opened at Golubac and Dobra. There was only an order or recommendation issued by Prince Miloš to set up stations in these places after cholera appeared in Belgrade, Smederevo, and Šabac to prevent further transmission to the east, outside the borders of the Principality of Serbia. This order was not implemented, because the cholera epidemic, which was the reason for tightening quarantine measures in the Principality of Serbia, soon subsided. (Mihailović 1961: 10; Stojančević 1968: 111; DAS, KK, Beogradska policija (V), 101; DAS, KK, XXI, 1233).

authorities provided practical assistance to the Serbian authorities in establishing a station in 1829. At the request of Prince Miloš, the head of the station in Zemun sent an experienced officer familiar with quarantine regulations to the Pashalik of Belgrade.[25] The Austrian sanitary authorities were aware that by assisting the Principality of Serbia in organizing quarantine and protections against plague, they were also protecting their own borders.

There are very few sources about how the first quarantines operated. It is known that the Poreč quarantine was run by Stefan Stefanović Tenka. In late August, Ilija Čarapić assisted him and later took over and remained as its head until the station was closed.[26] The only known head of the Ćuprija station was Mateja Hristić, who held the position in the middle of 1833, soon before it was closed. Anta Stepanović is mentioned as being the secretary in 1831.[27] The rules and duties of the officials that were applied during quarantine were prescribed by a temporary decree promulgated by Prince Miloš on August 29, 1831, but its content is unknown. All that is certain is that it relied on similar Austrian regulations, as were later sanitary regulations.[28] The Ćuprija station was intended exclusively for monitoring land traffic, and Poreč was the station for boats sailing along the Danube. Along with fumigating goods and providing people with lodging, the officials of the Poreč and Ćuprija stations were required to issue certificates confirming people had completed the required quarantine period. These certificates facilitated movement within the Pashalik of Belgrade and the Principality of Serbia and also reduced the number of quarantine days required of travelers at the Zemun station, which was the reason the Austrian authorities proposed they be issued.[29]

2. A Permanent Cordon Sanitaire on the Border

2. 1. Establishing Quarantine Stations and *Sastanci*

The establishment of a clearly defined border for the Principality of Serbia was directly related to the issue of the so-called detached *nahiya*s, and until it was resolved, the border could not be demarcated nor could new quarantines be established. After the Russian–Turkish commission completed its work at the end of 1830/1831 and lengthy negotiations, this issue was resolved by the third *Hatt-i sharif* (1833), which, among other things, conceded the disputed territories to Serbia, and a new border was demarcated in late 1833 and early 1834 by the Serbian–Turkish commission. A clear definition, marking, and setup enabled new possibilities for establishing a more permanent sanitary system based on quarantine stations, which were the most important institutions for protecting public health at the border.[30]

When the border was moved south of Aleksinac to Supovac and to Timok, the previously established Ćuprija and Poreč stations were no longer necessary and became just places within the borders of the Principality of Serbia. The new border also required new

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25 DAS, KK, VII, 636.
26 Plavšić, Milovanović 2012: 258–259.
27 DAS, KK, XXI, 1228; DAS, KK, XXXI, 677; Marković, Mišković 2010*:* 538.
28 Mihailović 1961: 29.
29 DAS, KK, VII, 636; DAS, KK, XXXI, 574.
30 For more on this and a detailed direction of the border line, see: Ilić 2022: 283-330.

stations. The first and, until 1836, the only established quarantine station was located in Aleksinac. Considering that one of the most important trade routes through the Balkan peninsula passed through there and that most people traveled this way, it is clear why the construction of the Aleksinac quarantine station began as early as the second half of 1834. Correspondence from 1836 mentions equipping the 'old' station, so it is completely clear that construction had been completed by the end of 1834 and the station was operational, but no information about its operations has been found. The quarantine buildings were built at the end of 1834, but the institution itself as a measure of sanitary protection was not established at the border. This is confirmed by a letter from the administrator in Aleksinac from mid-July 1836, which indicates there were buildings for quarantining travelers there, but there was no administration nor was it operating according to its intended purpose.[31]

As is often mentioned in the historiography, the primary instigation behind the establishment of a quarantine and cordon system along the principality's border was the threat of plague, which began slowing approaching its borders in mid-1836.[32] This infectious disease had come to Kavala from Egypt, and from there began spreading toward the Balkan interior in almost every direction along the main roads.[33] Considering the plague first approached Serbia from the southeast, it is obvious why the Aleksinac station was a priority. The outfitting of the old station started in early August.[34] After construction began in the summer of 1836, the Aleksinac station included a mechanic, three barns, an office for officials, four cabins with eight rooms each, a well, storage space for cotton and wool, and a stable for horses.[35] The Belgrade vizier Yusuf Pasha was also interested in establishing a station on the border of the principality, and he received approval from the Porte granting the Serbian prince the right to establish stations along the border. The approval came a month and a half after it opened.[36] The station in Aleksinac officially commenced operations on August 23, 1836[37] according to a proclamation by Prince Miloš, which, in addition to establishing the station, also appointed Nikola Ćefala as the director, Mateja Hristić, the former manager of the Ćuprija quarantine, as the supervisor, and Dimitrije Andrejević, the former secretary of the Aleksinac district, as the quarantine's secretary.[38]

The danger of plague reaching the principality became increasingly likely during the renovations and adaptations of the Aleksinac station, and it became necessary to take further measures to secure the border from all sides. This was done by placing guards and building

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31 DAS, State Council (=DS), Del. protokol br. 1296; DAS, KK, Aleksinačka nahija (=I), 21; Marković, Mišković 2010: 683. In a letter to the State Council, the official at Aleksinac stated that the rooms for the clerks were very small, and therefore he suggests their offices be moved to Aleksinac customs station, and the customs station be moved to the quarantine building. This indicates that the quarantine station was not independently organized. (Stojančević 1952: 68).

32 For more about the plague epidemic in the late 1830s and its occurrence in the Principality of Serbia, see: Đorđević 1938: 33–38; Mihailović 1937; Milojević 2023: 56–73.

33 Mihailović 1937: 27; Stojančević 1952: 62–63.

34 DAS, KK, I, 94, 100

35 DAS, KK, I, 269.

36 DAS, KK, Beogradski konak (=VI), 746, 748, 751, 759.

37 All dates in body of the paper are according to the Gregorian calendar.

38 DAS, KK, Raspisi i objave (=XXV), 169.

a watchtower. However, since it was also necessary to ensure the movement of people and goods, in early September 1836, Prince Miloš decided to open a quarantine station at Mokra Gora, Bregovo, and at the mouth of the Drina.[39]

Ilija Popović, a member of the State Council, who was responsible for the construction of the station at Mokra Gora, was tasked with finding a place to build it and to present a building plan to the superior whom he considered the most suitable to oversee the construction. He recommended Jovan Mićić for the position.[40] Construction for the Mokra Gora quarantine began in September 1836. The local population was required to provide supplies through a corvée (*kuluk*) system, and only skilled craftsmen were paid.[41] Most of the construction was completed by early October. It was located not far from Mokra Gora in an area called Belo Polje, and it had one large space divided into six rooms, a warehouse for storage, an office for the director, and a guardhouse.[42]

In response to reports of the emergence of a 'sudden' disease, which was almost certainly cholera, in Sarajevo, the Mokra Gora quarantine station began operations even before construction was completed. In reaction to the news, on September 20, 1836, Prince Miloš ordered all traffic near the border with Bosnia be directed to this station and all merchants arriving from the Bosnian side should be quarantined at Mokra Gora for twenty-four hours. At this time, the staff that would run this station were appointed. Mateja Hristić, who already had some experience with running a station, was named director, and another five assistants were appointed.[43] The station at Mokra Gora opened its doors in the second half of September 1836, while minor work continued.

While Ilija Popović was establishing the station, Stojan Jovanović, also a member of the State Council, was doing the same but on the opposite side of the border. He was ordered to open a station at Bregovo on another important road to Vidin. Construction for this quarantine station lasted until the second half of November 1836. The Bregovo station operated until November 1837, when the Bregovo and Radujevac stations were merged and the Bregovo station was closed.[44]

The fourth quarantine station for road traffic, and the first for river traffic, were opened simultaneously at Rača, through which roads connecting the northern part of Bosnia to the Principality of Serbia crossed and vessels passed by on the Sava. These projects were supervised by Lazar Teodorović, a military colonel, and they were also completed by mid-November 1836.[45]

Once four stations had been built on four sides surrounding the Principality of Serbia to prevent uncontrolled movement along the mainland border, and because the Danube and the Sava were on the Serbian state's northern border, the river traffic on the Danube had to be regulated. The original idea was to establish a quarantine station at Kusjak.[46] However,

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39 DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 2063, 2071; Mihailović 1937: 40.
40 DAS, KK, Jovan Obrenović (=XIV), 1246; DAS, ZMP, 6937.
41 Radosavljević 2006: 530.
42 Radosavljević 2006: 531; Milojević 2023: 97–104.
43 Mihailović 1961: 64.
44 DAS, KK, Negotinska nahija (=XIX), 380, 576; DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 2935.
45 DAS, KK, Šabačka nahija (=XXXVII), 1533.
46 On the right bank of the Danube, 10 km north of Negotin.

following a suggestion from Prince Miloš, a lazaret was instead built at Radujevac. It began operating as early as late December 1836.[47]

In 1837, there were three quarantine stations in the Principality of Serbia located along the main land routes, another for both water and land traffic, and one exclusively for river traffic. The increasing danger of plague looming over the Principality of Serbia from the east and south in early 1837 led to another quarantine station opening in 1837. In fact, the *sastanak* in Ljubovija was upgraded to a quarantine station. The directive was given at the end of May 1837, and the work on the construction of cabins and the officials' houses was completed at the end of June when the quarantine station opened.[48]

Despite positive effects for public health, the deployment of guards along the Serbian border, additional fortifications, and placing obstacles to prevent the movement of people and animals, could also have negative economic consequences, especially on those living in the principality's border districts. Accordingly, it was necessary to establish sanitary and economic institutions that would facilitate trade for residents of the Ottoman Empire and the Principality of Serbia while the border was closed.[49] Considering the distances between them, the five quarantine stations established during 1836 could not remain the only locations where goods could be exchanged. Alongside a directive from the beginning of September 1836 to open a quarantine station, a directive was also given to establish two *sastanci*: one at Vrška Čuka and on the Pazar road (near Raška).[50] Although there is no mention of the establishment of a *sastanak* at a location called Vasilijina česma on the Javor mountain, it was yet another task for council member Ilija Popović. Construction of the *sastanak* at Vrška Čuka on the eastern side of the border were completed by the end of November 1836. Approximately at the same time, a *sastanak* on the southwestern part of the border on the Javor mountain, was also completed.[51]

It seems that the construction of the *sastanak* at Raška did not begin immediately after a directive to open a quarantine station and *sastanci* was given. The original directive was also modified to some extent. Instead of building a *sastanak*, at first a sort of quarantine station with nine cabins was built not far from the guardhouse that was meant for the quarantine of merchants and their goods exclusively. Only after these buildings were completed, further construction of the *sastanak* began, and it was completed in mid-March 1837, which is when it began operating.[52] It seems that, from the very beginning, the *sastanak* at Raška would exceed the original plans because construction of a quarantine station began immediately. However, the quarantine station did not start operating at this time, although the buildings were built, and the *sastanak* was soon closed, but this will be addressed later on.

In addition to the decision in mid-1836 about the establishment of two *sastanci* along the Serbian border, the Katun parlatory was abolished in the beginning of December 1836,

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47 DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 3109, 3178, 3329.

48 DAS, KK, Kruševačka nahija (=XVII), 1675, 1776, 1679, 1701; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 2132; Stojančević 1975: 8.

49 Stojančević 1951: 29–40.

50 DAS, DS, 1836, Del. Protokol br. 2063; DAS, KK, XIV, 1246.

51 DAS, Presents and Pruchases (PO), 38–178; DAS, KK, XXV, 198; DAS, KK, Crnorečka nahija (=XXXVI), 121; DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 2324, 2182; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 660.

52 DAS, KK, XIV, 1462, 1503, 1659.

and two new *sastanci* were recorded: one at Gramada and one at Supovac.[53] Early the following year, Prince Miloš issued an order for the official establishment of *sastanci* along the Serbian border, although *sastanci* had already been established in some places. On the basis of that order, the guards at Pandiral and Jankova Klisura could allow merchants and wares to pass, but *sastanci* were also established there.[54] Although it was not stated in this order, a *sastanak* was also established at Loznica's Ada Ciganlija on the Drina, but it was soon moved to Smrdan (now Banja Koviljača).[55] The plan for the *sastanci* was completed, and by March 1837, after the *sastanak* was moved to Banja Koviljača, there were nine altogether. Apart from Vrška Čuka and the *sastanak* at the Raška border watchtower, there were also *sastanci* along the Serbian border at Ljubovija, Banja Koviljača, Vasilijina česma, Gramada, Pandiral, Supovac, and Jankova Klisura.

The first *sastanci* established in late 1836 and early 1837 did not last long. The worsening epidemic in the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire in the middle of 1837 and an increasing number of reports about plague in places not far from the Serbian border led to the complete closing of all *sastanci* on the border of the Principality of Serbia. Most officials who were serving at the *sastanci* were assigned to quarantine stations, which became the only places where the Serbian state border could be crossed.[56]

Closing *sastanci* was certainly a necessary measure with plague approaching the principality's borders. Nevertheless, with trade being one of the important elements for the economy in the border *nahiya*s, this also had an impact on the financial situation of the population. As the plague epidemic in the Principality of Serbia eased, the *sastanak* was reopened in Gramada in early November 1837, only a few months after its closure. In comparison to the previous period, the only products that could be sold were those from Serbia to Turkey but not vice versa.[57] The decision to open a quarantine station was certainly prompted by the economic needs of the population, and soon the Serbian authorities began receiving requests to reopen others, with economic reasons clearly emphasized.[58] In mid-March 1838, the Vasilijina Česma *sastanak* on the Javor mountain[59] reopened. Instead of reopening the *sastanci* on the Drina and at Banja Koviljača and Ljubovija, a new *sastanak* was established in early April 1838 on Šepačka Ada, opposite Loznica, although it did formally open until early November 1838.[60] It is not known exactly when the Vrška Čuka *sastanak* was reopened, but it was certainly operational in the first half of 1838, since it was mentioned in a list of expenses from November 1838 for quarantine stations and *sastanci* in the Principality of Serbia for the previous six months.[61] In April 1838, worsening health and widespread plague in the vicinity of Niš and in the town itself prompted a directive to

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53 DAS, KK, I-126. The reason for establishing a *sastanak* at Gramada was the necessity of trade between Svrljig and other settlements bordering the Nahiye of Pirot and Niš, which was one of the important marketplaces for the those living in these settlements.

54 DAS, KK, XVII, 137; DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 3359.

55 DAS, KK, XXXVII, 1646; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 754.

56 DAS, KK, XIV, 1755, 1779; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 3955.

57 DAS, KK, I, 324.

58 DAS, KK, XIV, 2018, 2298.

59 DAS, KK, XIV, 2123; DAS, Ministry of Internal Affairs – Sanitary Department (MUD-S), 1838, II, 36.

60 DAS, DS, 1838, Del. protokol br. 952.

61 DAS, ZMP, 7232, 7817.

close all *sastanci* along the Serbian state border in mid-June 1838.[62] This did not last long, and in early July 1838 livestock trade was again permitted at Gramada, but the trade system remained the same as before—only goods from Serbia could be sold. The station at Vasilija Česma reopened in early August and at Šepačka Ada in early November. It is not known exactly when the *sastanak* at Vrška Čuka reopened or if it had even been shut down in June 1838, because reports were sent from there later that month.[63] These were the only open *sastanci* until September 1839, when the *sastanak* on the Pazar road near Raška reopened.[64] Soon, a directive was issued to build a quarantine station instead of a *sastanak*, but internal conditions in the Principality of Serbia and the situation in the Ottoman Empire postponed construction until 1846.[65]

A total of eight *sastanci* were established along the principality's border at the end of 1836 and in the spring of 1837, which operated until mid-1837 when they were all abolished. After reopening in 1837, closing again, and then reopening in mid-1838, there were a total of four *sastanci* along the border—Vrška Čuka, Gramada, Vasilijina česma, Šepačka Ada—and from September 1839, a fifth at Raška.

2. 2. Legal Framework: Regulating Quarantine Stations and *Sastanci*

As part of a country where almost no attention was given to sanitary regulations, the principality turned to its northern neighbor, the Habsburg Monarchy, and its old legal practice for assistance with sanitary regulations. So in 1829 when the very first quarantine station was to be established in Ćuprija, Prince Miloš asked the director of the Zemun station to send him an experienced expert to supervise the work.[66] Although there were quarantine stations before 1836, how they were meant to operate was not clearly defined. The greatest attention was given to this after increasing numbers of reports of plague spreading not far from the principality's borders.

From the very start, the priority for the Serbian authorities was to open a quarantine station at Aleksinac, since it was among the most important in the country. Accordingly, attention was primarily aimed at defining the basic tasks of this quarantine station and its officials. Aside from Prince Miloš's directives from earlier years, this is also the first known regulation concerning the operation of a quarantine station in the Principality of Serbia. This task was assigned to Avram Petronijević and Stefan Stefanović, who were authorized by Prince Miloš to enact regulations to prevent plague from entering the Principality of Serbia and establish a cordon sanitaire along its border.[67] The main goal of these regulations, which inevitably served as a template for all other quarantine stations opened that same year, was to outline the officials' duties within the quarantine station, how to accommodate people and goods, and what measures should be taken to prevent the spread of the plague in the Principality of Serbia. The regulations also referred to the tasks and duties of the officials

62 DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 140.
63 *Ibid*., 380.
64 Savić 2021: 42.
65 Savić 2021a: 221.
66 DAS, KK, VII, 636, 637.
67 Popović 2012: 96.

at the seven *stastanci* that had already been established along the Serbian border, which will be discussed later on.[68]

As plague approached the Serbian state border, and also later on as it spread throughout the Serbian 'fatherland,' regulations for the stations and their officials were determined as needed, mainly on orders from Prince Miloš and later from the health commissioner Avram Petronijević and Doctor Karl Nagy. Dr. Nagy had been the physician at the Zemun station and came to the Principality of Serbia in early September to assist in fighting the plague.[69] The duties of clerks at the stations were once again officially defined at the end of December 1837. Regulations were drawn up based on Austrian quarantine legislation, and specifically the 1727 decree on cleaning quarantine stations and the 1738 decree on the duties of clerks. Quarantine stations and *sastanci* were institutions with strong hierarchies, and every official's clearly defined tasks enabled the quarantine system in the Principality of Serbia to operate smoothly.[70]

The establishment of the High Office for Education and Sanitation in May 1838 was very important for further organization and improvement of the quarantine service in the Principality of Serbia. The High Office became in fact a sort of sixth ministry within the Ministerial Deliberation. As minister of education and chief supervisor for quarantine stations, Stefan Stefanović became the head of this office.[71] The newly formed ministry was to oversee quarantine stations and *sastanci*, the order and prevention of plague being reintroduced into the Principality of Serbia. During its short time, Stefanović visited the Rača quarantine station and, motivated by the 'disorder' he found there and due to the danger of plague near the Serbian border, he issued a new directive regarding the measures that needed to be taken at the station and how the officials should conduct themselves.[72]

Quarantine stations remained under the jurisdiction of the High Office of Education and Sanitation until the 1839 Constitution of the Central Government of the Principality of Serbia was adopted and came into force on June 10, 1839. The Ministry of the Interior had jurisdiction over stations as defined by the constitution. The Law on Government defined the Quarantine-Sanitary Department, later renamed the Sanitary Department, within the Ministry of the Interior.[73]

From the time the *sastanci* were established until 1839, more regulations for quarantine stations than *sastanci* were issued, which was to be expected given that quarantine stations were more complex and important than the *sastanci*. After November 1836, when the regulation on the duties of customs officers (*latovi*) and supervisors (*nadziratelji*) at the *sastanci* was introduced, there were no more such detailed regulations until the middle of 1839. A document from 1836 mainly defines the tasks of officials. A step forward was made in November 1839, when the Organization of *Sastanci* was adopted. First it defined a *sastanak* as a certain place on the border where people from the border areas met for trade and conversation. Also, the *sastanci* were envisaged as independent *sastanci* for those within the quarantine and branch *sastanci*, meaning those separated from the

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68 DAS, KK, I, 126.
69 DAS, KK, I, 148, 158; DAS, KK, XVII, 137.
70 DAS, ZMP, 4933; Mihailović 1937: 33–38; Milojević 2023: 128–133.
71 DAS, KK, Vojska (=X), 764; DAS, DS, 1838, Del. protokol br. 1400.
72 DAS, KK, Škola (XXXVIII), 96.
73 Jagodić 2021: 57; Savić 2021: 42.

station but under its authority, as they were all in Serbia. Further regulations defined how the *sastanci* would operate, which will be discussed later on.[74] Finally, the functioning and role of stations and *sastanci* were regulated in 1841 by the Sanitary-Police Regulation for Quarantine Stations and Border *Sastanci*, and it replaced all previous regulations. This legal regulation, drafted by Jovan Stejić, a physician and head of the Sanitary Department, extensively incorporates provisions from the Austrian *Pest-Polizei-Ordnung für die k.k. öesterreichischen Staaten*, enacted in June 1837. The regulation itself shaped and unified all the above-mentioned regulations concerning how the stations and *sastanci* operatied, their procedures, and how they were organized.[75]

2.3. In the Quarantine Stations and at the *Sastanci*

The task of these institutions was to protect the public, so a clearly organized structure and hierarchy were essential. All quarantines in the Principality of Serbia were placed under the authority of primary superintendent (*nadziratelj*). The first was Avram Petronijević, who served in this position from mid-1837 until his departure for Constantinople in April 1838. The position was then taken over by Stefan Stefanović, who later became the Minister of Education and the quarantine superintendent.[76] The highest position in the hierarchy of officials at the quarantine station was the director, who supervised and was responsible for the work of all other officials and ensured a smooth workflow within the station. All quarantine stations in the Principality of Serbia had a director. Only the Radujevac quarantine station was also run by its physician. The basic duties of the director were clearly defined by Prince Miloš directive from December 1837.

The director was responsible for hygiene and order in the station, as well as the work of the employees. They were also in charge of the station's finances, were required to send reports, collect about public health in the neighboring areas across the border, and keep the keys to the auxiliary buildings within the station (such as the cabin, barn, and courtyards) during the night. A secretary was appointed to assist the director with daily tasks. In addition to handling official correspondence, the secretary was responsible for the station's bookkeeping and inventory.[77] The rest of the station's staff included an overseer, a warehouse keeper, a customs officer, and the guards.[78]

Due to a lack of trained doctors, only the stations at Aleksinac and Radujevo/Bregovo, the two most important quarantines in the country which direct contact with plague-infected areas for long periods, had their own physicians, as did the one at Mokra Gora for a short period in late 1836. The quarantine physician was responsible for examining the 'foreigners' upon their arrival in the quarantine's reception area. Anyone who did not display visible signs of plague would be fumigated by the physician and then assigned to a cabin for quarantine. Those who did show symptoms would immediately be sent back across the border. The physician would

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74 *Sbornik zakona i uredba i uredbenih ukaza izdanih u Knjažestvu Srbskom od vremene obnarodovanog Ustava zemaljskog (13. febr. 1839. do apr. Mes. 1840), I*, Beograd, 1840, 163–176; Mirković 2022: 1212–1213.

75 DAS, MUD-S, 1838, IV, 26; Jagodić 2021: 57; Savić 2021: 42; Mirković 2022: 1218.

76 DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 1.

77 DAS, ZMP, 4933.

78 For more on this, see: Milojević 2023: 131–135.

visit those in quarantine daily and fumigate them. The physician would also treat those entering quarantine who were ill with a non-contagious disease. Wealthy individuals were charged for the treatment, while those with less money were treated at the state's expense. Once the quarantine period was completed, the doctor would supervise the cleaning of the rooms.

The main purpose of every quarantine station was to prevent infectious diseases from spreading into the Principality of Serbia. These stations thus needed to build on the main roads that connected the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire with the Serbian state. Therefore, anyone entering the Principality of Serbia after crossing a border had to continue by a shorter route to a quarantine station. There was a guardhouse in front of the station gate to monitor every entry and exit from these places. Once travelers arrived, the first person they came into contact with was a customs officer, who informed the quarantine physician that there were new travelers who would need to enter quarantine. After entering the station, the travelers were taken to a reception room and asked basic questions by the physician, including their name and surname, occupation, where they had come from, which areas they had passed through during their journey, the health of those in those areas, and whether they had unopened letters with them. After that, the physician would then take them to an examination room for inspection, and if the travelers displayed no visible signs of plague, they would continue with the rest of the quarantine procedure. After the physician completed his examination, a personal protocol would be created for each traveler while in quarantine, and travel documents would be confiscated. At the station entrance, money would be taken to be disinfected in vinegar and then returned to the owner. When the registration procedure was complete, they would be housed in a cabin where they would spend the rest of the quarantine period before entering the Principality of Serbia.

Before the Aleksinac station was expanded in mid-1837, it had four cabins, each with four rooms, and a fenced-in yard in front. In each cabin, there was a servant who took care of the travelers' needs and was restricted to the cabin and the yard. During the initial phase, the cabins were closed every three days. For those who came on Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, the first day of quarantine was Wednesday. Storehouses were also closed according to the same principle.[79] After the quarantine was completed, the individual or the family was issued a *feda* or *teskera*. These were documents certifying that these travelers entering the Principality of Serbia had completed their quarantine and could continue on their journey. This was also the practice during the first quarantines between 1829 and 1833, and it continued after 1836. A fee of twenty *para*s was paid for the issuance of each *feda*. In addition to the *teskera* for individuals, a certificate was also issued for goods, and the fee for this was five *para*s.[80] In addition, when entering the quarantine, a fee was paid for fumigation (cleaning), and fees of this type were also paid for goods, animals, and many other items.[81] The *meyhana*s provided meals for those in quarantine. They were held by private owners until October 1838 when they were abolished, and state-run ones were rented out.[82]

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79 DAS, ZMP, 4933; DAS, KK, I, 126, 148; XV, 2192.

80 DAS, ZMP, 7007, 7026, 7069, 7098.

81 A quarantine tax of one grosch was applied per load of goods. Cleaning of horses was ten paras and for one *oka* (1.28 kg) of silver it was ten paras. DAS, KK, Kragujevačka nahija (=XV), 2192; Radosavljević 2006: 596.

82 DAS, KK, I, 214; DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 751; Marković, Mišković 2010: 907; Mihailović 1937: 75–76.

During quarantine for ships, the boatmen were quarantined in purpose-built cabins, and goods were removed from the holds, aired out, and returned to the ships every day. Any ship without a certificate for the completed quarantine period in Radujevac or Rača was forbidden to dock on the banks of the Sava and the Danube that formed the border of the Principality of Serbia.[83]

How long travelers had to be quarantined before entering the Principality of Serbia depended on the health conditions in the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire. It was determined on the basis of information about the proximity of the plague to the Serbian border collected by the directors of the quarantine stations. Considering the principle by which the number of quarantine days was determined, it is clear that there could not have been a uniform isolation period at all stations along the principality's border. The first quarantine station to require a three-day period in October 1836 was the station at Aleksinac, after reports of plague in Dupnica. When the news from 'informants' from the Ottoman Empire about infections in Vranje and the surrounding villages became increasingly frequent, the quarantine period was extended to five days at the beginning of December, and eight days after that to ten days. Since there was no plague in the border regions west and east of the Principality of Serbia, there was no mandatory quarantine at the other quarantine stations that opened later in 1836. This began to change in the spring of 1837, when an outbreak of plague began ravaging the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The news that reached Serbia from the Habsburg Monarchy about the emergence of plague in Bosnia led to an independent directive from the military commander Lazar Todorović to establish a twenty-one-day quarantine at Rača, but this did not last long and was soon reduced to three days. At the end of July 1837, the quarantine was increased to seven days. In early May, a three-day quarantine was required in Mokra Gora, and soon after that in Ljubovija as well. In early June, the quarantine at Aleksinac was extended to fifteen days, and on August 24th to twenty-one days. As soon as it became known that plague had entered the Principality of Serbia,[84] on August 30, 1837, the quarantine at Aleksinac was extended to six weeks, and shortly thereafter quarantines in Mokra Gora, Ljubovia, Rača, Bregovo, and Radujevac were extended to twenty days.[85]

As the plague epidemic began to abate in the Principality of Serbia at the end of September, and there were fewer places under quarantine, Prince Miloš issued a directive on September 30, 1837, to shorten the period at the Aleksinac station from forty-two days to twenty-one. The same number of quarantine days was required in April 1838. Increasingly frequent reports of plague near the Serbian border, and especially in Niš, led to the quarantine being extended to thirty-one days for people and forty-one days for goods at the end of June 1838. This quarantine period as a requirement for entry into the Principality of Serbia remained in force until the end of August 1838, when it was shortened first to twenty-one days, then to fourteen, and finally on July 15, 1839, with no new reports of plague in the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire, the number of days required for entry through

[83] DAS, KK, I, 423; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 4472.

[84] Mihailović 1937.

[85] DAS, KK, I, 140, 148, 152, 206, 286, 291; XIV, 1549, 1764, 1771; XIX, 553, 557; XXXVII, 637, 976, 996, 1717; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 4472; Radosavljević 2006: 568, 582; Mihailović 1937: 101–102.

Aleksinac was reduced to ten.[86] Unlike Aleksinac, the quarantine period at other stations was generally shorter. In early December 1837, the quarantine period at Ljubovija and Rača was reduced to ten days, and at Mokra Gora it was twenty days in May 1838, which was certainly due to the epidemic ravaging the areas south of the Serbian border.[87] At the end of June, the quarantine period at Radujevac, Mokra Gora, Ljubovija, and Rača was increased to twenty-one days. There were no changes until early December, when it was shortened to fourteen days in Radujevac and ten days at Mokra Gora, Rača, and Ljubovija. This remained in place until July 15, 1839, when it was again shortened from ten days to seven at Rača, Ljubovija, Mokra Gora, and Radujevac.[88] With the exception of Aleksinac, a uniform period was established in four of the five stations along the Serbian border.

Unlike the stations, which were always open, the *sastanci* were generally open only twice a week. At a certain time on a certain day, subjects of the Principality of Serbia and the Ottoman Empire gathered at a particular *sastanak* and traded goods. The *sastanak* was simple in appearance and consisted of two fences separating the traders with a space in the middle for the customs officers in charge of disinfecting money. They would remove the money from the vinegar and hand it over to the seller. How the transaction was carried out depended on the sale items. Corn and other grains were transferred from the Serbian side to the Turkish side using pipes or planks. Hay, wood, and other similar items were left in at a particular spot by the sellers to be collected by the buyers after they left. During a plague epidemic there was a restriction on which products that could enter the Principality of Serbia from the Turkish side. The items Serbian subjects were permitted to buy were those made of materials that were not believed to carry contagion: wine, brandy, glass, leather, vegetables, wood, iron, silver, copper, and animals. However, the purchase of leather goods, wool, cotton, silk, and paper was strictly prohibited. There were no such restrictions on goods from the Serbian side.[89]

3. Across the Border

Quarantine-like institutions in Constantinople, Adrianopolis, and on the shores of the Black Sea can be traced to the second half of the eighteenth century.[90] However, there was no organized quarantine system in the Ottoman Empire until the late 1830s. This was due to a religious belief that these means of combating disease were a form of betrayal of God's will. Nevertheless, over time, increasingly more was written about the measures that needed to be taken against the scourge.[91] As part of Sultan Mahmud II modernizing reforms, a lazaret was established in Constantinople in 1831 for all incoming ships to prevent the spread of cholera. More serious work in that field followed during 1838, when the plague was still raging in the Ottoman provinces in the Balkans. The first step in that direction was the formation of the High Council of Health, and a position in it was given to Avram

86 DAS, KK, I, 409; DAS, ZMP, 7831; DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 197, 522, 906.
87 DAS, KK, XXXVII, 996; Radosavljević 2006: 659; Stojančević 1952: 61–62.
88 DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 522, 906, 194; DAS, ZMP, 7831.
89 DAS, KK, I, 126; Mihailović 1937: 61–68.
90 Ayalon 2015: 183.
91 See: Bulmus 2012: 13–35, 98–112; Hamed-Troyansky 2021: 235–243.

Petronijević, a former quarantine supervisor from the Principality of Serbia who was in Constantinople at the time leading the Serbian deputation during the drafting of the 1838 Constitution.[92] Petronijević first proposed determining whether stations should be established along the entire border, or if only Constantinople should be secured.[93] The prevailing opinion was that the entire border should be secured, not due to Petronijević's influence but rather to the positions held by the European powers—primarily Great Britain and France. A directive was issued to institute a quarantine period along the entire border, and fifty-nine quarantine stations were opened, of which thirteen were along the European and Asian coasts, sixteen in the interior along the inland part of the border, eight in Syria, seven in the Aegean islands, and two in Libya.[94]

There are mentions of quarantine stations in 1838 across from the Principality of Serbia on the Ottoman side of the border. They were located opposite the border post on the Javor mountain, then near Višegrad, and on the other side of the border across from the quarantine stations at Ljubovija and Rača. The quarantine period lasted seven days. In addition to the Ottoman quarantine stations west and southwest of the border with the Principality of Serbia, at the time of an outbreak of plague in June 1838, there was also a twenty-one-day quarantine at the Kaza of Berkovac, and guards were posted along its border. At that time, there was also a ten-day quarantine on the way to Vidin. Although a cordon sanitaire along the border was established after the reform of 1838, public health in a given territory was the responsibility of the local pashas. They were responsible for the quarantine stations, and *firman*s for their establishment were sent to the sandjakbegs in Sarajevo, Niš, Sofia, Skopje, Pristina, Thessaloniki, and other places.[95] This was to be expected, since in the Ottoman Empire, unlike in most other European countries, it was almost impossible to establish a sanitary system along every boarder. The reason for this was that there were areas within the Ottoman Empire where plague was endemic. Consequently, the implementation of quarantine measures had to be limited to the level of local authorities.[96] According to the historian A. Savić, unlike the Serbian quarantine stations that operated until the 1880s, the Ottoman quarantine stations along the border with the Principality of Serbia were short-lived and were abolished shortly after the plague epidemic subsided in 1840.[97]

There were quarantine stations in the Habsburg Monarchy north of the border with the Principality of Serbia. They were located at Pančevo, Zemun, and Sremska Mitrovica.[98] A quarantine station was also opened in 1830 across from Kladovo in Černec (Cereneţ), not far from the Serbian state border as an integral part of the Danube cordon sanitaire in Wallachia.[99]

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92 Popović 2012: 105–115.
93 DAS, PO, 26–58.
94 Hamed-Troyansky 2021: 242.
95 Ayalon: 186.
96 Promitzer 2021: 88–89.
97 DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 228; Savić 2021a: 222.
98 Promitzer 2021: 84.
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ЖАРКО Д. ИЛИЋ
Универзитет у Београду
Филозофски факултет, Одељење за историју

КАРАНТИНИ И САСТАНЦИ У СРБИЈИ (1829–1839)

Резиме

Смештена у централном делу Балканског полуострва дуж којег су водиле главне саобраћајнице, Србија је унапред предодређена да носи бреме свог географског положаја, како у прошлости тако и данас. Осим позитивних, такво географско позиционирање имало је и своје негативне стране, које су се испољавале у честим проласцима војски и сукобима вођеним на територији Србији. Исто тако, стални промет људи и добара носио је увек са собом опасност од заразних болести, о чему сведоче и бројне епидемије на простору Србије почевши од 15. па све до 30-их година 19. века. Србија је била у саставу Османског царства, државе у којој пажња готово да није била посвећивана организацији карантинског система. Сходно томе, предуслов за изградњу карантина на територији Београдског пашалука, односно касније Кнежевине Србије, било је управо добијање аутономије. Свестан положаја своје државе, кнез Милош већ одмах по издавању Првог хатишерифа 1829. године, који је наговестио скорашње решење питања српске аутономије, оснива прве карантине у Ћуприји и Поречу, који су били у функцији до припајања „отргнутих предела' крајем 1832. и почетком 1833. године.

Након дефинитивног разграничења Кнежевине Србије и Османског царства почетком 1834. године, предузети су радови на изградњи Алексиначког карантина, али он све до 1836. није званично отворен. Нови подстицај уређењу сталног пограничног кордона Кнежевине Србије дала је епидемија куге која се током 1836. године све више примицала границама српске државе. Тада је донета одлука да се поред Алексиначког успоставе и карантини на Брегову, Мокрој Гори, Љубовији, Рачи и Радујевцу, као и девет састанака. Након укидања бреговског карантина у новембру 1837. број карантина је смањен на пет и тако је остало све до 1846. године, када је рашки састанак уздигнут на ниво карантина. Након укидања свих састанака средином 1837. више никада сви нису били обновљени, већ их је 1839. године, након отварања рашког састанка било укупно пет и то: Вршка Чука, Грамада, Рашка, Василијина чесма, Шепачка ада.

У организацији карантина и доношењу карантински прописа, власти у Кнежевини Србији готово у потпуности су се ослањале на праксу северног суседа – Хабзбуршке монархије, која је имала иза себе озбиљно искуство у спровођењу карантинских мера. Законски прописи и устројство карантина су преузимани и у врло малој мери прилагођавани устројству Кнежевине Србије, а аустријски лекари су водили главну реч у организацији санитарне службе младе српске државе. Хабзбуршка монархије је пружала несебичну помоћ Кнежевини Србију у борби против куге током 1836. и 1837. године, свесна да штитећи границе Србије штити и себе.

На крају, неопходно је истаћи да је тек формирана српска држава успела да за свега две године од званичног успостављања граничне линије изгради гранични кордон и организује карантине и састанке који су се показали врло успешни у борби против куге и заштитили српски народ, односно у великој мери ублажили последице куге из 1837. и потпуно сачували становништво од епидемије исте болести из 1838. године, када је на само пар сати од српске границе, у Нишу, дневно умирало преко 100 људи.

Кључне речи: Кнежевина Србија, кнез Милош, карантини, састанци, куга, граница, санитарни кордон.

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ARMEN S. HAYRAPETYAN
Shirak Center of Armenological Studies
of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia
0000–0003–1051–5078
a.hayrapetyan@shirakcenter.sci.am

ARKADI A. AKOPOV
Shirak Center of Armenological Studies
of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia
0000–0001–6771–9747
arkadone1@gmail.com

RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN THE ALEXANDROPOL DISTRICT: EMERGENCE, ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNAL LIFE, AND FORMS OF LAND TENURE FROM THE NINETEENTH TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Abstract: The objective of this study is to examine the emergence of Russian peasants in the Alexandropol district of the Erivan province, as well as their communal life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The study of Russian ethnic groups in foreign environments presents several challenges. One significant question is whether to preserve or alter certain aspects of migrants' traditional way of life. In new surroundings, some traditions may change, while others may disappear. The significance of this work lies in the examination of local groups of Russians residing in a different ethnic environment. This prompts inquiry into the nature of cultural and economic interplay between Russians and the local populace. The study of cultural and domestic interactions between different ethnic communities has become a significant area of focus in modern historiography as nationalities continue to come closer together. This field of study holds scientific importance and provides practical knowledge.

To ensure a comprehensive review, it is important to consider factors such as the number of settlers, duration of residence, settlement features, cultural affinity with the local population, and other relevant factors.

This paper examines the migration of Russian peasants to Alexandropol district and their economic and social development as they adapted to new natural, socioeconomic, and political conditions.

In the literature produced prior to the revolution, the issues of interest to us were not adequately addressed. Some information on the history of Russian settlements can be found in articles by ethnographer S. Maximov and historian K. Borozdin.[1]

[1] Maksimov 1861; Borozdin 1891.

Small historical and ethnographic descriptions of the Russian settlers in Eastern Armenia can be found in local periodicals in the form of articles, travel notes and correspondence. These works, descriptive in their content, are valuable because their authors observed the life of Russian peasants directly. For example, S. Bunyatov, a priest, lived among Russian peasants for five years and wrote on the basis of his personal impressions.[2]

The publications on Russian settlers contained in the *Memorial Books of the Erivan Province* are of some value.[3]

During the Soviet era, the study of the Russian population of Eastern Armenia began only in the 1960s and was mainly devoted to the religious study of the sectarians of Transcaucasia.[4]

In recent years, historical works devoted to the issues of tsarism's resettlement policy toward the Russian peasants of Eastern Armenia have appeared. A. Haityan, along with other issues, tried to trace the process of the formation of Russian villages in Eastern Armenia.[5]

The monograph by D. Ismail-Zadeh also deserves attention. The author gives a general characterization of the economic and social life of the Russian peasants of Transcaucasia, but the issues of interest to us are reflected only in a general way.[6]

Thus, in the works of both pre-revolutionary and Soviet authors, the issues of studying Russian peasants in Eastern Armenia and, in particular, in Alexandrolop district, have not the subject of a special study. This study intends to fill the existing gaps on the subject.

This paper draws extensively on the archival documents of the National Archives of Armenia, many of which have been introduced for the first time in this study. The documents contain a wealth of information on the history of Russian resettlement in Transcaucasia, the policy of the authorities toward them, relations between Russians and native Armenians, and data on the state of agriculture, including crops and livestock numbers. It is imperative to approach these documents with a critical lens, as they were compiled by officials and reflect the government's views on the settlers and their role in the new region.

Keywords: Russian peasants, Alexandropol district, settler, sectarians, farming, cattle breeding, social life, traditions.

1. History of the Emergence of the Russian Population in Eastern Armenia

The incorporation of a part of Eastern Armenia into Russia saved the Armenian people from the threat of physical extermination and guaranteed its further development. Compared to Persia and Turkey, Russia was at a higher level of socioeconomic development. By becoming part of the Russian Empire, Eastern Armenia was included in the orbit of more developed economic relations. This created favorable conditions for the growth of its agriculture, trade, crafts and industry.

The annexation of Eastern Armenia presented several political, social, and economic challenges for the tsarist government. One of the most significant challenges was how to strengthen its position in the newly annexed region. The government believed that attracting

[2] Bunyatov 1898; Bunyatov 1902.

[3] *Pamyatnaya knizhka Erivanskoy gubernii na 1892g.*, *Pamyatnaya knizhka Erivanskoy gubernii na 1904g.* 1903.

[4] Kozlova 1966; Klibanov 1965.

[5] Aytyan 1989.

[6] Ismail-Zade 1982.

Russian settlers to the area was the solution to this issue.

The emergence of Russians in Eastern Armenia occurred in two stages. The first stage reflected the peculiarities of the tsarist government's policy in Transcaucasia, particularly in Eastern Armenia, and was connected with military-strategic considerations. The second stage, which led to an increase in the Russian population, was driven by both the internal needs of the country and the economic importance of the new region.

A similar picture was observed in the development of the North Caucasus and central Asia, where the first settlers were Cossacks, military settlers.

2. Military Settlements

The first steps in the resettlement of Russians in Transcaucasia were made in the early nineteenth century. In 1816 it was decided to establish permanent headquarters in places of strategic importance, and at them "to form companies of married soldiers who would manage the regimental economy."[7] The authorities hoped by this decree to increase the Russian population in the newly annexed areas. However, the implementation of this decree did not bring the desired results, as the number of such headquarters was insignificant. In addition, many officers, having retired, sought to return to their homeland.

The government aimed to increase the number of Russian settlers and promote the development of agriculture, trade, and industry in the region by establishing military settlements. These settlements were created at the expense of married and retired soldiers who were provided with everything necessary for military service. All settlers received an allowance from the treasury in the form of a *pravant* for half a year. In addition, each family received a lump sum of 160 rubles and fifteen *dessiatinas* of arable land.

The first residents of military settlements originated from Saratov, Tambov, Voronezh, Poltava, Moscow, and Kharkov provinces.

The settlers underwent military training throughout the year. Their lives were strictly regulated, including the construction of dwellings and other buildings according to a single plan that was closely monitored by superiors. Even marriages were arranged by the superiors. Military training began for children of settlers at the age of seven, and at eighteen they were transferred to reserve units. At twenty, they began serving in regiments.

Military settlers were required to give half of their land's produce to the 'reserve shop' and were prohibited from trading or visiting towns.

However, the costs of maintaining military settlements did not justify their existence, and as a result, no new military settlements were established in Eastern Armenia after 1848. "Experience proved," wrote the Caucasian governor Prince A. I. Baryatinsky, "that these settlements do not fulfill the purpose of their establishment and their management only burdens the military department."[8] In 1851, the military settlements were transferred to the Ministry of State Property.

Thus, as a result of a certain course of government policy, which was based on

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[7] *Voyenno-geograficheskoye i statisticheskoye opisaniye Kavkazskogo voyennogo okruga* 1908: 13.

[8] *Akty sobrannyye Kavkazskoy arkheograficheskoy komissiyey* 1904: 1349.

military-strategic considerations, in the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of Russian settlements founded as military settlements were established in the north of Eastern Armenia. Their importance in the socioeconomic life of the region was rather limited for a number of reasons.

3. Sectarian Settlements

During the 1820–1840s, peasants were resettled to the outskirts of the empire due to difficult economic conditions and social disenfranchisement. Religious persecution was also a reason for their relocation, as peasant sectarians were targeted by both the official church and the state. In several provinces, sectarians, particularly Molokans, constituted a significant proportion of the peasant population. The government and the church were actively suppressing dissenters. However, despite repression, tsarism was unable to eradicate the sectarian movement.

The Russian sectarians were resettled in Transcaucasia by a government decree on 20 October 1830. The resettlement was imposed on dissenters who were found guilty of spreading their faith. They were to be given to soldiers and sent to the Transcaucasian corps for service. Women and those unable to serve were to be sent to the Transcaucasian provinces for settlement.[9] The general manager of the Transcaucasian region was responsible for settlers' accommodation. Families of exiled settlers were given an allowance of 100 rubles in low-forest areas and fifty rubles in forest areas for the construction of houses. The initial place of resettlement for Russian sectarians in Transcaucasia was Karabakh province, where Dukhobors from Don and Molokans from Tambov province were exiled. Since 1833, Russian resettlement to the territory of Erivan province has been authorized. The majority of Russian settlements were situated in the northern districts of the province. This was because these lands were predominantly owned by the treasury.

In 1847, the Commission for Establishing Russian settlements in the Transcaucasian Region was created to facilitate the Russification of the newly conquered territory. The commission's primary objective was to organize Russian settlements and provide settlers with suitable land.[10] One paragraph in the Commission's instruction, which proposed the placement of sectarians in Armenian settlements, is noteworthy. It suggested that if Russians and Armenians lived together, the Armenians could gradually learn from the settlers about the best ways of economy and house construction and become familiar with the Russian language.[11] In the Alexandropol district, twenty-six Armenian villages agreed to the settlement of 165 families of Russian settlers.[12]

Although the authorities made efforts, mixed settlements of Russians and Armenians were not widespread. This was due to several reasons, including the difficulty of providing each Russian family with a plot of thirty *dessiatinas* because the lands near the villages were

9 *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii* 1831: 169–170.
10 Klibanov 1965: 160.
11 National Archives of Georgia fond 222, file 5: 21
12 National Archives of Georgia fond 222, file 5: 38–41.

already being used by the local inhabitants. Additionally, Russian settlers in the new region attempted to settle together to organize their social and cultural life.

Russian peasants were allocated larger land plots compared to local peasants, with each family receiving between twenty-five and thirty *dessiatinas* of land.[13] The government attempted to settle peasants on available free land, but often faced shortages, resulting in displacement of the local population. The settlement project of Alexandropolsky district stated that if the local population's discontent and protests were to be heeded in the newly acquired areas and each colony, vast areas of land, now inhabited by industrious and productive farmers, would remain empty in Russia.[14]

Land planning for settlers often involved taking land from the indigenous population under the guise of "deprivation." However, these lands in mountainous and foothill areas were already being used by local residents for arable land and paddocks. The government did not take this into account and, as a result, took away the most convenient lands from the local peasants.

The census of peasants' materials indicates that in the 1840s, resettlement was primarily from Tambov, Orenburg, and Saratov provinces. The mass peasant exodus to Transcaucasia began with the sectarians from Orenburg province in 1831–1832. They initially moved to Lenkoran uyezd of Shamakhi province and then, in 1844, moved to Alexandropol uyezd of Erivan province, where they founded the village of Vorontsovka (150 families, 386 males and 410 females), all Molokans. That year, three villages were founded: Privolnoye (72 families, including 233 males and 240 females, Orthodox), by natives of Orenburg province, Nikitino (34 families, including 111 males and eighty females, Molokans), by natives of Tambov province, and Voskresenko (44 families, consisting of 170 males and 159 females, Molokans) by natives of Saratov province.[15]

By the end of 1849, the Commission for Settlement in the Caucasus Region had been dissolved, with its functions transferred to the local authorities. These included the vice-governor of Erivan province, N. Blavatsky, and the chairman of the temporary committee on migration, R. Fadeev, who was also a member of the main board of the Transcaucasian region. As a result of their endeavors, the active Russification of the Lake Sevan basin, Alexandrapol district and Lori region commenced in the 1850s.[16]

Blavatsky and Fadeev sought to establish Russian settlements along the entire length of the Alexandropol-Dilijan highway, with the belief that the settlement of the Alexandropol district and the Lori region by Russians would be of exceptional importance in terms of creating a robust node of communication between the Erivan and Tiflis provinces.[17] As a consequence of their activities in 1851, 12 new sectarian villages were established in the aforementioned territories.[18]

In 1853, the resettlement of Russians from the internal provinces of Russia to the Transcaucasian region was temporarily stopped. The government returned to this problem

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13 NAA fond 133, inventory 1, file 329: 304.
14 Tumanyan 1954: 42.
15 NAA fond 93, inventory 1, file 109, 110.
16 NAA fond 269, inventory 1, file 359: 6–7.
17 Avdalbekyan 1959: 222.
18 NAA fond 133, inventory 1, file 379: 21–24.

once again after the victorious end of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878, when it was decided to repopulate the newly conquered lands with Russians and Greeks.[19]

In his report to the emperor dated February 4, 1879, the commander of the Caucasian Army, Prince Svyatopolk-Mirsky, stated: "The main task should be to populate the Kara region with as many Russians as possible. Otherwise, the goal of creating a Russian population in Transcaucasia will have to be abandoned. Now it is obvious that the decision to populate the rich territories of Akhalkalaki and Alexandropol districts with Armenians and Greeks in 1828–1830 was wrong. The repetition of such a mistake would be inexcusable."[20]

Over the next two decades, due to the consistent policy of the authorities, more than twenty Orthodox villages were founded in the region.

This is a brief history of the emergence of the Russian rural population in Alexandropol district of Erivan province.

4. The Social Life of Russian Peasants in Alexandropol District.

As with other regions of Eastern Armenia, each Russian village in Alexandropol uyezd was a distinct community. Similarly to his homeland, the peasant was confined to the closed world of his village. The village community owned land collectively, periodically redistributed it among households, and was bound by a circular bond in the performance of duties for the state. The community performed behavioral, ritual, and ceremonial functions and exercised strict control over the economic and spiritual life of the peasants. The majority of Russian settlements in the county were founded by natives of a single locality or even a single village (such as Nikitino and Voskresenka). As a result, they retained many habits and skills from their previous way of life in their new location.

5. Forms of Land Tenure

The peculiarity of land ownership in Alexandropol district was that the main part of land belonged to the treasury and private landownership was almost completely absent. State lands were prevalent, which made it easier to allocate land to Russian settlers. However, this process was not without difficulties as most of the arable land was already being used by Armenian rural communities.

The land allotment of the Russian rural community was allocated based on the fact that each family of settlers had to have 25–30 *dessiatinas* of convenient land.

In Alexandropol district, the proportion of arable land was limited, with pasture and unsuitable land being more prevalent. As a result, land was evaluated based on its suitability for farming. For Russian settlers, three *dessiatinas* of unsuitable land were considered equivalent to one *dessiatna* of suitable land.[21]

The local administration faced challenges in allocating arable land, hayfields, and

[19] NAA fond 269, inventory 1, file 2326: 14–15.
[20] NAA fond 14, inventory 1 file 506: 75–78.
[21] NAA fond 133, inventory 1, file 1173: 53.

pastures due to the mountainous terrain, uncomfortable lands, and proximity to Armenian villages. Additionally, the allotment lands of Russian villages were dispersed across different plots, each with its own name. For instance, in 1910, the allotment of Alexandrovka village comprised four plots: Tryasuny, Shigry, Sugroby, and Shishtina.[22]

Arable land was typically situated within two to four *versts* of the village, while pastures and hayfields were located up to ten *versts* away. The community collectively owned the arable land, pastures, and hayfields. The community preserved its land fund by levying state taxes on all land owned by its members. Temporary residents, such as traders and newcomers from other places, had no right to use community land. The sale of communal lands was prohibited. In 1908, the villagers of Nikitino attempted to sell a portion of the land belonging to the peasants who had emigrated to the USA and use the proceeds for the community's needs. However, the district authorities denied their request.[23]

The community's initial land fund remained unchanged, regardless of the number of its members. As a result, some communities ran out of land sooner than others. Admission of new members to the community was subject to varying conditions due to this issue. For example, in 1919 at the village meeting of Nikitino village it was decided to admit a new member of the community with his family from the Kars region and to provide him "on an equal basis with other members of the community, in permanent use of allotment land according to the number of family members. And he has no right to demand a full allotment, but he must use that plot of land which will be allotted to him by the community."[24]

The community was interested in ensuring that its members paid state taxes and fulfilled public and state duties, so when new members were admitted to the community, their social behavior was discussed at the meeting. For example, in 1849 the Trustee of Russian Settlers reported to the Commission for the Settlement of the Transcaucasian Region that the Russian communities of Nikitino and Voskresenka, Alexandropol district, did not agree to accept Molokan E. Kobzev and his family for residence, because of his rebelliousness and evasion of public and state duties."[25]

As mentioned above, the system of land allotment inevitably led to small landholdings, which were already noticeable in the Russian villages of the Alexandropol district in the 1860s and were reflected in numerous petitions from Russian peasant societies to the provincial government for an increase in land allotments. In 1871, for example, the peasants of the village of Voskresenka petitioned the governor of Erivan: "Since 1843... we have been in the present place... in the number of thirty-six farmsteads, since that time the number of farmsteads in our village has doubled... With an increase in the population, we began to suffer shortages, especially of arable land."[26]

Small land holdings led Russians to migrate first to the Kars region, which was annexed to Russia in 1878, and then to the United States. In 1879–1880 eighteen families moved from the Russian villages of Alexandropol district to Kars region.[27] The migration

[22] NAA fond 125, inventory 1, file 148: 7.
[23] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 2: 22.
[24] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 5: 6.
[25] NAA fond 133, inventory 1, file 329: 357.
[26] NAA fond 133, inventory 1, file 1016: 1.
[27] NAA fond 133, inventory 1, file 3123: 24.

of Russians from the original settlement to the Kars region became massive in the 1890s.

On the other hand, in a number of villages there was a slight increase in the number of land plots at the expense of the land plots left by the members of the community who moved to Kars region and the USA.

In any case, the average size of Russian peasant plots was much larger than that of Armenian peasants. For example, in the villages of Nikitino and Voskresenka, according to statistical materials, there were 5.7 and 3.3 *dessiatins* of land per person, respectively, while in the neighboring Armenian village of Bozikend - only 2.1 *dessiatins*.[28]

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the dominant form of land tenure among the Russian peasants of the Alexandropolsky district was communal. The most common was the distribution of land among farms regardless of the number of families. For example, a family of seventeen people received the same allotment of land as a family of two. This system led to an unequal distribution of land, so the governor of Erivan ordered a change to the per capita land distribution. From 1882, all Russian villages in the Alexandropol district were allocated land on a per capita basis: "per eater" (the same amount of land was allocated to a man and a woman).

Redistributions of communal lands occurred periodically, with varying terms. For instance, in 1910, arable land was redistributed in Voskresenka village after six years, and in Nikitino after eight years.[29]

After examining the terms of communal land redistribution in the Russian communities of Alexandropolsky district, it can be concluded that peasants in villages with less fertile soils established longer redistribution terms until the costs of land cultivation were fully recouped.

The village assembly selected 8–10 peasants, known as *delshchiks*, to redistribute the land. These individuals were highly respected within the community. In one of the verdicts of the Nikitin village society, the "*delishers* of public land" were specifically identified among the signatures of fellow villagers. The plotters, under the supervision of the village headman, created a preliminary plan for land redistribution. They counted the number of people in the village and divided the land into plots using natural dividing lines such as ravines, roads, and streams. The arable land was divided into several plots based on its quality and distance from the village. Each plot was then divided into 'shares' based on the number of allotment units of the peasant farm.

For the purpose of land redistribution, the village assembly selected eight to ten peasants to act as land distributors (*delshchik*). These individuals were highly respected within the community. In one of the verdicts of the Nikitin village society, the "distributors of public land" were specifically identified among the signatures of fellow villagers.[30] The plotters, under the supervision of the village headman, created a preliminary plan for land redistribution. They counted the number of individuals in the village and divided the land into plots using natural dividing lines such as ravines, roads, and streams. The arable land was divided into several plots based on its quality and

[28] Zelinskiy 1886, III: 476–481.
[29] NAA fond 125, inventory 1, file 148: 9.
[30] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 1: 4.

distance from the village. Each plot was then divided into "shares" based on the number of allotment units of a peasant farm.

During the time of division, peasants were organized into groups of 30–50 individuals. From each group, a senior, a respected person, was chosen, and a plot was assigned to each group by drawing lots. The land received through the lottery was then divided among the members of the group based on the number of allotment units of the peasant farm.

Unlike arable land, hayfields were redistributed annually, and the plot's yield was taken into account. The plot size was determined using steps or a rope, a technique introduced by Russians and adopted by Armenians according to A. D. Yeritsov.[31] The method for redistributing mowing was the same as that used for arable land.

Typically, each village had a pasture within its boundaries that was reserved for use by local residents. The community protected these pastures, preventing cattle from neighboring villages from grazing there. Additionally, lands designated for homesteads and vegetable gardens were also considered community lands.

6. Organization of Community Life

The rural community was not only a collective of people bound by the commonality of the settlement territory, but also a specific form of social organization. As a rule, a peasant collective was the smallest self-governing unit, known as a village society, and was bound by common land ownership. Legally, each community could independently decide its own internal affairs. However, in practice, the district administration closely scrutinized the community's activities.

The settlers in the Alexandropol district practiced communal self-government. The assembly, led by a headman, made decisions on all important social issues. The headman oversaw an administrative apparatus that included an assistant, a clerk, a public tax collector, and a public mailman.

The headman was elected for a three-year term and was responsible for exercising executive power. Their duties included monitoring the moral behavior of community members.

In the secant's villages of Alexandropol district, spiritual leaders had significant influence over the religious life of the community and sometimes even replaced civil and police authority. The heads of households had the right to vote at the assembly, which met at least once a month. Decisions made by the assembly were only valid if at least two thirds of the households were present.

The village assembly addressed a range of matters, including admitting new members to the community, granting land to peasants, setting terms for land redistribution, building roads, collecting money for public needs, organizing bread shops, settling family disputes, and appointing guardians for orphans. The village assembly held significant power and occasionally disregarded decisions made by higher authorities, including the Yrevan Chamber of Treasury. This was particularly true when the matter at hand involved land, which impacted

[31] Yeritsov 1886, II: 95.

the interests of all peasants. The assembly was responsible for hiring shepherds and field guards to protect the property of villagers from potential robbery attacks.[32]

The village assembly was responsible for maintaining village schools. In 1919, the assembly in Nikntino addressed several issues, including taxation for school maintenance, school repairs, purchasing textbooks and notebooks, starting classes, and the parents' council. The question of school maintenance was resolved as follows: All students, regardless of their financial situation, should be taxed on half a *pood* of potatoes each. The potatoes will be collected by the members of the parents' council, sold, and the proceeds deposited in the treasury.[33] Due to the large number of students, the council has decided to invite a third teacher to the school and maintain it using public funds.

The village assembly resolved the issue of guardianship for children without parents. A guardian was appointed for orphans not only if they had no relatives, but also when a widow remarried. The village headman, together with elected accountants, took an inventory of the orphans' property and handed it over to the guardian. A 'trustworthy' person was appointed as the guardian who had to report to the village assembly at the end of the year on their actions in guardianship of the property and upbringing of the orphans. For instance, in 1919, P. I. Arinin, a resident of Nikitino, allocated a part of the property to his deceased son Vasily, which now passed to his grandchildren, Vasily's children. The family was wealthy, and the three orphans received two cows, a calf, a steer, a horse, a cart, and a carpet.[34]

The village community made sure that the orphan's property given to the guardian was returned on time, otherwise, by the decision of the village assembly, the headman took strict measures. In 1890, peasant I.S. Chichev of Nikitino village failed to return approximately 300 roubles of orphan money, resulting in the sequestration of part of his property, including a van with three horses, two cows, and two heifers.[35]

The village community also took responsibility for maintaining and improving the appearance of their village. The village assembly selected 2–3 individuals to oversee the cleanliness of the village and take action against negligent owners. Each morning, after the cattle were driven out to the fields, the peasants were required to sweep the streets near their homes. According to contemporaries, Russian settlements had an appealing appearance - clean and tidy, which was not always the case for Armenian villages.[36]

7. Forms of Mutual Assistance

The community organization of Russian peasants in the Alexandropol district was characterized by various forms of collective labor and mutual assistance, used in agriculture and domestic work.

Inextricably linked to the economic and intracommunity life of peasants was the custom of *pomochi* (mutual aid), which included features of economic and labor, and every

[32] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 8: 50.
[33] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 8: 71–75.
[34] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 8: 51–53.
[35] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 1: 5.
[36] NAA fond 140, inventory 1, file 2: 10.

day and festive character.[37] *Pomochi* was a free and comprehensive aid provided to a fellow villager to accomplish a specific set of tasks. The communal nature of the *pomochi* was most clearly demonstrated in the aid organized by the village assembly. Such aid was an exceptional measure and was provided to families who had lost their breadwinner, families with many children, or those who lacked sufficient labor, as well as to those who had suffered from fire damage. Typically, the aid involved assistance with agricultural work and house construction. Community members would bring their own tools and horses to help with the work. When planting and harvesting potatoes from large areas, several families joined together and took turns doing this work in each household. However, this type of help was most often found among the female members of the community when processing flax, spinning, or chopping cabbage. The hostess herself invited relatives, neighbors, and friends to help. When work started was determined by the nature and amount work to be done. For example, for cabbage shredding they gathered in the morning and for flax processing in the evening and worked all night.[38]

In general, it should be noted that for all types of *pomochi*, the degree of obligatory participation in work was high due to certain ethical perceptions and norms that developed around this custom and were supported by public opinion in the community. In the Molokan villages, however, helping sometimes took other forms. For example, the rich helped their poorer fellow villagers not by participating in the work themselves but by giving them money.[39]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Russian peasants in the Alexandropol district had various societies, partnerships and artels for the processing and marketing of dairy products.[40] The farms that belonged to such societies used to deliver all the milk they received from their cows to a householder, who used it to make cheese, butter and other products for herself. The next day, all the milk collected was given to another member of the society, and so on.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the partnerships gave way to dairy artels, where the production of products was taken to a higher technical level. The members of the artels, the farmers of a village, bought butter churns and centrifuges, rented premises, and invited craftsmen. From 1913, dairy artels were established in this way in the villages of Voskresenka and Nikitino. In 1913 in Nikitino there were twenty-five members of the artel; in 1914 it was seventy-five people with 110 farms in the village. In Voskresenka out of 105 farms, twenty-four were members of the artel.[41] The artel workers delivered milk daily and took into account the amount, since it was used to make cheese and butter, with deductions for renting the premises, the payment to the masters, and the amortization of the equipment. There was another way for the artel workers to earn an income. Dairy products were sold at the markets in Tbilisi, Dilijan and Karakilis, and the proceeds were used to buy goods for the members of the artel.

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37 Gromyko 1981: 4–5.
38 Gromyko 1981, 4: 38.
39 Argutinskiy-Dolgorukov 1897: 112.
40 NAA fond 125, inventory 1, file 737: 4.
41 Tamamshev 1947: 126.

8. Penetration of Capitalist Attitudes into the Lives of Russian Peasants

At the end of the nineteenth century, capitalist relations penetrated all spheres of life of the population of Eastern Armenia. The market demand for various agricultural products stimulated the development of trade. The growth of the urban population and the development of industry created a huge demand for bread. Local centers of wheat and barley production were established. In the province of Yerevan, the Alexandropol district was such a center. The district was also a center for commercial cattle breeding and accounted for more than half of the province's cattle.[42] It can be assumed that the share of Russian peasants in the production of commercial grain and livestock was not insignificant.

The growth of commercial agriculture was always linked to improvements in agricultural machinery. At the end of the nineteenth century, improved agricultural machinery appeared in Russian villages. A.M. Argutinsky-Dolgorukov wrote that "fields are cultivated almost exclusively with improved tools. While the Armenians mostly plow with old wooden plows."[43]

Capitalist relations reached their greatest development in the sectarian villages of the Alexandropol district. Sectarian communities became a center of development for bourgeois relations. The great economic development of the sectarian communities had objective reasons. It should not be forgotten that not only poor but also wealthier peasants took part in the resettlement, and in their new places of settlement they found ample opportunities to apply their capital. The accumulation of capital and the development of bourgeois relations were greatly facilitated by the socioeconomic privileges granted to the settlers.

The cultic peculiarities of the Molokan religion also played a role. The sectarians observed a sharp reduction in the number of holidays. The Molokans rejected the Orthodox understanding of fasting, interpreting it as abstinence from all evil: smoking, drinking, worldly pleasures, etc., which helped to use available resources economically and rationally. The Molokan doctrine required not only abstinence but also care for the family and hard work. Enrichment, according to the Molokans, was a sign of divine favor. The sharp internal contradictions that existed in sectarian communities were somewhat mitigated and regulated by the religious community at the expense of public funds and charity.[44]

9. Conclusion

The integration of Eastern Armenia into the Russian Empire necessitated the assimilation of these territories into the empire's economy. The authorities regarded these lands as a colonial periphery and resettled Russian peasants, mostly sectarians to make them economically viable. The government granted them favors and closely monitored their religious activities. The settlers from the central and southern provinces brought their own farming methods and culture. The government organized them into communities and provided communal lands. In Alexandropolsky uyezd, Russians farmed and raised livestock

[42] Ambaryan 1959: 67.
[43] Argutinskiy-Dolgorukov 1897: 99–100.
[44] Klibanov 1973: 113.

using new tools and improved livestock breeds, resulting in improved agriculture. Russian peasants were also involved in woodworking. Contacts between Russians and Armenians were limited due to religious and cultural differences. However, they still managed to influence each other and exchange experiences in agriculture and crafts. The Russian peasants who migrated to the Alexandropol district formed their own micro-community that allowed them to preserve their culture while adapting to local conditions.

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АРМЕН ХАЈРАПЕТИЈАН
АРКАДИ АКОПОВ
Национална академија наука Републике Јерменије,
Ширак центар за јерменолошке студије

РУСКИ СЕЉАЦИ У АЛЕКСАНДРОПОЉСКОМ ОКРУГУ: НАСТАНАК, ОРГАНИЗАЦИЈА ЗАЈЕДНИЧКОГ ЖИВОТА И ОБЛИЦИ ЗЕМЉОПОСЕДА (19.–ПОЧЕТАК 20. ВЕКА)

Резиме

У 19 веку, присаједињивање Источне Јерменије, укључујући Александропољски округ, Руском царству захтевало је израду и спровођење стратегије за развој ових нових територија. Циљ је био да се интегришу у економски систем царства. С тим у вези, руска влада је одлучила да пресели руске сељаке у ове области. Главни ток досељеника били су државни сељаци из аграрно пренасељених покрајина Русије. Међу њима је било много секташа који су се кретали како у нади да ће избећи репресију, тако и да развијају предузетничке активности у складу са својим уверењима. Политика власти према њима била је двојака. С једне стране, обезбеђене су им значајне земљишне и пореске олакшице, као и дозвола за бављење трговином и занатством. С друге стране, секташи су били прогањани због својих верских уверења, иако су подстицани да се населе у новом региону. Руски досељеници су донели своје пољопривредне вештине у регион, али су морали да се прилагоде новим климатским условима и да позајме неке технологије од локалног становништва. Такође су развили занате, укључујући обраду дрвета, и увели побољшане методе сточарства и пољопривреде. Пресељење руских сељака у Александропољску област довело је до формирања микрозаједница руске националности у региону. Интеракција између руских и јерменских сељака била је праћена културном разменом и утицајем. Међутим, верске и етничке разлике, као и деноминационо нејединство, закомпликовале су процес интеграције. Генерално, пресељење руских сељака у Александропољски округ било је део стратегије колонијалне експанзије Руске империје. Овај процес је значајно утицао на привредни и културни развој региона и допринео формирању јединствене етнокултурне средине.

Кључне речи: руски сељаци, Александропољски округ, досељеници, секташи, земљорадња, сточарство, друштвени живот, традиција.

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ŽELJKO SAVANOVIĆ
University of Banja Luka, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History
0009-0000-2615-783X
zeljko.savanovic@ff.unibl.org

GOAT FARMING IN THE VRBAS BANOVINA

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to analyze goat farming in the Vrbas Banovina based on published and unpublished sources and available literature. In certain areas of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, goat farming was a major branch of stockbreeding. The portion of the population that did not have enough land to sustain a cow was able to successfully keep two to three goats. For the poorer population in the country, goats were the most significant domesticated animals, and they provided a substantial income. The paper compares the number of goats in certain European countries, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, its banovinas, and the districts of the Vrbas Banovina. It also focuses on the lives of the people, the traits of the domestic Balkan goat, goat breeds, goat housing and feeding, stockbreeding trends, goat diseases and restrictions on keeping goats.

Keywords: goat, goat farming, stockbreeding, Vrbas Banovina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Europe.

1. Introduction

Animal husbandry has been practiced in the Vrbas Banovina for centuries, which is confirmed by various archaeological studies of stilt house settlements in Ripac and Donja Dolina. Based on the remains of animal bones found in these locations, it appears these people predominantly bred pigs, sheep, and goats, along with a small number of cows and horses.[1] The feudal system in the area predated the arrival of the Ottomans and continued in a somewhat altered form throughout the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods. It followed the principle that dependent peasants (serfs) were only expected to provide local representatives of the Ottoman Empire with a percentage of their income earned from husbandry but not from stockbreeding. This contributed to an increase in the number of livestock.[2] Keeping a large number of livestock was, to a large extent, the result of centuries-long political instabilities in the Balkans. For the inhabitants, livestock was

[1] Stipčević 1989: 109.
[2] Šerić 1949: 5.

their most valuable form of property.[3]

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, domesticated animals were bred in the Vrbas Banovina in extensive conditions, very much like they were during the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The varieties bred were mostly primitive and slow-growing, resistant to diseases and malnourishment, and able to thrive in poor living conditions. Many stockbreeders kept larger numbers than their financial circumstances allowed them to. Animals were given fodder in stables only during the winter season. For major stockbreeders, extensive farming was the most logical way to exploit natural resources. Without this type of production, the stockbreeding industry in the Vrbas Banovina would have been virtually inconceivable.[4] Many families living in rural areas managed to satisfy all their needs through stockbreeding.

2. Population Data and Agricultural Production in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the Vrbas Banovina

The period following the First World War (1914–1918) in Europe saw the formation of several new states, one of which was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which had a surface area of 248,666 km² and a population of 12,055,715, according to the 1921 census. In 1929, the country was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the 1922 administrative division of territory into thirty-three counties was replaced with a division into nine provinces called banates (*banovina*) with the City of Belgrade as a separate administrative unit. The Vrbas Banovina and the Drina Banovina were in the center of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[5]

According to the 1931 census, the population of Yugoslavia at that time was 13,934,038. The Vrbas Banovina had a surface area of 18,917 km² (7.64% of the country's total area) and a population of 1,037,382 (7.44%), the majority of whom were Serbs (57.9%). With a birth rate of 41.11% and a 20.66% natural increase, the Vrbas Banovina was at the forefront in Yugoslavia and farther afield, followed by the Drina Banovina.[6] Following the Cvetković–Maček Agreement of 1939, the districts of Derventa and Gradačac were separated from the Vrbas Banovina and adjoined to the newly formed Banovina of Croatia.[7]

The population was primarily engaged in agriculture. The 1931 census data shows that 76.58% of the population in Yugoslavia was involved in agriculture and 88.16% in the Vrbas Banovina earned their livelihoods from forestry and fishing.[8] Over fifty percent of Yugoslavia's GDP during the interwar period came from agriculture. A third of this came from stockbreeding, which on average also made up a quarter of all Yugoslav exports.[9]

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3 Đurđević 1934: 958.

4 Krstić 1938: 44, 47, 52.

5 Petranović 1988: 31–32, 190.

6 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine*, *Prisutno stanovništvo, broj kuća i domaćinstava*, 1937: 11; *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine*, *Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti*, 1938: 4, 110.

7 Vojinović 1997: 149

8 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine*, *Prisutno stanovništvo po glavnim zanimanjima*, 1940: 7–8.

9 Aleksić 2002: 21, 26–27.

3. Goat Farming in Europe and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Goat farming was a major branch of stockbreeding in specific areas of Yugoslavia. The population kept goats primarily for producing milk and dairy, meat, skin, goat hair, and manure, and it was much less concerned with by-products such as suet, horns, and hooves. Goat cheese, used mostly on homesteads, is lower in fat than cheese made form sheep or cow milk. Goat hair was used to make clothing items, because such garments are more water resistant than those made of wool. In addition, goat hair was used to make various textile items, including different kinds of sacks and bags, horse clothing, and rugs.[10] Goatskin was used to preserve cheese, sour cream, and butter, and kidskin was used for transporting wine, fresh cheese, lard, and other items saturated with fat.[11]

Country	Year	Total number of goats	Number per km²	Number per 1000 people
Austria	1923	382,100	4.56	58.4
Bulgaria	1920	1,331,900	12.91	261.9
Czechoslovakia	1925	1,244,700	8.69	85.6
Denmark	1926	24,000	0.62	7.6
France	1925	1,377,900	2.51	34.5
Greece	1923	3,674,000	26.20	668.0
Italy	1918	3,082,600	9.94	76.0
Yugoslavia	1925	1,810,700	6.38	132.0
Hungary	1926	48,600	0.64	7.0
Germany	1926	3,483,800	8.03	59.8
Netherlands	1921	272,300	7.95	36.6
Norway	1926	290,300	0.85	99.6
Portugal	1925	1,557,700	16.20	248.6
USSR	1925	3,883,100	0.40	20.4
Romania	1925	493,600	1.67	29.4
Spain	1924	3,803,800	7.53	174.7
Sweden	1920	113,000	0.29	21.9
Switzerland	1921	330,000	7.99	84.2

Table 1. Numbers of goats in individual European countries according to data from the Rome International Institute of Agriculture[12]

Yugoslavia was among the top countries in Europe in terms of the overall number of goats, the number of goats per square kilometer, and number per 1,000 people. In the years after the Second World War, the country with the most goats in Europe was the USSR

[10] Vukosavljević 1983: 139–140; Ćeranić 1984: 9.
[11] Nimac 1940: 120, 129–130.
[12] Lakatoš 1929: 37.

(3,883,100), which was followed by Spain (3,803,800), Greece (3,674,000), Germany (3,483,800), Italy (3,082,600), and then Yugoslavia (1,810,700). The countries with the most goats per square kilometer were Greece (26.20), Portugal (16.20), Bulgaria (12.91), Italy (9.94) and Czechoslovakia (8.69), which was also the only country with more goats than sheep. These were followed by Germany (8.03), Switzerland (7.99), the Netherlands (7.95), Spain (7.53), and Yugoslavia (6.38). Yugoslavia was in the fourth place with 132 goats per 1,000 people. In this metric, Yugoslavia was behind Greece (668), Bulgaria (261.9) and Portugal (248.6).

Banate	Number of goats	Number per 1 km²	Percentage per banate	Percentage per breed	Number per 100 people
Drava Banovina	9,972	0.63	0.53	1.34	0.86
Drina Banovina	145,948	5.24	7.80	8.07	9.19
Danube Banovina	33,669	1.08	1.80	1.38	1.39
Morava Banovina	212,815	8.36	11.37	9.18	14.42
Littoral Banovina	232,432	11.83	12.42	12.86	25.01
Sava Banovina	52,172	1.29	2.79	2.45	1.89
Vardar Banovina	663,928	18.11	35.47	18.92	41.05
Vrbas Banovina	126,055	6.66	6.74	8.75	11.71
Zeta Banovina	394,401	12.72	21.07	18.17	41.47
Belgrade	226	0.60	0.01	1.67	0.08
Total	1,871,618	7.56	100.00	10.18	13.11

Table 2. Parallel overview of the number of goats in the banates in 1932.[13]

Compared to other countries in Europe, goat farming was quite developed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, although it was much less significant than sheep farming.[14] In the 1929 – 1938 period, there was an average of 10,759,949 goats and sheep per year in Yugoslavia. Of this total, 1,868,078 does, bucks, and kids made up 17.4%, whereas

[13] *Statistički godišnjak 1932,* 1934: 94–96.
[14] Lazić 1999: 115.

8,891,871 sheep, rams, and lambs made up 82.6%. During the same period, the annual exports were 14,787 kids, 17,029 bucks, 20,312 does, 417,664 lambs, 70,743 rams, and 70.638 ewes, for a total of 611,173 head. Goats accounted for 8.5% of exports, but sheep made up the lion's share with 91.5%.[15] Goat exports were not at all substantial, which is why the financial benefit of goat farming was much lower than in other branches of stockbreeding. The largest buyer was Greece, and export to other countries was negligible.[16]

According to Table 2, which shows the distribution of goats in Yugoslavia in 1932, the highest number of goats were in the and predominantly mountainous southern areas of the country, where the poorest part of the population lived on the karst. Goat farming as an economic branch is an indicator of the cultural state of affairs and possibly unemployment among part of the Yugoslav population. When colonists came from underdeveloped areas into the flatlands of Vojvodina, they brought along their goats, which did not flourish in the new environment.[17] There, goats were kept mainly by toll collectors, railway guards, workers at the industrial companies in towns, and the poor.[18] In 1932, the Vardar Banovina had the most goats with 663,928, 18.11 per km², and 41.05 goats per 100 people. The Zeta Banovina was second with a total of 394,401 goats and 12.72 per km², and it had the highest number of goats per 100 people at 41.47. The Vardar Banovina was home to more than a third of all the goats in the country. The Vardar and Zeta banates combined contained 56.54% of all the goats in the country. The Littoral Banovina was third with 232,432 goats. The Drava Banovina had the least with a total of only 9,972, followed by the Danube Banovina (33,669), the Sava Banovina (52,172), and the Vrbas Banovina (126,055). According to data from 1932, goats made up 8.75 percent of all livestock in the Vrbas Banovina. The highest percentages were found in the Vardar Banovina (18.92%), the Zeta Banovina (18.17%) and the Littoral Banovina (12.8%), and the lowest in the Drava Banovina (1.34%) and the Danube Banovina (1.38%).

However, there were significantly more goats and other livestock in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia than was recorded during the local livestock census. Even in the Ottoman period, livestock owners obscured the actual numbers of all their animals to avoid paying grazing fees and livestock taxes,[19] and they continued to do so during the Austro-Hungarian period. After the first Austro-Hungarian census of 1879, many peasants talked of hiding half their livestock in the woods before the enumerators arrived. Some of them hid all of their livestock and had no animals registered.[20] This practice continued in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as well. Agricultural experts from the Vardar and Zeta Banovinas believed the number of goats to be much higher in actuality.[21] There was more livestock in the Vrbas Banovina, and according to estimates, the number of sheep was a third higher in 1929 than what the official statistics indicated.[22]

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15 *Poljoprivredna godišnja statistika 1935*, 1936: 140; *Poljoprivredna godišnja statistika 1939*, 1940: 156.
16 Lazić 1999: 115.
17 Perušić 1940: 578.
18 Belić 1995: 35.
19 Pelagić 1953: 62; Hadžibegić 1960: 90.
20 Šerić: 1953: 36.
21 Perušuć 1940: 574.
22 ARS, ZDIL, Dosije ing. Milana Jankovića, br. dos. 83/3, Milan Janković, Stanje i unapređenje ovčarstva u Vrbaskoj banovini, Banja Luka, 1929–1930.

4. The Goat Population in the Vrbas Banovina

According to the Austro-Hungarian livestock census conducted in 1895, there were 1,447,049 goats in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[23] The 1910 census, however, indicated a reduced number of livestock with only 1,393,068 goats. The main reason for this was that the first was conducted in the spring (April 22–May 22) when the number of livestock is highest due to new births. The second was conducted in the autumn (October 10–November 10) when it was at its lowest[24] due to sales and household meat consumption. When the First World War broke out, Austro-Hungary conscripted a large number of men to serve on the frontline or as auxiliary staff. Conscription led to a shortage of men in the agricultural workforce and a consequent decrease in yields. The military administration requisitioned and purchased livestock and fodder, which resulted in a reduction in the amount of livestock and poorer farming.[25] In the eastern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which witnessed fighting during the war, livestock almost disappeared.[26] The number of goats and other farm animals decreased, which is confirmed by the first livestock census in the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, conducted in 1921. At that time, there were 118,108 kids, 372, 981 does, and 38, 344 bucks, for a total of 529,433.[27]

District name	Kids under the age of one	Does and bucks	Total
Banja Luka	3,985	11,822	15,807
Bihać	898	5,914	6,812
Glamoč	3,000	5,500	8,500
Gradačac	409	642	1,051
Gradiška	149	466	615
Gračanica	806	1,851	2,657
Grahovo	2,535	10,788	13,323
Dvor	377	1,123	1,500
Derventa	104	219	323
Doboj	85	185	270
Dubica	88	208	296
Jajce	3,935	9,601	13,536
Ključ	3,050	6,920	9,970
Kotor Varoš	2,106	5,219	7,325
Krupa	1,802	4,535	6,337
Maglaj	1,081	1,397	2,478

[23] *Die Landwirthschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, 1899: 368–369; *Rezultati popisa marve u Bosni i Hercegovini od godine 1895*, 1896: 29.

[24] Šerić 1953: 68–71.

[25] Šehić 1991: 46–47.

[26] Sušić 1938: 358.

[27] *Rezultati popisa domaće stoke od 31. januara 1921*, 1927: 3, 156–157.

Mrkonjić Grad	1,899	5,224	7,123
Novi Grad	497	981	1,478
Petrovac	1,444	7,135	8,579
Prijedor	632	1,063	1,695
Prnjavor	568	872	1,440
Sanski Most	1,221	4,638	5,859
Teslić	493	5,289	5,782
Cazin	336	768	1,104
Total	31,500	92,360	123,860

Table 3. Number of kids under the age of one and totals of does and bucks in 1935.[28]

According to agricultural statistics for the year 1935 (Table 3), the total number of goats in the Vrbas Banovina was 123,860, of which 31,500 were kids under the age of one and the remaining 92,360 were does and bucks. The Banja Luka district had the most goats, followed by the districts of Jajce and Grahovo, with the fewest goats in the districts of Doboj, Dubica and Derventa. In the Vrbas Banovina, there were 103,929 goats in 1930, 127,719 in 1931, 126,055 in 1932, 123,162 in 1933, 118,711 in 1934, 123,860 in 1935, 135,587 in 1937 and 136,037 in 1938.[29] The number of goats never dropped below 100,000.

5. Goat Breeds in the Vrbas Banovina

The most prevalent breed of goat in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and on the Balkan Peninsula was the Balkan goat. Most of the year it lived from grazing and browsing, and during the winter it was fed hay and oak leaf fodder. They weighed an average of thirty-five kilograms and were covered in long, thick, rough, sleek fur that was most often reddish or gray but could also be black, chestnut, brown, spotted, or white. Females yielded around 300–400 grams of shorn hair and males up to a kilogram. In higher terrains, both males and females had horns that bent backward, while in lower terrains, the females could be horned or polled (hornless). Females birthed one kid at a time. Mountain goats, which lived on the sparsest terrain, yielded an average of up to 150 liters of milk annually, including milk suckled by the kid (around 35 liters). The lowland goats were calmer, tamer, better fed than the goats in the mountains because they were kept closer to the homestead and therefore yielded more milk (200–250 liters).[30] There were several known varieties of the Balkan goat: the Soko Banja, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Gulijan.[31]

The importance of goat farming in the past in Yugoslavia is reflected in the many placenames derived from the local words for goats (*koza*, *jarac*). Many of these placenames persist to this day in what was once the Vrbas Banovina: Kozara, Kozarac, Kozaruša, Kozica,

[28] *Poljoprivredna godišnja statistika 1935*, 1936: 116–118.

[29] *Poljoprivredna godišnja statistika 1935*, 1936: 118; *Statistički godišnjak 1937*, 1938: 128–129; *Statistički godišnjak 1938-1939*, 1939: 180–181

[30] Đurđević 1934: 957–958; Belić 1967: 686–689; Ćeranić 1984: 15; Franić 1987:10; Garić Petrović 2022: 100.

[31] Belić 1995: 35.

Kozin, Jarice, and Jarčište, among others. Goats were usually given names derived from their coloring, body parts, similarities to other objects, their features, out of fondness, etc. Goats were reported to be more intelligent than sheep, and they quickly learned their names.[32]

In Bosnia and Herzegovina efforts were made during the Austrian period to improve the Balkan goat's milk yield by crossing it with the Angora goat, although it is possible that some individuals had acquired the Angora goat during Ottoman rule. In 1896, twenty-six Angora does were imported from the Angora Vilayet and kept as purebreds at the agricultural station in Livno, while bucks were crossed with local does.[33] However, the animals that resulted from this crossbreeding did not prove to be favorable.[34]

After the First World War, Angora goats were imported to Herzegovina and kept at the Gacko Agricultural Station. Their only advantage over the domestic goat turned out to be better-quality hair. They had a lower milk yield, and their weight was not greater.

Before the First World War, the Saanen goat was imported to the lowlands of Herzegovina from the Saanental Valley in the Swiss canton of Bern. It was well-accepted due to its high milk yield.[35] The Saanen was imported to Bohinj in modern-day Slovenia, where its breeding was encouraged for milk production during the summer when the cows were out grazing in the mountains.[36] Improvements in the domestic goat with the introduction of the Saanen, which provided very good hybrids when crossed with the domestic goat, was continued after the First World War. The government in the Vardar Banovina encouraged breeding of the Saanen as an attempt to replace the domestic goat rather than improve it.[37] Its high milk yield made it very welcome in the suburbs of large Yugoslav cities, where some working-class families kept them for milk.[38] Just before the Second World War, the Saanen accounted for 2–3% of all goats in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. There were also some hybrids of the Balkan goat and high-milk-yield goats, but these were mainly Saanen. No new blood was introduced, which resulted in inbreeding. This caused the Yugoslav Saanen to be less developed with a weight of around 45 to 50 kilograms. It yielded around 500 liters of milk on average.[39]

The cross between the lower terrain Balkan goat and the Saanen produced the domestic white goat, which is quite similar to the Saanen but smaller and lighter, weighing on average between 35 and 45 kilograms. Most are polled with short, white, shiny coat. They mainly birth two kids at a time and yield around 450 liters of milk.[40]

The Vrbas Banovina also worked on popularizing the Saanen and crossbreeding it with the domestic Balkan goat to achieve the highest possible milk yield.[41] In addition to good domestic goats, a few Saanen could be seen here and there in the districts of the Vrbas

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32 Sušac:1939: 199

33 *Die Landwirthschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, 1899: 137; Šerić 1953: 47.

34 Janković, Džuverović 1938: 52.

35 Balić 1930: 55.

36 Belić 1995: 35.

37 Jovanović 2011: 326.

38 Hrvoj 1929: 126; Janković, Džuverović 1938: 52; Belić 1995: 91.

39 Ćeranić 1984: 13.

40 Franić 1987: 10; Ćeranić 1984: 14.

41 ARS, KBUVB, III–6, dok. br. 34, O stočarstvu Vrbaske banovine, Banja Luka 1930.

Banovina.[42] The Saanen was introduced in the Banja Luka district in 1926, when three goats were imported from Switzerland. This continued in the town of Banja Luka and the surrounding settlements, and a decade later they could be found in nearby places, including Bukvalek, Slatina, Pavlovac, and others. In 1936, around twenty goats were shipped from the Banja Luka district to the Jajce district. They were sold there for between 150 and 350 dinars,[43] which was substantially higher than the average price of the mainly domestic Balkan goats that were exported. That same year, 14,494 goats were exported for 1,897,800 dinars at an average of 130.9 dinars per goat.[44]

At its annual meeting held in April 1936, the Banja Luka Poultry Selection Cooperative decided to expand the cooperative's activities to include breeding the Saanen and taming rabbits. The cooperative started working more closely with breeders in the town and the nearby settlements of Bukvalek and Lauš.[45] Good breeders had "excellent female specimens, but lacked a good male necessary for diversifying the gene pool,"[46] so they asked the Poultry Selection Cooperative to obtain one for them.[47] The Alliance of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives obtained a breeding buck and a doe, and delivered them to the Poultry Selection Cooperative in Banja Luka.[48]

6. Living conditions and nutrition for goats in the Vrbas Banovina

In the mountainous areas of the Vrbas Banovina, where peasants lived mostly from livestock, the stables were fairly good. The abundance of construction materials there allowed for most structures to be built with logs, high thresholds, and few, if any, windows. Most often, they had two levels, with large animals housed on the bottom level with the upper level reserved for small livestock (sheep and goats) during the winter. Small livestock would climb to the top level using a wooden ramp with slats for climbing. The stables were roofed with wooden shingles.[49] In lower terrain, stables were built out of wickerwork or boards, and most commonly roofed with reeds. Goats would sometimes be housed with other domestic animals in the cellar underneath a residence, which was usually a dark, damp, unventilated space.[50]

Reports submitted to the Vrbas Banovina Department of Agriculture by the district administration and district veterinarians indicate where in individual districts of the Vrbas Banovina livestock was housed and what it was fed. In the Kulen Vakuf district outpost, livestock was "held in rooms with no light or air, in knee-high mud."[51] In the Jajce district,

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42 AJ, 67–25–203, Godišnji izvještaj veterinara sreza Sanski Most za godinu 1932.

43 ARS, KBUVB, III–10, dok. br. 710, Sresko načelstvo Banja Luka, KBUVB, Banja Luka, 14. 9. 1936.

44 *Poljoprivredna godišnja statistika 1939*, 1940: 156.

45 ARS, KBUVB, III–10, dok. br. 710, Živinarsko-selekcijska zadruga Banja Luka, KBUVB, Banja Luka, 14. 9. 1936.

46 *Ibid*., Sresko načelstvo Banja Luka, KBUVB, Banja Luka, 14. 9. 1936.

47 *Ibid*., Živinarsko-selekcijska zadruga Banja Luka, KBUVB, Banja Luka, 14. 9. 1936.

48 *Ibid*., Živinarsko-selekcijska zadruga Banja Luka, KBUVB, Banja Luka, 7. 11. 1936.

49 ARS, ZDIL, Dosije ing. Milana Jankovića, br. dos. 83/3, Milan Janković, Stanje i unapređenje ovčarstva u Vrbaskoj banovini, Banja Luka, 1929–1930; Popović 1940: 69–71.

50 Šmalcelj 1947: 83

51 AJ, 67–25–203, Godišnji izvještaj veterinara sreske ispostave Kulen Vakuf Gavre Andjukića za godinu 1932.

"livestock is fed straw, cornstalks, tree fodder, and some hay." At the end of winter, the poor ranchers would "run out of dry food, and then let their livestock roam the fields and thickets to browse and survive until the first spring grazing."[52] More often than not, stables were merged with the houses where children lived. They were a sort of basement—cramped, dark, unventilated, and with no channels for draining slurry manure. If stables were freestanding, they were usually primitively built out of logs. In the summer, the livestock would graze in the pastures, and eat hay, straw, and cornstalks in the winter. There was usually not enough food, especially in winter.[53] Stockbreeding was quantitatively well-developed in the Donji Vakuf district outpost, but not as much qualitatively because the "local farmer aims to have as much livestock as possible, regardless of its quality or the available amount of food." Over the winter, they were fed "very sparsely, and in the spring, when the food runs out, they are driven out into barren pastures to find their own food by searching in thickets and depleted pastures."[54] In the Bosanski Brod district outpost, "livestock is kept in enclosures, since not all farmers have stables. Consequently, livestock care is poor, and food is scarce." Floods caused food shortages. The livestock grazed in poor submerged pastures.[55] Stables in the Gračanica district were "in most cases cramped, dark wickerwork structures lined with loam, and often merely wickerwork covered in reeds or sedge." They were "most often with no bedding." Half of the farmers expected their livestock to "find their main food in the spring and summer by grazing along the main roads, while in the winter, the main sources of food are hay and cornstalks."[56] The Glamoč district farmers usually kept more livestock than they needed, without providing proper nourishment, adequate care, or comfortable housing for the animals. In addition to pastures, livestock grazed in agricultural fields, specifically on the stubble left untilled after the harvest. In winter, the livestock was herded home, where it spent the winter in small stables with hay and straw. There were very few purpose-built stables for livestock since most stables were located beneath residences.[57] In the Prijedor district, the stables "were built unhygienically, low and small, with little light and air, no flooring and no drainage canals." They were built of "poor-quality material and without an attic, so it was too warm and humid in the summer, and too cold in the winter."[58] In the Maglaj district, "the livestock is poorly fed, spends most of the time in poorly built stables, with wickerwork or rarely board walls, small, without light, cold, covered with reeds, and occasionally with boards or tiles."[59]

The farmers with little livestock mainly put them out to graze near their houses or in the surrounding woods. Goats would usually browse in the hedges, thickets, and forests,

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52 ARS, KBUVB, III–6, dok. br. 698, Sresko načelstvo u Jajcu, KBUVB, Stanje poljoprivrede za godinu 1939, Jajce, 27. 12. 1939.

53 AJ, 67–25–203, Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Jajačkog sreza Slavka Kostića za godinu 1932, Jajce, 3. 5. 1933.

54 ARS, KBUVB, III–6, dok. br. 698, Sreska ispostava Donji Vakuf, KBUVB, PO, Godišnji izvještaj o stanju poljoprivrede i radu poljoprivrednog referenta, Donji Vakuf, 17. 1. 1940.

55 AJ, 67–25–203, Izvještaj veterinara sreske ispostave Bosanski Brod Josipa Stupara za godinu 1932.

56 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Gračaničkog sreza Mate Bartolovića za godinu 1932.

57 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara sreza Glamoč dr Novaka Varenike za godinu 1932.

58 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Prijedorskog sreza Pere Kovačevića za godinu 1932.

59 ARS, KBUVB, III–6, dok. br. 698, Sresko načelstvo Maglaj, KBUVBPO, Godišnji izvještaj o stanju poljoprivrede i vremenskih prilika na teritoriji Maglajskog sreza za 1939. godinu, Maglaj 10. 1. 1940.

and they were also put out with other livestock to graze in pastures, reaped meadows, and in the fields after the harvest. Along with their villages, famers also kept their livestock in the mountains. Over the summer, farmers in the Glamocko polje plain mainly used their mountain plots for housing their livestock and household members who would gather feed and collect animal products.[60] The more well-off peasants had stables, huts, and a barn in the mountains. Herdsmen lived in the stables with no huts. While up in the mountains, the herdsmen were regularly supplied with food from the permanent settlement.[61] During the winter, livestock in the mountains was usually only accompanied by herdsmen and collectives that had more members and more livestock.[62]

The lack of water presented the greatest challenge in summer for both people and livestock while up in the mountains. In places without active springs or wells, water would be collected in spring when the snow melted and during summer showers in puddles that formed in natural depressions with homogenous soil bottoms that could retain water over longer periods of time. Stockbreeders would collect snow in holes in the karst located on sun-exposed slopes, tamp it down, and cover it with a thick layer of straw or hay. Wealthier stockbreeders built cisterns and would occasionally dig wells.[63]

Goats were mainly grazed with other kinds of livestock on the mountains surrounding the town of Glamoč, as opposed to the Vlasic mountain, where only sheep, an occasional head of cattle, a horse, and some pigs would be grazed, accompanied by the necessary number of shepherd dogs. Offspring would never be grazed.[64] Earlier on, goats were a far more familiar sight, and there were more of them.[65]

7. Medical Treatment for Goats in the Vrbas Banovina

Two of the main features of the domestic Balkan goat are its hardiness and extraordinary resistance to disease, which compensates for its somewhat lower output of meat and milk in comparison to other breeds.[66] Goats are mostly prone to scabies and fasciolasis. They can also become infested with ticks, which can spread disease. On rare occasions there were outbreaks of anthrax and foot-and-mouth disease. In the Ključ district, forty-five goats were reported to have died from anthrax in 1933, and another five in 1934.[67] In 1935, twenty-nine were reported in the Sanski Most district, followed by twelve cases in the Banja Luka district in 1936.[68] Additional cases also were reported in other districts of the Vrbas Banovina as well.[69] Sometimes they would fall victim to rabies or snake bites. Farmers would provide first aid during births of kids and castrations of bucks. The usual

60 Popović 1940: 68–69.
61 Milojević 1923: 36–37.
62 *Ibid*., 14–18.
63 Popović 1940: 141.
64 Filipović 1927: 33.
65 Popović 1963: 107.
66 Marković 1945: 4–5.
67 „Borba protiv crnog prišta", *Vrbaske novine*, 7. 7. 1936, 2; Šerić 1949: 26–31; Popović 1940: 65.
68 Šute 2010: 199–200.
69 „Borba protiv crnog prišta", *Vrbaske novine*, 7. 7. 1936, 2.

treatment was bleeding the ears, whereby a farmer would make a tiny cut at the tip of one of the animal's ears using a knife or razor and then tap it with a stick to encourage bleeding. Prayers and chants were also sometimes used.

In 1934 the Department of Veterinary Epidemiology was established in the Vrbas Banovina under the auspices of the Institute for Hygiene in Banja Luka to deal with infectious diseases among livestock, which had reached pandemic levels. In 1935, four veterinarians were employed at the Royal Administration in the Vrbas Banovina along with twenty-three county veterinarians and two city veterinarians in Banja Luka and Donji Vakuf.[70] When there were major outbreaks, livestock markets were closed and the movement of diseased livestock was banned in the afflicted counties.[71] Fearing these measures, peasants would not report cases of diseased animals, and only in rare cases would they seek professional assistance. Accounts by district veterinarians confirm this. In the Glamoč district, no one would call a veterinarian unless "the animal was valuable or there was an epidemic." For more well-to-do families, the loss of a single animal was not of much significance. When this was the practice of the better-off, then, "in the opinion of those less privileged, it was unbecoming to seek help in certain cases." Those who did would "stick out like a sore thumb" in the community.

In more remote settlements, castrations were performed by the farmers themselves.[72] In the district of Prijedor, peasants would simply wait for the diseased animal to recover. Every village had "not only one quack in this regard. It seems all of them are experts in the field. They ask each other for advice, try just about anything, and when it is of no use, they eventually turn to a veterinarian for help."[73] According to a report by a veterinarian in the Sanski Most district, "people today are still, due to their ignorance and backward ideas, under the delusion that magical rituals" were worth more than assessment and treatment offered by a veterinarian. As a result, a farmer would visit a veterinarian so he could "write down something for him on a piece of paper,"[74] even though he had his animal had been examined and prescribed proper medicine. "Quackery is a widespread business" in the Ključ district. Livestock were treated "according to traditional methods of bleeding, [which was the case] for all breeds of animals." If an animal had difficulty with poor digestion or was underweight, "they trim a third eyelash and they cut convex parts of mucous membrane with cartilage." If the animal was bitten by a snake, they would "blow tobacco smoke around it. If there is swelling, there is hellebore. Apart from this, there is a conviction that inscriptions, witchcraft, and quackery yield results."[75] Medications were expensive for them, so it was understandable that they would turn to "quacks for treatment. Only if there is serious disease or injury do they seek out a veterinarian.[76] In the hillier areas of the Vrbas Banovina, peasants would keep sick animals in the house with them during fall and winter

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70 Bahtijarević 1935: 559.

71 ARS, KBUVB, III–6, dok. br. 660, Sresko načelstvo u Kotor Varošu, KBUVBPO, Kotor Varoš, 31. 7. 1939.

72 AJ, 67–25–203, Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara sreza Glamoč dr Novaka Varenike za godinu 1932.

73 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Prijedorskog sreza Pere Kovačevića za godinu 1932.

74 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara sreza Sanski Most za godinu 1932.

75 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Ključkog sreza za godinu 1932.

76 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Derventskog sreza Ibrahima Pajazetovića za godinu 1932.

until they recovered.[77] In some districts, anthrax was not limited to livestock. It also spread to people who consumed their flesh, which occasionally resulted in death. In 1940, along with goats and other animals, cases were also recorded of children in the Glamoč district who had contracted foot-and-mouth disease by drinking water from puddles.[78]

According to the Animal Health Law of July 14, 1928, every municipality was required to arrange for a dumpsite for animal carcasses.[79] Many peasants failed to follow the regulations, which resulted them being disposed of in remote sites,[80] tossed into ravines, buried, or even being left unburied.[81]

8. Legislation Stipulating the Number of Goats kept per Homestead

Raising and feeding goats required little effort and very small amounts of money because goats could find food virtually anywhere.[82] People with small lots could not keep cows, but they were able to raise two to three goats.[83] With the exception of two kilograms of salt per year, there were no other expenses required.[84] Every farmer, very much like every forest expert, was aware that goats fed on trees and brush. Goats bit off any buds, leaves, and young branches from a tree it could reach. "If a new branch springs from a browsed tree and a goat bites it off again, the tree will soon lose its vitality and begin to dry out." Extensive browsing resulted in large areas of thickets. Due to constant "biting off, trees lose their ability to grow strong, new branches" and turn into thick shrubbery with many undeveloped branches. Damage to the woods was caused not only by goats but by herdsmen as well. "Those tips that are out of reach for a goat are cut by the herdsman with his axe. He does this to provide as much fodder for his goats to browse as possible." Preparing sheaves of branches for sustenance throughout the winter also inflicted damage to the woods.[85] These sheaves were made by pruning branches of deciduous trees, mostly fir, ash, oak, and beech. The bare branches would be stacked near barns where the cattle would spend the cold season.[86] In the mountainous areas of the Vrbas Banovina (Vlasic, Imljani, Klekovaca, Vitorog), livestock would be offered sheaves of coniferous trees prior to hay, which was officially forbidden.[87]

To protect the forests, reductions in the number of goats began during Austro-Hungarian rule. The tax system they inherited from the Ottoman Empire did not differentiate between sheep and goats, and taxes were the same for both and for the rest of the farm

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77 „Selo", *Otadžbina*, 26. 12. 1936, 2.

78 „Borba protiv crnog prišta", *Vrbaske novine*, 7. 7. 1936, 2; Popović 1940: 65.

79 ARS, KBUVB, III–2, dok. br. 112, Banja Luka, 28. 11. 1930.

80 AJ, 67–25–203, Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara Gračaničkog sreza Mate Bartolovića za godinu 1932.

81 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj veterinara sreske ispostave Kulen Vakuf Gavre Andjukića za godinu 1932.

82 *Ibid*., Godišnji izvještaj sreskog veterinara sreza Glamoč dr Novaka Varenike za godinu 1932.

83 „Krava malog čovjeka", *Vrbaske novine*, 3. 11. 1937, 3.

84 Vukosavljević 1983: 139.

85 ARS, ZDIL, Dosije ing. Milana Jankovića, br. dos. 83/3, Milan Janković, Stanje i unapređenje ovčarstva u Vrbaskoj banovini, Banja Luka, 1929–1930; Nenadić, Petračić, Levaković, Škorić 1930: 504; Veseli 1938: 228.

86 Šerbetić 1938: 197; Šmalcelj 1947: 64.

87 ARS, ZDIL, Dosije ing. Milana Jankovića, br. dos. 83/3, Milan Janković, Stanje i unapređenje ovčarstva u Vrbaskoj banovini, Banja Luka, 1929–1930.

animals. No tax was paid on kids and lambs up to the age of one.[88] Taxes on goats were increased to discourage the population from keeping goats and encourage keeping sheep instead. In Herzegovina and in some districts in Bosnia, households were permitted to keep up to ten sheep per household tax-free.[89]

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, however, opted for a more sinister approach to the issue.[90] The Decree of the Central Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina of August 15, 1879, stated that "sheep and goats are banned from grazing in densely populated forests." These dense forests were made up of tree communities with intertwined canopies and little sunlight. Here these densely populated forests included coniferous forests, all mixed coniferous and deciduous forests, all long life-cycle forests, and all middle and short life-cycle forests found in karst and steep terrains acting as protective forests. This was a valid norm until the Law on Forestry was introduced on December 21, 1929, which stipulated that goats were forbidden from grazing in forests. The law made an exception for underdeveloped areas where the practice was allowed due to economic reasons. If an official request was made by municipal representatives, first-instance administrative authorities were entitled to allow poorer families who were obliged to pay no more than fifty dinars in direct taxes to graze goats in forests to support themselves. No grazing was allowed in protective forests, torrential zones, or forests under protection to replenish their stands to prevent browsing goats from causing damage. The Law on Forestry was amended by the Ministry of Forests and Mines on July 20, 1930, with the introduction of a rulebook for grazing goats in forests, which extended the existing ban to torrential zones and stipulated in more detail the exact number of goats allowed per family and areas designated for grazing. The law forbade "grazing for trade or financial gain."[91] Following a proposal by the line minister, the Council of Ministers issued a new decree on goat farming in 1935, which required the number of goats be gradually decreased to one goat per family member by March 1939. According to the plan, goat farmers were required to reduce the ratio to 3:1 by March 1936, 2:1 by March 1937 so the goal could be achieved. This decree did not sanction kids up to the age of one year, and it stipulated that only one buck was permitted for every ten does. From March 1939, only individuals obliged to pay no more than one hundred dinars direct tax per year were allowed to farm goats. By a decision of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Forests and Mines was authorized to set the tax for grazing goats. Those who failed to follow the decree or disregarded orders issued by the governing authorities would be fined anywhere from fifty to three thousand dinars or sent to prison for a period of five to thirty days.[92] Despite the law, goat farmers continued to secretly graze their animals in forests, but they were often caught by gamekeepers and forced to pay fines.[93]

How goats and other types of livestock were fed in the Vrbas Banovina depended on

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88 Hadžibegić 1960: 64.

89 *Rezultati popisa marve u Bosni i Hercegovini od godine 1895*, 1896: 20.

90 Janković, Džuverović 1938: 52.

91 „Pravilnik o puštanju koza u šume", *Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 13. 9. 1930, 1811–1812.

92 „Uredba o držanju koza", *Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 28. 6. 1935, 352; „Krava malog čovjeka", *Vrbaske novine*, 7. 11. 1937, 3; Dubić 1978: 147.

93 „Krajiški pejzaži", *Službeni list Vrbaske banovine*, 28. 7. 1932, 7.

the area designated for grazing on land owned by the state.[94] Every effort was made to reduce the number of goats throughout a major part of what was then Yugoslavia proved to be unsuccessful. Despite the legislation regulating the issue being complete and straightforward, the issue of goats remained unresolved.

Table 4. Number of goats in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the 1929–1939 period

Year	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Number of goats	1,803,574	1,731,430	1,928,224	1,871,618	1,871,158	1,881,126

Year	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Number of goats	1,895,905	1,905,993	1,901,363	1,890,386	1,866,131

While the number of major livestock breeds steadily increased between 1929 and 1939, those of goats remained rather variable. The number of horses increased 11.68% from 1,140,343 to 1,273,503, donkeys 15.9% from 106,117 to 123,060, cows 13.22% from 3,728,038 to 4,224,596, pigs 30.98 from 2,674,800 to 3,503,564, and of sheep 31.26% from 7,735,957 to 10,153,831. The number of goats, however, increased only 3.47% from 1,803,574 to 1,866,131.

In 1930 (Table 4), it reached its lowest (1,731,430), only to reach its highest the following year (1,928,224). The data shows the authorities had failed to significantly reduce the numbers through legislative means: There was a slight increase in 1936 instead of the reduction stipulated by the decree issued in 1935. There was an almost imperceptible reduction in the following year, but the overall figures for 1935 to 1939 reveal a meager 2.09% decrease with 1,866,131 goats in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at the end of this period.[95] If the hidden and unreported goats had been included, it would be reasonable to assume the number would have exceeded 2,000,000.

9. Conclusion

This study shows that, on the whole, agricultural production was the primary industry in the Vrbas Banovina and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During the interwar period, its share of the country's GDP was over 50%, with the farming industry responsible for one-third of this. A major branch of this was goat farming. According to statistics from 1932, the Vrbas Banovina was below the Yugoslav average in terms of total number of goats, number per km^2, and per one hundred inhabitants. Even though goat farming was not of

[94] Sedmak 1939: 234.

[95] *Statistički godišnjak 1938-1939*, 1939: 180–181; *Statistički godišnjak za 1940*, 1941: 170–171.

much significance for the Vrbas Banovina, it did represent a major supplementary source of income for many homesteads—and for some it was the only one. Poor townsfolk and those with little land and no resources to sustain a cow would choose to keep a goat or two. For many, products such as meat, milk, cheese, or sour cream were the most important food sources, apart from bread.

The dominant variety of goat in the Vrbas Banovina was the Balkan goat, but there were also Saanen and hybrids between the two. The main properties of the Balkan goat are its extraordinary resistance to diseases, its stamina, and its ability to move over rugged terrains for a long period of time, as well as its adaptability to poor living conditions and lack of food, which were present in its natural environment for most of the time. It made an excellent use of meager pastures in areas lacking water, its yield of meat, milk, and number of kids increased as soon as it came across more abundant grazing fields.

Goats were grazed in orchards and hedges, in pastures, in reaped meadows and in fields after the crops had been harvested. In addition, they ate buds, leaves, and saplings in forests, which resulted in the emergence of thickets. Goats were considered a major pest, regardless of its value for homesteads. In 1935, in order to protect forests from goats, the authorities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia tried to introduce legislation to reduce their number. These measures ultimately failed, and the numbers remained relatively constant, as demonstrated by data collected in 1939.

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ЖЕЉКО САВАНОВИЋ
Универзитет у Бањој Луци
Филозофски факултет, Одсек за историју

КОЗАРСТВО ВРБАСКЕ БАНОВИНЕ

Резиме

Послије Првог свјетског рата у Европи је формирано више нових држава, међу којима и Краљевина Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца. Ова држава је 1929. године преименована у Краљевину Југославију, а административно-територијална подјела на 33 области, установљена је 1922. године и замијењена подјелом на девет бановина и управу града Београда. Врбаска бановина је заједно са Дринском бановином чинила средиште Краљевине Југославије. Становништво се углавном бавило пољопривредом, чији је удио у укупном националном дохотку Југославије износио за цијели међуратни период више од 50%. Од овог процента око ⅓ припадала је сточарству.

Важну грану сточарства у појединим дијеловима Југославије чинило је козарство. Југославија је 1932. године имала 1.871.618 коза. Највише их је било у јужним, већином планинским крајевима државе, са најсиромашнијим животом. Тада се у Врбаској бановини налазило 126.055 коза, што је процентуално износило 6,74% свих коза у држави. Срез Бања Лука имао је највише коза, затим срезови Јајце и Грахово, а најмање срезови Добој, Дубица и Дервента.

О важности козарства у прошлости на подручју Југославије говоре географски називи добијени по козама. Многи од њих припадали су територији Врбаске бановине: Козара, Козарац, Козаруша, Козица, Козин, Јарице, Јарчиште и други. Доминантна врста козе у Врбаској бановини је домаћа балканска коза, а заступљене су још санска и мелези санске и домаће баканске козе. Главна карактеристика домаће балканске козе је изузетна отпорност на болести и издржљивост, што надомјешћује слабији принос у месу и млијеку у односу на друге расе. Становништво без довољно земље није могло да прехрањује краву, али је било у стању да то чини са двије до три козе. Веома је корисна животиња за најсиромашније терене, допирући свуда гдје ни једна друга животиња не може и гдје нема довољно хране ни за овце. Не само шумским стручњацима, већ и сваком сељаку било је познато како се коза исхрањује у шумама и шикарама, првенствено пуповима, лишћем и младицама са дрвећа. Штету шумама наносили су и власници коза припремањем лисника за прехрану коза преко зиме.

Покушај власти да законским мјерама знатно смањи број коза није успио, што показују статистички подаци. Умјесто да 1936. године буде мање коза, као што је прописано Уредбом о држању коза донијетом 1935. године, њихов број мало се и повећао. Незнатно смањење наступило је 1937. године. У периоду од 1935. до 1939. године број коза смањио за само 2,09%. Југославија је 1939. године још увијек имала 1.866.131 козу.

Кључне речи: коза, козарство, сточарство, Врбаска бановина, Босна и Херцеговина, Краљевина Југославија, Европа.

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VLADIMIR P. TRUT
Don State Technical University
0000-0002-2833-629X
trut.vladimir@rambler.ru

OLEG A. ELDINOV
Don State Technical University
0000-0001-9425-1705
olegeldinov@yandex.ru

PARTISAN VOLUNTEER MOVEMENTS DURING WORLD WAR II IN THE ROSTOV OBLAST OF THE SOVIET UNION AND IN WESTERN SERBIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS*

Abstract: Based on an analysis of both published and newly identified sources, this paper will attempt to carry out a comparative analysis of the essential content, nature, scale, social and national composition, political and ideological views and positions, and the ideological foundations and practical results of the struggle by partisan, anti-Nazi resistance movements in the Rostov oblast and in western Serbia during the Second World War. These regions were unique in terms of natural and geographic conditions, the ethnic and social composition of their populations, and their ideological views and political positions. Therefore, special attention will be given to identifying, thoroughly describing, and conducting a comparative analysis of the common and unique features of the partisan movement in these two regions. The paper will also demonstrate the influence of political, socioeconomic, ethnic, and social factors on the scale of this movement, the degree to which it was supported by the local population, the results of its activities in each of these areas both generally and in relation to their correlation and comparative analysis. The final generalizations and conclusions about the role and significance of the partisan movements in the Rostov oblast and in western Serbia during the Second World War, and their general and more specific features will also be substantiated.

Keywords: World War II, volunteers, partisan movement, Rostov oblast, western Serbia.

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1. Introduction

Almost immediately after Hitler's conquest of Yugoslavia and following the German attack on the Soviet Union and the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, mass partisan movements emerged in these countries. They were very significant in size, and their geographic and territorial scope was also large.

The relevance of this study for historical discourse and analysis is that it addresses many important issues that have not been comprehensively or thoroughly examined in the historiography. For example, the specifics of the partisan movement in western Serbia and the peculiarities of the partisan movement in the Rostov oblast have not been studied. Furthermore, within the historiography there is also no comparative analysis of their scale and number of participants, the influence of specific natural and geographic features in each of the regions and the peculiarities of the tactics of military operations these conditions caused, or the practical results of partisan detachments' actions. This article's new contribution is that it comprehensively studies the positive and negative factors that had the most direct effects on the formation and activities of this movement in these two regions. The partisan movements will be described and specific features identified and analyzed.

The choice of a study and comparative analysis of the partisan movements in western Serbia and in the Rostov oblast is justified by certain important circumstances. They are distinguished by its large size, how long it persisted, and relatively high effectiveness. Also, these areas were quite unique due to their natural and geographic conditions and the ethnic and social composition of the two populations, which each had specific ideological and political views. Furthermore, the Russian Rostov oblast was chosen due a lack of specific research into the partisans' formation and specific combat actions in the Rostov oblast as a whole.

We have successfully analyzed and introduced into the literature many new, important, and diverse archival documents discovered at the Center for Documentation of the Modern History of the Rostov oblast (CDNIRO), the main archive for the Rostov oblast. These sources complement and significantly expand the materials available in published collections of documents on the partisan movement on the Don. Due to the Soviet state political system and the political censorship during that period, one must bear in mind that collections of documents from the Soviet period[1] had a clearly expressed communist political and ideological slant. This also affected the choice of specific documents that reflected only the positive aspects of this movement and emphasized the leading role of the Communist Party representatives within it. However, there is no direct falsification or artificial exaggeration of the role and scale of the partisan movement in the oblast in these materials. At the same time, the very fact that many documents on the activities of the Don partisans were identified and published was positive and contributed to the expansion of the sources available that are relevant to this issue. Modern collections of documents and materials are devoted to the events of the Great Patriotic War in the Rostov oblast in general and contain few sources on the Don partisan movement.[2]

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[1] Rezvanov 1980.

[2] Rezvanov 1980; Bequeathed to remember… Don Archives - the 70th anniversary of the Great Victory. Collection of documents and materials 2015; Levendorskaya 2020.

This study of the emergence and activities of the partisan movement in the Rostov oblast is significant because it was on the front line between the fall of 1941 and the fall of 1943 and was occupied by the enemy twice, once in October–November 1941 and again in July 1942–August 1943. In this study, special attention has been given to a thorough comparative analysis to identify and fully describe the common and unique features of the partisan movements in these specific regions.

The partisan movement in the Soviet Union was distinguished by its broad scale and the diversity of those in the partisan ranks according to ethnicity, gender, age, and social status. The total number of partisans exceeded one million, and they fought the enemy within six thousand partisan detachments.[3] This movement has been investigated in several studies addressing issues related to it, including monographs by V. N. Andrianov, L. N. Bychkov, A. D. Kolesnik, T. D. Medvedev, and A. M. Sinitsyn,[4] and in a number of general collections.[5]

There is considerable Serbian historiography devoted to the partisan movement in Yugoslavia during the Second World War. Modern researchers refer to it as the Resistance Movement. Within the historiography, particular attention has been given to considering the largest and important uprising, militarily and politically, which took place in western Serbia and the emergence of the so-called Republic of Užica. The fundamental work on the Užice uprising remains the work edited by U. Kostić.[6] Also of note are works by V. Glišić, which are based on archival sources and cover a wide range of issues related to the formation and development of the Užice Republic,[7] and a monograph by N. Ljubičić, which covers a large range of party documents and memoirs of participants of those events.[8] A general overview of the uprising in the works of B. Petranović is also well regarded.[9]

Modern Serbian historiography examines the complex and contradictory political processes among those who took part in the uprising. It analyzes the complex relationship between various leading political forces—the Partisans of the People's Liberation Movement and the Chetniks. This is a subject of considerable interest, as confirmed by German researcher K. Schmider's monograph published in 2002, which analyzes this issue and the entire spectrum of political struggle in general during the war in Yugoslavia [10]

However, historiography has not comprehensively investigated differing views on nation and state and the differing politics and ideology among those who participated the Yugoslav partisan movement. The influence of these views on the Yugoslav partisans' military and political positions during their struggle against the German occupiers and their local political opponents remains an issue of debate.

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3 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century 2001: 451.

4 E.g.: Andrianov 1981; Bychkov 1965; Kolesnik 1988; Sinitsyn 1985; Medvedev, 2022: 146–153.

5 E.g.: The war is behind enemy lines. On some problems of the history of the Soviet partisan movement during the Great Patriotic War 1974; History of the partisan movement in the Russian Federation during the Great Patriotic War 2001; Zolotarev 2001.

6 Anić at al. 1982: 871.

7 Glišić 1986: 288.

8 Ljubičić1982: 476.

9 Petranović 1988: 516.

10 Schmider 2002: 627.

Attention should also be given to modern research into various interesting and practically unexplored aspects of the Serbian partisan movement as well as some of the issues related to relations and military and political cooperation between the Soviet Union and the resistance movement in Yugoslavia, practical cooperation between the USSR and the Draža Mihajlović's Serbian partisan movement, and Soviet citizens' participation in the local resistance movement. These issues in particular are covered in research articles published in reputable Russian and Serbian scholarly journals by the Russian researcher A.Y. Timofeev,[11] who works in Serbia. His works focusing on consideration of historical memory of the events of the war in Russia and Serbia are also of considerable interest.[12]

Contributions by the Soviet and Yugoslav partisans to the victory over Nazi Germany and its allies and local collaborators in the occupied countries are highly significant. This is not in doubt not only in modern Russian and Serbian historiography but also in the works of modern authoritative researchers of this issue in other countries.[13]

Various aspects of the formation and combat activities of the Don partisans have been touched on in a number of general studies that considered the events that took place during the war in the Rostov oblast, as do works by S.A. Kislitsyn and I.G. Kislitsyna on the history of the Rostov oblast,[14] I.S. Markusenko's[15] on the Rostov oblast during the war, and V. P. Trut's on the volunteer movement in the oblast and on the Don Cossacks' participation in the partisan movement.[16]

2. The Struggle of Serbian Volunteers against the German Occupation

The People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, which was composed almost exclusively of mainly Serbian volunteers, was the fourth largest allied army after the armies of the USSR, the USA, and the UK. The enemy had to send very significant armed forces to fight against the Yugoslav partisans, which included twelve to fifteen German divisions during various periods of the war in addition to the Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Croatian units and armed nationalist formations.

However, even after the Yugoslav army was defeated and the country was occupied, the Serbian people did not resign themselves to defeat and instead rose up in an armed struggle against the invaders and their collaborators. In doing so, the clearly expressed patriotic positions traditional for Serbs were certainly manifested. The widespread terror unleashed against the Serbs by the Croatian Ustaše, which later resulted in the mass murder of a large number of Serbian civilians and also contributed to a fairly rapid and significant increase in the scale of their resistance. As early as May 1941, the Croatian Ustaše began to brutally exterminate the Serbian civilian population. Thousands of Serbs fled to the mountains to escape the massacres and formed partisan units, and these people often held

[11] Timofeev 2010: 152–166; Timofeev 2011a: 46–61; Timofeev 2011b: 133–140; Timofeev 2012: 241–258.
[12] Timofeev 2018: 60–67; Timofeev 2020: 142–156; Timofeev 2021: 136–150.
[13] E.g.: Cornish 2014; Grenkevich 2013; Heuser 2013; Hill 2019; Howell 1956; Musial 2009; Murray 2019; Shepherd, Pattinson 2010.
[14] Kislitsyn, Kislitsyna 2012.
[15] Markusenko 1977.
[16] Trut 2020: 177–218; Trut 2023: 38–43.

different political and ideological views. A large-scale uprising began in Serbia. By August, the rebel *odredi* (detachments) numbered around eight thousand fighters. Due to their efforts, large areas around Belgrade were liberated. At that time, the Serbian partisans were joined by the Chetniks—formations of Serbian soldiers and officers of the former Royal Army along with volunteers from other social groups within the local population, all led by Colonel Dragoljub "Draža" Mihajlović. However, the Partisans and Chetniks were not organizationally united and acted independently, with their armed detachments operating exclusively under their own commands.

The uprising was widely supported by the local Serbian population, which, despite the natural presence of different social classes and supporters of different political views and positions, was dominated by deeply nationalist and patriotic ideas, views, and moods. The political divisions posed a very serious problem for both those directly taking part in the anti-Hitler uprising and the local population that supported them. Some of the rebels fighting with the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army were pro-Communist, while the Chetniks, who were also fighting the German Nazis, held directly opposite pro-monarchist political views. Nevertheless, in the first stages of the uprising, the Partisan and Chetniks detachments acted together against the occupiers and their accomplices from among the local collaborators.

Unlike the Chetniks, the Partisans had a broader social base. The general population saw the partisans as their defenders against the German Nazis, the collaborators, and the brutal Croatian Ustaša detachments.

The Partisans in the People's Liberation Army continued their propaganda work to explain to the inhabitants of the Užice district why the archives of the communal administrations had been burned and lists of conscripts and other documents destroyed. One of the leaflets claimed that "The traitor Nedić [leader of the collaborators] is ready to shed your blood for Hitler. The Serbian people will not allow this. We, the people's fighters, have seized the lists of conscripts and will ruthlessly punish anyone who joins the communal council and thereby serves the occupiers! To arms! Join our partisan ranks!"[17] The German command in Serbia was forced to evacuate troops from the area around Užice because they were in danger of being cut off and annihilated. The Germans were evacuated from Užice on September 21 and from Požega on September 22.

Both towns were handed over to Draža Mihailović's Chetniks and the Serbian gendarmerie. In July 1947 at the Hostages Trial of top Nazi warlords accused of war crimes in the Balkans and Greece (the seventh of the twelve Subsequent Nuremberg Trials), Franz Böhme (plenipotentiary commanding general in Serbia, war criminal, head of the occupation administration) said when describing the situation in Serbia at the time, "I made a difficult decision: I left Užice and Čačak, where we suffered heavy losses, and withdrew troops to Kraljevo. This decision was critically received at my headquarters and in the army headquarters it was met unfavorably."[18]

In the liberated territories of western Serbia and Šumadija, which were later unofficially and conventionally called the Užice Republic (September 24–November 29,

[17] Ljubičić 1982: 72.
[18] *Ibid*. 136.

1941) after the city of Užice, a peculiar internal political situation developed: There was no single political authority there. In fact, here the Chetnik and Partisan leadership acted independently from one another, so there was no single authority. The leading role there, due to their larger numbers, was played by the Partisans of the People's Liberation Movement.

We believe that special consideration should be given to the fact that, together with the liberation struggle against the Nazi occupiers, a real civil war had begun in the former Yugoslavia, which, before its collapse, was officially called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The extremely complicated and confusing situation was aggravated by the increasing contradictions among Tito's Partisans, who were pro-communist and advocated for the restoration of a united Yugoslavia, and the Draža Mihailović's Serbian Chetniks, who held pro-monarchy and Serbian national, and even partially nationalist, positions. This subsequently led to large-scale and very fierce armed clashes between the Partisans and the Chetniks, resulting in numerous casualties for them and their supporters among the local civilian population. This was a real tragedy for the Serbian people, who were waging a massive, heroic struggle against the German Nazi occupiers.

Meanwhile, the uprising in western Serbia was growing. In August 1941, to reinforce the German units and subdivisions of various collaborationist structures in the area, the occupational forces were forced to send new reinforcements to the Užice district, and they delivered three to four hundred armed Albanian gendarmes from the Sandžak, Kosovo, and Metohija.[19]

In the autumn of 1941, the occupying forces launched a broad offensive against the Partisans. During the suppression of the uprising, the Nazis committed the largest massacres in October 1941 with the execution of 5,000 hostages in Kraljevo and 2300 hostages in Kragujevac.[20] Active hostilities continued until December 1941. The main group of Partisans was forced to leave liberated territory and withdraw to the Sandžak. By the end of 1941, there were around 80,000 people in the Partisan detachments, and at the same time the number of occupation troops and local formations cooperating with them grew to 620,000.[21]

To understand the political situation for the volunteer liberation movement, it is extremely important to identify the participation of women in this underground struggle. Just as they actively did in Yugoslavia, women in the Soviet Union joined the volunteer ranks only in Nazi-occupied territory. It is important to understand the motives for joining such units. We have chosen to look at an Užice detachment that was one of the first to start the resistance against the invaders. The Užice uprising became one of the largest hotbeds of the People's Liberation War. Some of the women who actively participated were Olga Đurovic, Ljubinka Đorđević. Đorđević, a nurse and member of the Yugoslav Communist Party, became the first nurse of the Užice partisan detachment and supervised courses in Radobuđa. Jelena "Lela" Gmizović from the village of Seče Reke, Jelena Blagojević, a teacher from the village of Makovište, Mileva Kosovac, a teacher from the village of Taor, and a number of other partisan women also became active participants in the uprising.

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19 Ljubičić 1982: 47.

20 Glišić 1970: 289.

21 See: "People's liberation war in Yugoslavia 1941–45 • Great Russian Encyclopedia - electronic version." n.d. Old.bigenc.ru. Accessed December 30, 2023. https://old.bigenc.ru/military_science/text/2249680

Although women fighters and nurses are usually referred to as women partisans, this also referred to women participating in the volunteer movement. In post-war Yugoslav society, the typical image of a female partisan was that of a young woman who was armed and fought shoulder to shoulder with her comrades-in-arms and also treated the wounded.[22] It is noteworthy that, unlike the Chetnik formations, the Partisan Movement advocated for the full emancipation of women in post-war socialist Yugoslavia. According to Stanko Mladenović,[23] the percentage of women participating in the first Partisan units ranged from 2 to 20 percent. According to official statistics, by the end of the war, approximately 100,000 women had joined the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army. The Women's Anti-Fascist Front of Yugoslavia (AFŽJ) emerged from the Yugoslav resistance, and it held its first conference in Bosanski Petrovac in northwest Bosnia on December 5–7, 1942. The actions of Partisan units during the Užice uprising were among the most effective.

Dana Milosavljević, who was later awarded the Order of National Hero, said that ever since she was a child she had wanted to fight as an equal with men, and that reading the works of August Bebel before the war motivated her to join the Partisans: "At the beginning of the war I joined the Partisans. At first, I was a nurse in a platoon of the Third Užice Partisan Unit, and later I joined the medical corps of the First Proletarian Brigade..."[24]

Milica Kovačević was a unit orderly in the Racan Battalion. At the end of November 1941, she came with partisan units to the Sandžak. She was sent back to the field from Radoinja to Užice. On December 13, 1941, on her way back to Stapari, Kovačević was captured and taken first to Užice and then to the Banica camp, and from there she was returned to Užice and sentenced to death. She was hanged in Belgrade in 1941, and her husband Vukola, deputy commander of the Užice Partisan Unit, committed suicide after they were surrounded to avoid falling into enemy hands. Olga Đurović,[25] born in 1920 in Užice and a teacher by profession, was the KPJ liaison for the Užice district and a member of SKOJ. Ever since she was a teenager, she had held progressive views and was a dedicated agitator in her locality. Her safe house was a gathering place for progressive youth. Often revolvers and explosives could be found in her handbag. Olga died very early on at the beginning of the uprising in the village of Zlakusi on August 18, 1941.

Similarly, Olga Đurović's activities were so significant that her name was even mentioned in secret German reports. A report from the Communications Department on the situation in the Užice district states, inter alia... "All appointees spread communism among peasants in the villages mentioned. Through the communist Olga Đurovic, a teacher from Tatinac, they maintain constant contact with the town." A search was called for the Partisan. Her arrest would reveal the underground connections of the communists in the district. Đurovic's life was tragically cut short on the night of August 18–19, 1941 under mysterious circumstances. Her work was continued by Ljubinka Đorđević, a nurse and head of the medical course in Radobuđa and the first nurse of the Užice partisan unit, Stojisava Savović

[22] Pantelić 2013: 239–250.
[23] Mladenović 1980: 211.
[24] Pantelić 2013: 239–250.
[25] Vujačić 1975: 462–463.

from Radobuđa, who died in 1943, Vojinka Pajić, Milka and Mileva Glišić, and Ljubica Radojčić from Arilje, and many other women who provided medical assistance.

3. Soviet Partisans in the Rostov Oblast: Features of the Struggle against the Invaders

The volunteer movement in the Rostov oblast, and in principle throughout the country, was characterized by much activity and widespread participation. According to the authoritative researcher A. M. Sinitsyn, during the war the people of the USSR submitted over twenty million requests for enlistment to the military and the Soviet party organizations,[26] but a significant number of these applications were denied due to various objective and subjective circumstances (underage, poor health, official "reservation"). During the Great Patriotic War, the official number of volunteers in the USSR enrolled in various volunteer militia formations was over four million.[27]

In the Rostov oblast, in terms of the total prewar population the proportion of volunteers who applied for and enlisted in the regular army (regiments and divisions of the people's militia) and irregular volunteer formations (fighter squads, partisan units), was very significant.[28]

Taking into account the unfavorable course of events in the initial period of the war, on July 18, 1941, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks adopted a special resolution for "the organization of the fight in the rear of German troops." Local party and Soviet governing bodies were ordered to begin organizing partisan detachments and underground groups that were supposed to operate behind enemy lines in occupied Soviet territory.

These preparations also began in the Rostov oblast. In preparation for a potential enemy occupation of the oblast, in August 1941, organizational measures taken under the utmost secrecy to form partisan detachments in rural areas and underground groups in the cities of the Don oblast. Over a short period, eighty-three partisan detachments with a total number of around 3395 people were formed.[29]

In September and October, the regional administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs organized short-term training courses for leaders of future partisan detachments. The tactics of guerrilla actions, handling domestic and foreign weapons, the basics of mine explosives and making homemade mines in makeshift conditions were presented to the leaders. The training of ordinary personnel was carried out in the existing fighter detachments of the oblast. They studied the tactics of partisan actions, subversive warfare, and underwent fire training. According to eyewitnesses, each detachment had Polish rifles,[30] 1–2 light machine guns, 200–300 grenades, 25–30 kilos of explosives,

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[26] Sinitsyn 1985: 26

[27] Kolesnik 1988: 10.

[28] Trut 2023: 40.

[29] Rezvanov 1980: 162.

[30] Polish rifles apparently ended up in Soviet armories after the Red Army's 1939 campaign in Western Ukraine and Western Belarus. Arming militias with weapons captured during the First World War and the Polish campaign of 1939 and stored since then was a common practice at that time, due to the acute shortage of

detonators, and a considerable number of cartridges. Detachments based on the banks of the Taganrog Bay on the Sea of Azov and nearby rivers prepared and hid boats in the water. Each detachment developed methods of communication with regular Red Army units; safe houses were prepared in cities, towns and villages; and special messengers were appointed to communicate with local underground workers.[31]

Thus, despite serious difficulties, there were significant and extensive preparations done to create and equip the partisan detachments in the Rostov oblast even before it was occupied by the enemy. However, not all of what had been planned was implemented. Moreover, there were obvious shortcomings during these preparations, and serious mistakes were made.

Furthermore, the terrain of the steppes had a determining influence on the scale, tactics, and, accordingly, the results of the guerrilla units' efforts in the oblast. It was almost entirely unsuitable as a permanent or long-term location for detachments. Thus, many detachments were based behind the front line immediately behind the Red Army. Accordingly, many detachments could only operate as reconnaissance and sabotage groups, and they crossed the front line repeatedly and at great risk. The scale and intensity of partisan fighting increased as the enemy advanced deeper into the Rostov oblast. After the advancing units of the German army entered the western districts of the oblast in September 1941, the partisan detachments from Fedorovsky, Taganrog, Neklinovsky, and a number of other districts deployed there began to engage in active combat.

In the autumn and winter of 1941, partisan detachments were most active and successful in the Neklinovsky district (Brave-1 and Brave-2) and in the Azov district (Azov). These detachments were stationed in the Azov marshes. A large number of detachments were forced to operate from the front unoccupied part of the oblast. In doing so, the Don partisans had to cross the front line to carry out sabotage and reconnaissance missions, which created additional risks and difficulties.

In the spring of 1942, sixty-seven partisan detachments consisting of 2,324 people were active in the oblast.[32] Along with securing the partisans at the enemy's rear, the party and Soviet leaderships of the oblast, along with the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR carried out extensive work on the formation and comprehensive training of special underground groups for future activity in the cities of Rostov-on-Don, Novocherkassk, Shakhty, Millerovo, and Kamensk in preparation for potential enemy occupation.

We discovered some reports and memos from party and Soviet workers and from NKVD employees who were engaged in special training for future underground fighters in Fond № 3 of the Documentation Center for the Recent History of the Rostov oblast (CDNIRO). This fond contains materials, including declassified ones, on the partisan movement. From our analysis we found that, despite propaganda about the enemy's imminent defeat and a new, powerful offensive by the Red Army, the oblast's party and

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weapons mobilization stocks and losses of weapons during the initial period of the war. An indicative example, in particular, can be massive arming of the Moscow people's militia with such weapons. - V.T., O.E.

31 Rezvanov 1980: 163

32 Levendorskaya 2020: 362.

state leaders had quite realistically assessed the situation at the front and the possibility of a new, large-scale offensive by the German army. Naturally, they did not know the exact or even approximate date for the fascist offensive. Moreover, even those in the highest Soviet military and political leadership did not know the specific dates and direction of the 1942 summer attack. As a result, they were not expecting the powerful German offensive in the south, because they were expecting it to go in the direction of central Moscow.

However, for the leaders of the Rostov oblast, the likelihood was fairly obvious, which was the reason for all the necessary work to prepare the partisans and underground fighters for a subsequent occupation of the Rostov oblast. This was all conducted in absolute secrecy so as not to reveal the identities of future underground agents who would operate behind enemy lines, constantly in fear of being identified and subsequently arrested. Even those within the top regional and local NKVD leadership knew of very few who were involved. Later, when the enemy occupied these settlements, these groups engaged in effective reconnaissance and sabotage.[33] During the summer and autumn of 1942, the local partisan movement significantly expanded and intensified.

One of the essential features of the partisan movement in the Rostov oblast was the so-called Cossack factor. A very large-scale volunteer movement of Cossacks arose on the Don during the first days of the war. They joined the newly formed 15th and 116th Cossack volunteer cavalry divisions from which the 5th Don Guards Cossack Cavalry Corps was later formed. Hundreds of thousands of Don Cossacks fought in various rifle, cavalry, artillery, and other units and formations, and Cossack volunteers actively joined partisan detachments and underground groups. Due to the serious political split in the Cossack milieu during the Civil War, at this time the German command also made considerable efforts to attract the Cossacks to its side. To counteract these aspirations, the partisan movement's Central Headquarters issued a special directive to the movement's Southern Headquarters on July 29, 1942, which announced this and mentioned the need for hereditary Don Cossacks in every partisan detachment in the Rostov oblast.[34] The directive also pointed out that, when forming special partisan groups, Cossacks should be included in the already active partisan detachments and, they should be encouraged to carry out necessary agitation among the Cossack population.[35] The formation of small, mounted partisan detachments was also mentioned. They had greater mobility, which was very important when operating in the steppes.[36]

The partisans in the Don Cossack detachment from the Migulinsky district fought courageously and bravely against the enemy. During the Red Army's retreat, the partisan D. P. Teplitsyn, who knew the area well, helped the headquarters of the 9th, 13th, and 277th Soviet rifle divisions and many separate groups of Red Army soldiers avoid capture, led them to the Don River, and assisted them in crossing it. During this operation, the son of the Meshkovskaya MTS's agronomist, a teenager named Vladimir Tsybenko, provided considerable assistance to D. P. Teplitsyn. All in all, with the help of the local population,

[33] CDNIRO coll. R-3, aids 1, fol. 67, pp. 19-20.
[34] CDNIRO coll. R-3, aids 1, fol. 13, p. 5.
[35] *Ibid*. p. 6.
[36] *Ibid*. p. 7.

the partisans of this detachment led 1,087 Soviet soldiers and officers out of the encirclement.[37]

A true example of courage and heroism was an act by Ekaterina Miroshnikova, a partisan and Cossack in this detachment. She organized several underground groups at the German rear that conducted active reconnaissance and sabotage and carried out communication between them and the partisan detachment's command. Miroshnikova was captured by the Germans while out on a mission. The courageous young woman was tormented and tortured for eight days, but she betrayed none of her comrades and never gave up the location of the partisan detachment. The brave partisan was then executed. We found a handwritten memo dated May 29, 1943 from Dmitry Konstantinovich Merkulov (commander of the Don Cossack partisan detachment, and later secretary of the Migulinsky district Committee of the CPSU) to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, called "About the feat of Komsomol member Katya Miroshnikova," which noted, "When leaving for her third mission and having said her goodbyes, Miroshnikova gave the following statement to the commander of the detachment, which revealed the inner workings of a young Komsomol girl and a great patriot…Katya is also Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya. I wish the youth of the Don, the Cossack youth, would learn about their fellow countrywoman, a Cossack Komsomol member who gave her life for the Motherland and fought the enemy the way Katya Miroshnikova fought and hated the enemy."[38] Miroshnikova's feat is also mentioned in a report dated May 29, 1943 from L. Zavyalova, the secretary of Migulinsky district Komsomol committee, which contains a description of her moral qualities and ideological and political views, along with and a description of her feat. This note was prepared and sent to the Komsomol regional committee with a request that it be published it in the All-Union newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the Komsomol's primary newspaper. This request was motivated by the fact that, "By her example, we educate our youth. She teaches us patriotism, love for the Motherland, faith in victory."[39]

Looking at these documents, one can see a true feat of heroism performed by a brave young partisan. However, there was also a desire to widely publicize the event in comparison with a similar feat by Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, who was known throughout the country, as a means of propaganda. Naturally, one must bear in mind that these documents were written by people who had rather strong Soviet ideological and political beliefs. Moreover, they were intended for the public sphere and carried an appropriate ideological burden. The authors wanted to show that such great heroes as Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya existed in many parts of the country, and in the Rostov oblast in particular. This was certainly understandable, considering there was a brutal war going on and, as in all warring countries, state propaganda was in place. At the same time, familiarity with these documents written by party and Komsomol hacks raises a very important and difficult question about the relationship between a real feat by a heroic partisan and the Soviet agitation that used it for its own purposes.

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37 Trut 2020: 196.
38 Trut 2020: 196-197.
39 CDNIRO coll. R-3, aids 1, fol. 193, p. 94.

Another specific feature of the partisan movement in the Rostov oblast was the organization of new partisan detachments that were specially trained and sent there with specific missions by officers of the NKVD or the Red Army. This practice was used by the Soviet command in the Belarus, Ukraine, Leningrad, and Pskov oblasts, and has been very well proven. There were numerous dense forests and other good natural shelters in these oblasts. There were none in the Rostov oblast. Nevertheless, specially trained officers were also sent there to organize partisan detachments and conduct further active reconnaissance, sabotage, and other activities. In our opinion, this can be explained by the fact that the territory of the oblast was very important militarily and operationally. This is generally confirmed by very significant intensification in the activities of local partisan detachments during the Battle of Stalingrad. Detachments in the oblast led by officers purposely sent there were organized and named after Stalin and Kirov or given names such as For the Quiet Don, Groza, Avenger, and For the Motherland.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

At various periods during the enemy occupation, there were 163 partisan detachments and underground groups in total with around 4,990 members active in the Rostov oblast.[40] They carried out hundreds of military operations, conducted active propaganda campaigns within the occupied territories, freed Soviet prisoners of war, and disrupted the German occupation authorities' efforts to collect and export foodstuffs and send local youth to work in Germany.

Altogether, the partisans in the Rostov oblast killed 5,329 German soldiers and officers and captured 4,126; seized 4,514 rifles, seventy-six machine guns, 435 vehicles, twenty-four guns of various calibers, and six mortars; destroyed 720 vehicles and forty-three motorcycles; knocked out nineteen tanks; blew up nine railway bridges and nine warehouses; and derailed hundreds of carriages and locomotives. They saved thousands of tons of grain and tens of thousands of cattle the Germans were preparing to take to Germany.[41] Around seven hundred Don partisans died heroically in an unequal struggle with the invaders. In total, around five hundred partisans and underground fighters from the Rostov oblast were awarded orders and medals for their courage and heroism.

During World War II, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia heroically fought against the German invaders, their collaborating allies and henchmen, and suffered heavy losses as a result: 26,600,000 Soviet citizens and more than 1,700,000 Yugoslavs—one out of every ten inhabitants in prewar Yugoslavia—died.[42] A considerable contribution to the overall victory over the enemy was made by Soviet and Yugoslav partisans, and in particular the partisans in the Rostov oblast in the USSR and in western Serbia.

Using the Rostov oblast partisans as an example, a comparative analysis of the essence, forms of organization, political orientation, social composition, the strategies and

[40] Trut 2020: 200.

[41] Strepukhov 1944.

[42] See: "People's liberation war in Yugoslavia 1941–45 • Great Russian Encyclopedia - electronic version" n.d. Old.bigenc.ru. Accessed December 30, 2023. https://old.bigenc.ru/military_science/text/2249680.

tactics employed by the Soviet partisans and the Serbian partisans and their formations in western Serbia, indicates that the two movements shared common features, and, of course, significant specifics, due to both general public and political conditions and particular exclusively local conditions.

One aspect of this was people's motivations for joining partisan detachments. It is clear that in each individual case, the motives behind an individual choosing to join the partisan movement were purely subjective. As we have already noted, the vast majority joined the partisans purely voluntarily to fight the occupiers and the local collaborators. They were driven solely by patriotic sentiment. Some, usually those from the ruling party, Soviet and economic workers who were communists, and those who held relevant leadership positions in party or Soviet bodies, organizations and institutions before the war, were sent by a decision of higher party-Soviet structures to partisan detachments to fill leadership positions. There were also people among the partisans who joined by chance or out of necessity when fleeing persecution by the occupation authorities, but there were very few of them. No one kept them in the detachments by force, and it was much easier and safer to hide alone among the local population. There were many such cases throughout the country's occupied oblasts.

We can cite one strongly illustrative example from a solid special military-statistical study based on archival materials that has been very well-received by local and foreign professional historians, including those in the West. It looks at the number and fate of former Soviet officers who found themselves in the occupied territories after the retreat of the Red Army. According to this study, between 1941 and 1943, after the liberation of the Soviet oblasts from the German occupiers, more than one million Soviet officers in these oblasts and hiding from the German authorities were re-enlisted in the Red Army.[43] Before enlisting in the army, all of them were thoroughly vetted to ensure they had not cooperated with the occupiers. The example, in our opinion, is more than indicative. Unlike officers, it was much easier for ordinary citizens and ordinary Red Army soldiers to disappear among locals, but many made a dangerous choice and willingly joined the partisans. We also found an official document attesting to this in the Rostov oblastal archive.[44] We could see from this document a conscious and selfless choice made by a simple villager from the oblast who voluntarily chose to fight the enemy.

The situation in Serbia was different. There, the fight against the German invaders was carried out by partisan detachments and groups with different political orientations. They were led by the relevant military and political forces and commanders of from various social and often ethnic groups. The leading forces of the anti-Nazi resistance were the pro-communist Partisans in the National Liberation Movement and the Chetniks, who shared pro-monarchist ideological and political views and had their own corresponding political detachments. But by November 1941, their temporary tactical military and political alliance had shattered and fierce clashes between them began. This was indicative of the aggressive civil war raging in the country. This led not only to a weakening of the local patriots' united front of resistance against the invaders, but also in particular, among other factors, to real

[43] Russia and the USSR in the wars 2001: 451.

[44] CDNIRO coll. R-3, aids 1, fol. 45, pp. 77–78.

ethnic cleansing by the Croatian Ustaše and very high casualties among the patriotic Serbian fighters on both sides, and especially among the peaceful Serbian population.

Soviet and Serbian partisans used various military and strategic visions and specific combat military tactics when conducting operations. The military, political, social, and natural conditions in the Rostov oblast and in western Serbia during the war and the enemy occupation also determined the specific tactics for their military actions. The nature of the military operations for the partisans of the Rostov oblast and western Serbia was significantly influenced by natural and geographic factors. Thus, the presence of a large number of enemy troops on the frontline in the German-occupied Rostov oblast, the peculiarity of the natural and mostly steppe landscape of the Rostov oblast, the almost total lack of significant forested areas and other natural shelters for deployment of partisan detachments, and the proximity of the front all had a direct impact on their tactics. The lack of natural shelters made it almost impossible to use large partisan formations there, so the Don partisans operated in fairly small groups. This also determined the tactics for their military operations, which consisted mostly of sudden, quick raids on enemy garrisons and important military and economic facilities by small partisan detachments and even small combat sabotage groups. A significant portion of the detachments were forced to operate from the front line in the unoccupied part of the region as sabotage and reconnaissance groups, which was not very different from similar formations of the regular army. At the same time, the Don partisans were forced to cross the front line to carry out sabotage and reconnaissance missions, which created additional risks and difficulties.

In this respect, the natural and geographic conditions of western Serbia seemed more conducive for conducting partisan operations, although they were not entirely favorable. The presence of medium-high mountain ranges with hilly foothills there were much better suited to conducting partisan operations than the steppe landscape of the Rostov oblast. In comparison to the Rostov oblast, in western Serbia, the occupational forces were relatively small, and there were large mountainous and forested areas highly conducive as bases for military operations by local partisans. Therefore, in tactical terms, they could conduct large-scale military operations, operate in large formations, carry out long and extensive military raids, and capture and maintain control over significant territory such as the Užice Republic.

Despite the local differences and specifics, the Soviet partisans in the Rostov oblast and the partisans in western Serbia had some important features in common, namely great patriotism, a desire to defend their homeland in a merciless struggle against the invaders, perseverance, courage, bravery, and personal and collective heroism.

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ВЛАДИМИР П. ТРУТ
ОЛЕГ А. ЕЛДИНОВ
Донски државни технички универзитет

ДОБРОВОЉАЧКИ ПОКРЕТ ПАРТИЗАНА ТОКОМ ДРУГОГ СВЕТСКОГ РАТА У РОСТОВСКО ОБЛАСТИ СОВЈЕТСКОГ САВЕЗА И ЗАПАДНОЈ СРБИЈИ: КОМПАРАТИВНА АНАЛИЗА

Резиме

У чланку, на основу анализе објављених и новопронађених извора, чини се покушај упоредне анализе основних садржаја, природе, опсега, друштвеног и националног састава, политичких и идеолошких погледа и позиција, као и идеолошких заснованости и практичних резултата борбе учесника у анти-нацистичком отпору током Другог светског рата унутар партизанских покрета у Ростовској области и западној Србији. Посебна пажња је посвећена идентификацији, опсежној карактеризацији и детаљној компаративној анализи и заједничких и особених одлика ових области унутар две различите државе које које су јединствене у погледу својих природних и географских услова, етничког и друштвеног састава популација, идеолошких погледа и политичких позиција. У раду су показани аспекти попут утицаја политичких, друштвено-економских и етно-друштвених фактора на размере ових покрета, степен подршке локалног становништва, резултати њихових активности у свакој области понаособ, како уопштено, тако и у смислу њихове повезаности и упоређивања.

Кључне речи: Други светски рат, добровољци, партизански покрет, Ростовска област, западна Србија.

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LJUBINKA ŠKODRIĆ
Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade
0000-0003-1015-0785
ljubinka.skodric@isi.ac.rs

NEMANJA DEVIĆ
Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade
0000-0003-0388-684X
nemanjadevic4@gmail.com

SUICIDE AMONG MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN OCCUPIED SERBIA 1941–1944

Abstract: This paper analyses suicides among members of the People's Liberation Movement (*Narodnooslobodilački pokret*, NOP) during the Axis occupation of Serbia in the Second World War. We will identify different types of suicide, determine the motives behind them, and identify those that can be linked to some forms of self-sacrifice. In particular, we will consider whether suicides within the NOP were influenced not only by Communist ideology but also by national traditions in the Balkans and the circumstances of war.

Keywords: Second World War, People's Liberation Movement, Serbia, Partisans, NOP, communism, self-sacrifice, suicide, national tradition.

1. Introduction

In August 1942, as occupation forces hunted them, members of a Partisan detachment from the Toplica region in South Serbia divided themselves up into groups of ten and sought shelter in mountain dugouts where they had enough provisions to sustain themselves in the forest for some time. However, one wavering fighter left and informed the collaborationist forces of their whereabouts, who then went to the exact location of the dugout where the Communist Party commissar Nikodije 'Tatko' Stojanović was hiding with his group of fighters. During their attempted escape on August 13, 1942, one Partisan was killed, and seven of them, led by Commissar Stojanović, all committed suicide by shooting each other in the head and the heart at close range. Their mutilated corpses were later put

on display by the authorities in the nearby town of Prokuplje.[1] Nevertheless, legends were later spun regarding the teacher and Partisan commander Nikodije Stojanović. There were rumors he was still alive and leading Partisan detachments in another part of the country; his comrades made up songs about him.[2]

This event was not unique, and it may have originated from a practice of the People's Liberation Movement in Serbia (the Partisans/People's Liberation Movement, *Narodnooslobodilački pokret*, NOP). It can be considered a form of self-sacrifice, since their deaths were not planned. It represented a heroic acceptance of death and had positive moral effects, despite the Partisans taking steps they knew could lead to their deaths.[3] Cases like this have led some authors to argue that, when considering and defining suicide, it is necessary to distinguish acts of martyrdom and self-sacrifice from other cases of suicide. This is based on the claim that there are differences between the morally acceptable act of sacrifice and the calculated act of suicide, and between an unpremeditated death and one that is planned.[4]

Emile Durkheim's typology of suicides is based on the idea that different types of suicides reflect the (im)balance between societal cohesion and individuality.[5] Excessive societal cohesion leads to altruistic suicide, which is a consequence of minimal individualization combined with a sense of duty and honor.[6] According to Durkheim, optional altruistic suicide as a subtype of altruistic suicide is not considered a duty and is looked upon with approval from society.[7] Many of those who commit optional altruistic suicide are considered heroes or martyrs. These types of suicides are also referred to as heroic suicides.[8] Those who choose this kind of suicide are seen as heroes who have fallen during a struggle for the survival of the community and as means of providing protection from the dangers of war. A halo of untouchability is constructed around them and coupled with societal recognition. Heroic suicides are highly valued in all forms of patriotic mythology and represent the heroism of singular and exceptional personalities on whose cult the values and authority of the state and society are built. Those who choose this form of suicide become iconic characters and part of symbols and rituals.[9]

In this paper we will investigate cases of suicide among the Partisans in Serbia by studying their motives and how the Communist authorities viewed these suicides during and after the war. Special consideration will be given to the national tradition of guerrilla resistance and Communist ideology, and how they interacted. We will employ qualitative and quantitative analyses of archival documents pertaining to collaborationist and the occupational government's military and police reports. These historical sources were created

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1 Državni arhiv Srbije, Beograd, Zbirka dokumenata o NOR-u i revoluciji, Jast. O., 2. (DAS, Ž-23)

2 Stevanović 1969: 139.

3 Lombardo 2013: 74–79; Tolhurst 1990: 77–92.

4 Schroeder 2005: 17–30; Barry 2012, 9–10.

5 Durkheim 2002: 201.

6 These types of suicides are linked to modern armies. Modern armies are well suited to altruistic suicide through the way they are structured, which include a loss of personality, obeying orders without question, and a call to sacrifice for the people and state. Riemer 1998: 112.

7 Stack 2004: 11.

8 Durkheim 2002: 199.

9 Lučić-Todosić 2020: 1156.

at the time the suicides occurred. They dealt with these incidents bureaucratically and without considering the motives behind them or the nature of these acts. In contrast, reports created by the Partisan forces during the war were colored by ideological and revolutionary views of their comrades' suicides. The way the suicide was perceived in these reports passed through different stages of evolution, ranging from condemnation to approval and glorification.

The topic of suicide has not been specifically addressed in the post-war Yugoslav and Serbian historiography of the Second World War or other periods of political history, and was instead viewed only in passing within the wider context of warfare. One notable exception is the interpretation of Partisan self-sacrifice and heroic suicide by Vladimir Dedijer, a writer and one of the leading members of the Communist movement. He addressed this issue in a speech he gave when he joined the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. At that time, he was already known as a biographer of Josip Broz Tito, a university professor, a human rights activist, and a member of the Russel Tribunal, as well as a Communist Party dissident and a man who had lost two sons—one to suicide and another whose official cause of death had been reexamined. As a member of the Communist movement and a participant in the Partisan struggle, Dedijer also had a personal motive for adding ideological elements to his observations of this issue. He depicted the Partisan struggle in Yugoslavia as an authentic revolution with a special code of struggle, and tried to attribute heroic qualities to its participants, especially when they voluntarily took their own lives after finding themselves in hopeless situations. According to his interpretation, this kind of act represented 'the highest form of revolutionary self-sacrifice.'[10]

According to Dedijer, heroic suicide is an action undertaken by a revolutionary when the revolutionary movement suffers collapse, yet the revolutionary does not wish to see his hopes collapse. He thus gives up his life for the goals of the revolution and fights on until he is killed. Suicide occurs in the moments of battle when resistance can no longer be offered. By denying or passing over certain episodes in the national history related to heroic suicides, Dedijer tried to present the Partisans as something exceptional, a new breed of people ready to sacrifice themselves not for national ideals, but for the Communist Party and the revolution. In contrast, the idea and practice of heroic self-sacrifice often appears in Serbian national tradition and history, as well as in the state politics and daily life in which future Communist fighters and Partisans came of age. The combination of these two discourses influenced a large number of Partisans' suicides that occurred when the Partisans found themselves in hopeless situations. They can be interpreted as heroic suicides or self-sacrifice, which we have attempted to identify and examine. Suicides of Partisan women are a specific category within this group. We also singled out an additional category that could fall under that of fatalistic suicides that resulted from a fear of judgment by the Communist Party.

2. Suicide in Serbian National Tradition and History

There are a number of known individual and collective examples of suicide among soldiers and civilians in early modern and contemporary Serbian history that have been interpreted as examples of martyrdom and death in glory rather than as acts of destruction

[10] Dedijer 1983.

or self-destruction. In exceptional circumstances, suicide can be interpreted in the national tradition as an elevated act of laying down one's life for the defense of dignity, both personal and national. In epic poetry, suicide in combat with an enemy is referred to as 'dying honorably.'[11] The Serbian Orthodox Church treats suicide as a mortal sin against God, but differentiates suicide from self-sacrifice.[12]

The glorification of military heroism and death in the nineteenth-century Serbian state created a positive view of sacrifice for the homeland. The warrior model of socialization elevated the act of suffering death and formed the belief that dying for the homeland was an expression of pride and honor.[13] In the early nineteenth century, when an uprising broke out in Serbia against several centuries of Ottoman rule, Stevan Sinđelić, one of the renowned rebel leaders, found himself in a hopeless situation during a battle. He then fired into a gunpowder storage room, blowing up himself, his soldiers, and a large number of enemy soldiers. The memory of this act was nurtured by both the state authorities and by popular tradition and memory. Stevan Sinđelić's death was sung about in numerous songs, and city squares, streets, football clubs, and restaurants were named after him. The unveiling of a monument to Stevan Sinđelić in 1938, was a significant event that future fighters from Serbia in the Second World War would have been familiar with through the media or may even have witnessed in person.[14]

Participants in the Second World War from Serbia would most likely have encountered examples of heroic suicide in school books and daily newspapers in the early years of elementary school.[15] Additionally, during their early childhood and among their closest family members, they would have been introduced to a popular tradition in which the most essential elements included the Kosovo myth and descriptions the Serbian prince Lazar choosing 'the heavenly kingdom over the earthly' just before the famous battle with the Ottomans in 1389, and his most loyal knight sacrificing himself by feigning surrender to the Ottomans before killing the Sultan. In twentieth-century history, the members of *Mlada Bosna* (Young Bosnia) were held up as examples of self-sacrifice, and in particular Bogdan Žerajić, who carried out an assassination attempt in 1910 against the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, General Marijan Varešanin, after which he took his own life. Gavrilo Princip viewed him as a role model, and before the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914, he laid flowers on Žerajić's grave. The conspirators who claimed the life of Franz Ferdinand and his wife were also equipped with poison, which some of them used unsuccessfully.

Using the heroic suicides of Serbian guerrilla fighters, it is possible to trace a line stretching from the early twentieth century to the end of the Second World War. Aside from a number of individual cases, there are several recorded cases of group suicide within the Serbian Chetnik (guerrilla) movement against the Ottoman Empire in Macedonia. In a battle at Četirci in May 1904, the Chetnik leader Anđelko Aleksić also committed suicide along

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11 Stefanović Karadžić 1958: 487.

12 Rakićević 2016: 147–151.

13 Pešić 1994: 58.

14 Petrović 2010: 292.

15 The textbook for the fourth grade of primary school in the Kingdom of Serbia contained a short story called "New Sinđelićes' in which an example of collective suicide is described. *Srpska čitanka za IV razred osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srbiji* 2010: 118.

with several other Chetniks. The description of this battle and its later interpretation in literature may have served as an example of self-sacrifice during a struggle against an enemy.[16] Something similar was repeated at the battle on the Kitka ridge near the Kozjak mountain in May 1905: Five Serbian Chetniks were recorded as blowing themselves up with a bomb after being surrounded by Ottoman forces during the battle.[17] In January 1906, several Chetniks also killed each other in the village of Čelopek.[18]

There are also records of suicide during the First World War, and in particular the self-sacrifice of guerrilla fighters during the Toplica Uprising in Serbia against the Bulgarian occupation forces in 1917. Some of the leaders of the uprising took their own lives in what Durkheim typology would consider heroic suicide. Examples include the fates of Kosta Vojinović, Dimitrije Begović, and others.[19] During the interwar period, these cases were highlighted in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in public life and educational materials as examples of heroism and sacrifice for one's own people, and were meant to inspire the younger generation.

3. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Interwar Period

After the First World War, the fear of Communist revolutions led many European countries to ban Communist organizations. This was the case in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, where fear of revolutionary activities in Russia and Hungary, along significant electoral successes and terrorist activity, led to a ban on the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (*Komunistička partija Jugoslavije*, KPJ) in 1921.[20] Communists were perceived as enemies of the established order and were closely monitored. This practice increased their revolutionary fervor and created conditions for the strengthening of dogmatic factions within the KPJ. Another consequence of this persecution was increased fanaticism among Communist Party members, who often offered resistance during arrest, even in impossible and hopeless situations.[21]

Due to frequent arrests, on several occasions the KPJ issued instructions to its members about how to behave during arrest, while in police detention, and when appearing in court. The first instance was an article in the Communist Party newspaper *Proleter* called 'On conspiracy and conduct with police and in court.' In this article, party activists were told to follow Lenin's position that no one should admit to being a member of the Communist Party either to the police or in court or give any statement to the police, and that in court, the accused should defend the party's policies and program. According to the same instructions, Communists who were arrested were expected to hide the party organization but not the party's political line, which they had to popularize and conduct themselves according to its

[16] "The Turks charge at them to capture them, yet despite being heavily wounded, they shoot several soldiers around them, then press the revolvers against their foreheads and pull the trigger, taking their own lives, but they do not surrender to the Turks alive.' Simić 2013: 169–173.

[17] Ibid., 187–188.

[18] Ibid., 211–213.

[19] Mladenović 2017: 78.

[20] Gligorijević 2010: 88.

[21] Dobrivojević 2006: 257–258.

spirit. Personal defense was secondary.[22] Members of the Communist Party were warned that they must be prepared to face possible torture and suffering after their arrest, they must keep a cool head and persevere, and that it was better to be killed than accept a compromise with the police to reveal the Communist organization and their comrades.

There is nothing in these party directives about how to conduct oneself in front of the enemy that suggests Communists should commit suicide if they find themselves in a hopeless situation. However, even during the prewar period some prominent Communists used suicide to save themselves from pain and suffering and to save the party from being uncovered by the police. Milovan Đilas, a young Communist (and later member of the KPJ Politburo), attempted suicide in prison in 1933 by stabbing himself in the chest with a knife. Dido Demajo, a painter and active Communist, slit his wrists in an interrogation prison with glass from a broken lightbulb.[23] Resistance and suicide during detainment were the cause of death for several Communists in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but there were also suspicions that the police attributed suicide to Communists who died from torture during interrogation in order to hide their brutality.[24] There were also tragic cases in which suicide was motivated by introspection and a guilty conscience for having cooperated with the police. One of these occurred in May 1940 when a local party organizational secretary,[25] who was also a sister of a Communist named Ivan Kalapiš, hanged herself in the bathroom of the Belgrade City Administration building after exposing her brother and his ties to the KPJ during her interrogation.[26] Others saw suicide as weakness, as is evidenced by the Communist assassins of the Yugoslav Minister of Interior in 1921. When their comrades suggested that someone should perhaps consider suicide after an assassination attempt, they responded that an assassin is 'a fighter, a revolutionary who has risen up against the violence of the bourgeoisie, not some desperado who shoots a minister and then himself.' They believed it was more dignified for a Communist to either die in a clash with the police or to survive and then publicly defy the enemy.[27] On the other hand, Nikolai Ostrovsky's novel *How the Steel Was Tempered*, one of the most popular and most widely known literary works among Yugoslav revolutionaries, stated that revolutionaries should fight until their last breath, but if defeat is evident, the possibility of suicide was also described as a heroic act.[28]

The fighting spirit of the Communists was based on their firm faith in and absolute loyalty to their revolutionary goals, for which they were prepared to sacrifice anything, including their lives. In the 1930s as it gained more followers, particularly among the youth, the KPJ was reorganized with a strong party infrastructure. The party leadership was taken over by a younger and more modern generation of Communists, who cultivated a strong belief in the creation of a new society they planned to achieve with the support of the party organization, in which a strict code of values and behavior, ideological dedication,

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22 *Proleter* 1968, 659–660.
23 Dedijer 1984: 353.
24 Nikolić 2015: 63.
25 Istorijski arhiv Beograda, Beograd, Zbirka dokumenata Bezbednosno-informativne agencije, XIII-1, Nikola Gubarev. (IAB, BIA)
26 IAB, BIA, I-1, Boško Bećarević.
27 Nikolić 2000: 83.
28 Ostrovski 1978: 196.

willingness to sacrifice, and puritanism was also cultivated.[29] Fanaticism among Communists was further encouraged through party instructions and celebrated in party publications in which it was emphasized that, 'our comrades' conduct while presenting themselves openly and unselfishly as Communists serves as a shining and powerful example, adds to the authority of our organization, and revolutionizes the working masses.'[30]

Unlike revolutionary practice, in the Soviet Union, in the interwar period there was a widespread belief that in a Communist society there would be no murders or suicides. Suicide was seen as a bourgeois act of self-leniency, yet the Bolsheviks were confronted with a need to explain occurrences of suicide in Communist society. Party explanations often characterized suicide as a violation of collective rules and an expression of weakness, pessimism, and egoism.[31]

At the start of the German attack on the Soviet Union, morale among the Red Army soldiers on the frontlines became a very sensitive and important issue due to suspicions that a considerable number of captured Soviet soldiers had deserted and fled to the German side because they disagreed with Communist ideology.[32] By June and July 1941, the Soviet authorities had envisaged punitive measures for the families of officers and soldiers who were captured. Although there were threats of death sentences for family members of prominent military figures who allowed themselves to be captured, in practice their families were mainly sentenced to exile or imprisonment in camps.[33] These measures and a string of other similar steps, along with spreading rumors that the Germans killed captured Soviet soldiers, helped encourage soldiers to fight to the death. Numerous cases of self-sacrifice and demonstrations of suicidal heroism among Soviet soldiers were recorded.[34]

On the other hand, among the German armed forces, the number of suicides grew as the prospect of Nazi defeat became increasingly apparent. An epidemic of anomic suicides of military and political figures, as well as civilians, swept Germany in 1945 as the Nazi world collapsed all around. These suicides were particularly common in eastern parts of Germany where the fear of advancing Soviet troops, which had been carefully stoked by Nazi propaganda in the past, led to numerous suicides. [35]

4. Suicides in Hopeless Situations

During the Second World War, the first recorded suicides in Serbia appear during the short Yugoslav–German April War of 1941. There are several recorded cases of military personnel, and Yugoslav Army officers in particular, who took their own lives before or after

[29] Čalić 2013: 158.

[30] Dobrivojević 2006: 258.

[31] Pinnow 2009: 207. Suicide was treated in a similar manner in Nazi Germany and in the period before the Second World War. Goeschel 2009: 169.

[32] Although there are no precise figures for 1941, more than three million Soviet soldiers are estimated to have been captured, while in 1942, when more precise records were kept of those defecting and deserting, a total of 1,653,000 Soviet soldiers were captured. Edele 2017: 23.

[33] This fate befell the wife of Stalin's captured son. Ibid., 43.

[34] Merridale 2005: 185.

[35] Huber 2019: 93.

combat with German forces. The most explicit case of heroic suicide occurred on April 17, 1941, in Boka Kotorska, when two naval officers committed suicide by blowing up a naval destroyer to avoid surrendering it to the Italian navy.[36] The motive behind these types of suicides was most often to preserve military dignity and personal integrity at a time of complete disarray and the collapse of the army and the state.[37]

The defeat of the Yugoslav state and the Nazi occupation led to the creation of a resistance movement in Serbia and a subsequent uprising in the middle of 1941. The significant support among the population for the uprising was strongly influenced by the initial cooperation between the national and Royalist resistance movement (the Chetniks/Ravna Gora Movement, or the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland: *Jugoslovenska vojska u otadžbini*, JVuO), under the command of Colonel Dragoljub Draža Mihailović,[38] and the Partisan resistance movement, led by members of the KPJ and its secretary, Josip Broz Tito, as its supreme commander.[39] Despite attempts at cooperation, by November 1941 the differences between these two movements had created a split, which then erupted into a brutal civil war.[40] Finding themselves threatened by their ideologically rivals and countrymen, many members of both movements took their own lives, most often using pistols or bombs.

For prominent Communists, the occupation of Serbia and the beginning of the uprising meant they were no longer accountable to the party forums simply for themselves and small illegal cells. Now, as Partisan commanders, they were responsible for the fates of entire companies of dozens or even several hundred fighters. Cases of suicide during combat among Serbian Partisans were noted during the first clashes, becoming more frequent during the retreat of the uprising in the autumn of 1941. Some of the Partisan leaders ended their lives through acts of suicide, in part because of their sense of responsibility to their fighters for the failure of the uprising, but also in order to avoid being captured alive by the enemy. Among the first of these was a company commander from Mačva Detachment who killed himself in August 1941, after being heavily wounded and suffering defeat.[41] By the end of 1941, two more prominent members of the same detachment also took their own lives.[42] During the fall of the free territory, the commanders of two towns in western Serbia where Partisans had gained a strong foothold—Čačak (Milenko Nikšić) and Užice (Vukola Dabić)—also took their own lives. The suicides took place not only at the epicenter of the uprising in western Serbia, but also among members of the resistance units in the east of Serbia, of whom one was the secretary of the local party organization, a lawyer named Aleksa Markišić.[43]

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36 *Narodni heroji Jugoslavije*: 1975.

37 Dević, 2015: 39.

38 Nikolić 2014: 54–56; Avakumović 1969: 15; *Knjiga o Draži* 1956: 53–55; Nikolić, Dimitrijević 2011: 147–148, 151.

39 Petranović 1984: 424–425; Glišić, Miljanić 1994, 25; Pavlović 2009: 25.

40 Nikolić 1999: 139–140; Glišić 1986: 113.

41 Parmaković 1973: 263–266.

42 Ibid., 469–470; *Narodni heroji Jugoslavije* 1982: 45.

43 Vladimir Dedijer, who was a close friend, noted his impression of Markišić's suicide, which could apply to other Communist officials: "According to my deepest conviction not due to fear of torture, but to prevent the enemy from gloating in having captured a living Aleksa Markišić.' Dedijer 1983: 253. DAS, Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Srbije (Đ-2), PKS-4.

After the 1941 uprising was crushed, part of the Partisan forces, along with the movement's most prominent figures, retreated outside the borders of occupied Serbia. The remaining Partisan forces were hunted down by the occupying and collaborationist military forces. These Partisan fighters were also on hostile terms with the Ravna Gora Movement and viewed with suspicion by the local population, which feared reprisals. These were the circumstances under which three more prominent Partisan leaders committed suicide (Milivoje Manić Albanta, Ivan Muker, and Kosta Stamenković) in March 1942.

In addition to the Partisans hunted down in the field, members of illegal Communist Party organizations in urban areas were also targets of persecution. Partisans committed suicide using bombs or guns, but records indicate several of these Communists took poison or hanged themselves. In another example, after being arrested and tortured, a doctor who had been working with the Partisans managed to escape from the police and committed suicide by jumping through the window of a tall building.[44]

Partisans and Communists who were captured often destroyed their personal documents while in custody because of the risk of their family members being persecuted. There were even incidents recorded of people shooting themselves in the head to destroy their faces and prevent them from being identified.[45] A leader of a Partisan unit in Banat (Vojvodina) shot himself in the head but survived, wounded and blind. The Germans tortured him, but he gave nothing away. He was allegedly buried in the sand and left there to die.[46]

Often the corpses of Partisans who committed suicide would be displayed in squares or other public places in an attempt by the occupational government to demoralize the public and undermine its faith in the resistance, and also to degrade the dead and prevent any doubts from about their actual death or rumors of their survival from spreading.

A large number of suicides occurred in southeast Serbia. In the area controlled by the regional KPJ committee for Niš, there were fifteen recorded suicides of Communists and KPJ officials during the war.[47] This may also have been related to the story of Stevan Sinđelić, who had come from this region and where the memory of his heroic suicide had been carefully nurtured. Two strong examples of this are a group suicide led by Kosta Stamenković, an old Communist from Leskovac,[48] and the previously mentioned group suicide led by the commissar of the Toplica Partisan detachment, Nikodije 'Tatko' Stojanović. There is also the death of the KPJ secretary who was hiding with two female Partisan fighters in the Niš region in April 1944. When they were discovered, all three committed suicide. The choice to die in this manner in the same town where Stevan Sinđelić heroically died strongly suggests a connection to Serbian liberation traditions.[49]

There were also cases that were not direct examples of suicide but could be classified as such. Two examples of this involve smaller groups of Partisans who decided to fight to the death after they had been surrounded. The first is a detailed account from the

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44 Begović 1989: 61.

45 Dedijer 1983: 263.

46 *Narodni heroji Jugoslavije* 1982: 62.

47 Mirčetić 1977: 234–235.

48 When he was discovered by Serbian collaborationist forces in March 1942, Kosta Stamenković refused to surrender. Instead, he detonated a bomb, killing himself, his daughter, and two female Partisan fighters.

49 Dedijer 1983: 254–255.

collaborationist government about the deaths of a group of Partisans in eastern Serbia on June 15, 1943. Surrounded in a house by numerically superior forces, they rejected calls for their surrender, and instead opted to fight for several hours while singing Partisan songs and the Internationale. In the end, all five Partisans were killed.[50] The second took place in Western Serbia in March 1944, but in this case six Partisans died, while another six managed to break free.[51] The dead were hailed by Partisan propaganda outlets for their heroic death, and their exploits were glorified.

Mass suicides were common during the battles Partisans fought outside the borders of occupied Serbia. In his recollections of the war, Vladimir Dedijer mentions that during one of the more the dramatic moments during Battle of Sutjeska in 1943, Milovan Đilas, a member of the KPJ leadership, proposed that the seventy members of the Communist leadership who were near him commit mass suicide.[52] Several suicides were also recorded as occurring on June 13, 1943, one of the battle's crucial days, by both soldiers and commanders, and particularly by those who had been wounded and were unable to move or take part in the battle.[53] In Serbia, a similar case was recorded in December 1943 during the Battle of Prijepolje, when several fighters of the 1st Šumadija Brigade committed suicide. When they realized they were surrounded, some the brigade leaders shot themselves in the head and several fighters drowned themselves in the river Lim.[54]

5. Suicide among Partisan Women

Women were a minority in the ranks of the Partisans in comparison to men, so the large number of suicides committed by female Partisan fighters is particularly noticeable.[55] Although women were active in the Communist organization and Partisan detachments, it was not until 1942 that women were permitted and encouraged to join Partisan units.[56] These women became a favorite target for enemy propaganda, which presented female Partisan fighters as immoral, promiscuous, brutal, and cruel. Widespread acceptance of such propaganda legitimized the sexual abuse of captured Partisan women, which made them particularly vulnerable[57] and may have been the reason behind a disproportionate number of women opting for suicide when threatened with arrest or capture.

Žene Srbije u NOB, a publication about women from Serbia in the People's Liberation Movement, includes biographies of 967 prominent women, of whom twenty-three (2.38 percent) committed suicide during the war.[58] Of these, ten took part in a group

[50] DAS, Zbirka dokumenata Bezbednosno-informativne agencije (BIA), 1-20.
[51] Vojni arhiv, Beograd, Narodnooslobodilačka vojska Jugoslavije, 1642-3/1-18. (VA, NOVJ)
[52] Dedijer 1984: 353.
[53] Dedijer 1983: 245.
[54] Đuković 1982: 261.
[55] According to sociological research, women generally commit suicide more rarely, but they attempt it more often. Jaworski 2014: 23.
[56] Batinić 2015: 127.
[57] Škodrić 2020: 457.
[58] The publication also mentions an additional five Partisan women who were reported to have committed suicide during the war, and an additional three were reported to have committed suicide after the end of the war. *Žene Srbije u NOB*, 1975.

suicide. All were members of the party organization or its Youth organization and in most cases were very young—seventeen were born between 1918 and 1924. The largest number of suicides by women in a year occurred during 1944, which can be interpreted as a consequence of years of persecution and exhaustion, both physical and psychological.

Partisan women were frequently involved in murder/suicides alongside men who often would first kill their comrades and then themselves. There are also examples when only women took part in group suicides or remained as the last ones standing in battle until the very last bullet. One woman from a regional committee of the Communist Youth committed suicide when she found herself surrounded in a house in the east of Serbia. According to the police report, she was with another woman: 'one female Partisan shot another with a revolver and then, after destroying her own documents and those of the other Partisan, committed suicide herself.'[59]

A specific case of suicide involving a woman named Živka Damnjanović demonstrates the status and position of women in Partisan units. Damnjanović was the political commissar for a Partisan unit in Serbia and a member of the KPJ's Mladenovac regional committee (located in the wider Belgrade area). In November 1942, she killed one of her comrades, who was also a member of the same forum. The other members of the regional committee suspected the motive behind the killing was their intimate relationship, and the investigation into the case was taken over by the highest Serbian party forum, the Provincial Committee of the KPJ for Serbia. During questioning, she stated that she had committed the murder in order to 'redeem her honor.' She had entered into an affair with him, not knowing that he already had a wife and children. Given the gravity of the incident, the Provincial Committee sentenced her to death but also ordered that she be interrogated again, particularly about what her emotional life had been like before the incident, which party officials she had been intimate with, 'what her motives for killing people had been during her time with the unit,' and 'whether there were hidden mental or sexual problems behind this and other killings she had committed, or if she was one of the enemy.' The Provincial Committee demanded that this case be kept strictly confidential.[60]

Knowing the party commission's verdict would be harsh, a member of the commission who was favorably disposed to her smuggled in a revolver and advised her to take action in order to 'rehabilitate herself in the eyes of the party.' That same day, Damnjanović went to Mladenovac, the nearest town, and shot at the first Germans and their collaborators she came across. She killed one collaborationist commander and wounded two German officers. Then, surrounded by the Germans, she committed suicide. This was the end of her personal story, which turned into a tragedy for the entire area: On December 27, the Germans shot fifty civilians in Mladenovac in revenge for their wounded officers. Because of the delicate circumstances, the party's position was that this incident undermined the Partisan ethic and therefore should not be written about, discussed, or mentioned in public after the war. Ultimately, Živka Damnjanović was rehabilitated, and a primary school in Serbia and a pioneer group in Slovenia were named after her.[61]

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[59] Miladinović 1972: 68.
[60] DAS, Okružni komitet KPJ Mladenovac (Đ-8), OKM-1-28.
[61] Dimitrijević 1983: 41–42.

6. Suicide Motivated by Fear of the Party's Judgment

Vladimir Dedijer hints at another motivating factor behind some of the suicides committed by Communists: suicide as a response to fear of judgment by the party. Suspicions of those who had been in prisons and camps was a direct reflection of a tacit expectation that members of the party should commit suicide to avoid arrest. In the recollections he wrote down long after the war, Mirko Tepavac left his own account of his interrogation by a party commission, during which he had to explain his conduct during his time in prison.[62] A local Communist official gave a similar account of his own pain at also having to answer the question 'Why are you still alive?' to a commission. In the strict judgments of the party, those who gave conciliatory statements following arrest were also labeled as traitors.[63]

Some prominent Partisan leaders who retreated to other parts of Yugoslavia after the uprising collapsed in 1941 chose suicide out of dissatisfaction with, and in protest against, their positions in the party's hierarchy and the party's lack of trust in them. The motives for these suicides were often quietly ignored or given a different explanation. This was the fate of Milinko Kušić, a hardened Communist and one of the most senior military and political leaders from Serbia. He killed himself in Bosnia on International Workers' Day, May 1, 1943, while serving as commissar of the 4th Krajina Partisan Division. The official account of his death was that, sick with typhus, he had 'killed himself while in a state of delirium.'[64] However, there are also accounts suggesting that Kušić committed suicide due to his poor treatment by the party. Slobodan 'Krcun' Penezić seems to have contemplated the same option. He was also punished by the party, but later became chief of the Communist secret police for Serbia (*Odeljenje za zaštitu naroda*, OZNA). Due to the risk of him taking his own life, he was placed under surveillance and his every move was followed.[65]

Dedijer also counted the insufficiently explained death of Lieutenant General Petar Drapšin immediately after the war among the suicides of Communists that were motivated by fear of rulings by party commissions. He explained Drapšin's suicide as a means for him to defend his honor, and he believed he did so to avoid a new round of questioning by a party commission.[66] Unlike those that occurred during the war, this suicide was hidden and explained away as being the result of an unfortunate accident.

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62 "It was as if I were being reproached with, 'Why are you still alive!?' As if it would have been better and more useful for my party if, after being tortured by the Ustaše and condemned to death, I had been gloriously executed!' Tepavac 2012: 211. A description written by Dedijer of the interrogation of a 'sinful' member of the KPJ by the higher party organs is invaluable for understanding relations within the party: "When suspected members of the party were brought before us, we would never tell them what they were being accused of. We would let them sweat in front of us for a few minutes and stare them in the eyes in silence. After which the president of the commission would ask, 'What do you have to say to your party? What have you done wrong?'" Dedijer 1991: 41.

63 IAB, Zbirka memoarske građe (MG), 422.

64 Pantić Mešterović 1968: 195.

65 Đurić 1989: 216–217. It is interesting to note that the Partisan press, which reported Kušić's death, hid the manner of his death and linked it to enemy activities. Long after the war, in 1988, after a conflict with the party, Ljubodrag Đurić would also commit suicide. In his suicide note, he left only the initial words of the song '*Partizan sam, tim se dičim* (I'm a Partisan and proud of it).' (Ibid., 489).

66 Dedijer 1983, 249.

These cases of suicide reflect strong ideological and psychological connections between party members and the Communist organization. For the Communists, suspicions, interrogations, boycotts, and judgments by the party meant losing status and personal significance, as well as friends and spouses. The result of these meant life would lose all meaning for them, which easily led them to think of suicide.

7. The KPJ's View of Suicide

The Partisan press and propaganda at first did not promote suicide as being worthy of members of the Communist Party. Moreover, initial suicides by fighters and commanders were covered up with silence and a vague explanation was used—that they had been killed, but without any details of how or by whom. It was taken as a sign of weakness that they had been unwilling to sacrifice themselves for the party by following instructions regarding conduct in the presence of the enemy, which would have demonstrated to the party and the enemy that they were worthy of being called a Communist, even until their last breath. Yet as the war dragged on and the number of victims increased, this perception changed, and suicide was no longer seen as a sin but rather a dignified way to die.

Between 1941 and 1942, instructions were issued by local party leaderships that clearly stated that Communists must show no fear when they were arrested and should confess nothing during interrogations. Party members were made aware of the possibility of torture during an interrogation and were told that under no circumstances should they reveal anything—not even the smallest detail—about the party organization, as this would just be the beginning of further confessions and moral decline. The party instructions held that, 'Every major betrayal starts with a small confession of illegal work and sooner or later leads to a moral decline.'[67]

A pamphlet, 'Conduct in front of the class enemy,' which had been adapted to a time of war, summarized down to the smallest detail all the possible scenarios the Communists might find themselves in if they were to end up in prison or in front of a court. During the interwar period, the Communists expected to be given short-term sentences, whereas during the war, they were threatened with the death penalty after they had been arrested. This was the reason why these instructions were adapted to the current circumstances and why they encouraged them to behave heroically, be defiant, and not make any statements, even if they were threatened with much more severe penalties. The revolutionaries had to overcome their own fears ('not fear for one's own life, not fear death or suffering'), not cooperate with interrogators ('not to renounce anything or betray anything' and 'not to compromise friends and sympathizers'), or sign any statements.[68] Following these recommendations could easily lead to death from torture during interrogation or to execution, which would ultimately lead to an indirect form of suicide. Nevertheless, in the event of capture or arrest, most often all they could expect was brutal torture and death. This pamphlet was intended to give courage to captured fighters, and let them know that, even in the event of their death, the battle would not be lost because it would be carried on by their comrades.

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[67] IAB, Uprava grada Beograda, Specijalna policija (UgB SP), IV-244/1.
[68] VA, NOVJ, 1642-10-1/1.

Toward the end of 1942, the fighters from Partisan units were given instructions different from those given to party members engaged in illegal work in the towns. In their case, if the Partisans found themselves in a hopeless position in which further resistance was not possible, they were encouraged to take their own life. In November 1942, the Central Command of Serbia issued directives regarding the organization and training of Partisan units. In a section addressing the moral attributes of Partisan fighters, Partisan were clearly told they could not surrender to the enemy 'unless they no longer had the strength to kill themselves.'[69] However, this directive is an isolated case and was issued during the most bitter period of fighting. According to surviving records, it appears that not all Partisans followed these instructions, nor was there any insistence that they be consistently implemented.

Through suicide, the Communists affirmed their political exceptionalism and preserved their human dignity, making suicide in this case a kind of moral act. According to some, 'A revolutionary fights to the end, and only when it is certain there is no chance to save his own life—then he rejects surrender and commits suicide.'[70] Later, a sort of compromise was found in the interpretation: that suicide in combat, before capture, could be considered a heroic act, which it would not be if a Communist fell into the hands of the enemy and then took his own life.[71]

In socialist Yugoslavia after the Second World War, self-sacrifice and heroic death among the Partisans became one of the leading paradigms of the past and an important determinant for the politics of memory. Partisan warfare was highlighted in state politics as a bright and unique example of guerrilla warfare in occupied Europe during the Second World War, and particularly prominent figures from that struggle were awarded the Order of People's Hero. The People's Heroes were exalted as honored victors; numerous rituals such as celebrations and ceremonies were associated with their names; and cities, schools, and other institutions became their namesakes. This gave them a role in the construction of a Yugoslav identity and became part of Yugoslav culture. They were transformed into a symbol of the values of the newly created state and society and were used to strengthen and legitimize them.[72]

According to some estimates, in post-war Yugoslavia, 1,322 People's Heroes were proclaimed, and as many as 955 of them had died during the war.[73] The standing of the People's Heroes was strengthened by the beliefs that they had lost their lives as a result of a noble struggle, and that they had died following a principle that should serve as an instrument of legitimacy for the struggle and for the state that had been built on this foundation. Some researchers recognize the categories of hero defenders, hero leaders, and hero martyrs.[74] The martyr heroes did the most to strengthen the belief that victory in war was justification for their deaths. Their deaths were associated with protection from the dangers of war, and they were given an aura of untouchability and social recognition. At the same time, their voluntary consent to die further strengthened the hero cult as an expression

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69 *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, 1965: I-20, 278.
70 DAS, Ž-23, VŠ, 51.
71 IAB, UgB, SP-IV-206.
72 Perica 2011: 51–56.
73 Perica 2010: 109.
74 Lučić-Todosić 2015: 139–155.

of voluntary death for the country. The heroic martyr narrative was integrated into the post-war Yugoslav mythology of the Yugoslav peoples' joint struggle against Nazism and, together with the personality cult of Josip Broz, was one of the foundations of identity in socialist Yugoslavia.[75]

At least fifty-five Partisans from Yugoslavia,[76] including thirteen from occupied Serbia, who committed suicide were proclaimed People's Heroes. Their suffering was intended to serve as an example of dedication until death. By turning them into heroes, links were created between Communist ideology and religion, and national traditions and history. These links inoculated post-war generations with respect for societal values and norms and made it easier for older generations to accept these values and norms. The Communists took an acceptable model offered by tradition and placed it within a new institutional framework that survived until the collapse of the Yugoslav state. It was then that Milan Tepić became the last person to be named as a Yugoslav People's Hero. He committed suicide near Bjelovar in 1991 by blowing up a Yugoslav Army munitions depot that Croatian separatists were attempting to seize.

8. Conclusion

Although a seemingly deeply personal act, suicide occurs within a context and under the influence of society, culture, and current political circumstances and developments. During the interwar period, the Communists were firmly integrated and subordinated to party structures, yet also condemned and persecuted by state authorities. The Communist leadership often viewed suicide within Marxist ethics as a self-negation of life. Furthermore, the conduct expected of members of the Communist organization during arrest and then later on during combat could result in torture and death.

The motives for suicide among Partisans in Serbia were diverse: to prevent the enemy from discovering them and later torturing them after they had been captured (and thus protect the party organization from penetration), to preserve their honor and die heroically, as response to the pressure of responsibility, as well as other more personal motives which had led to despair. Many, although not all, of these suicides can be categorized as altruistic heroic suicides.

Heroic suicide was also seen as a duty based on loyalty and dedication to the Communist Party; but above all, it was a matter of dignity and a means of defending one's honor and personal values. It was seen as a heroic deed and a chivalrous act of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. To properly understand it, it is necessary to grasp a cultural model that includes religious, ideological, and ethnic stereotypes. Although often viewed and condemned as an act of cowardice, suicide gains a completely different meaning when committed during combat as an expression of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Glorification of heroic suicides as a factor in national integration can be found in the past of many nations. In several instances, this practice was clearly evident in the construction of the Serbian nation state and national identity. The cult of the hero who willingly sacrifices his life for the nation was supported by the state, the church, and folk traditions.

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[75] Perica 2010: 111.

[76] Ibid.: 113.

Altruistic suicides by members of the Communist Party and the Partisan movement were firmly tied to the national traditions and past of Serbia, the social status Communists enjoyed in interwar Yugoslavia, and the persecution they were subject to during the war. The Communists were considered outlaws and enemies of society and the state, yet they were also the products of them. Along with their ideology and teachings, the Communists also carried the societal norms and views of the culture in which they were raised and educated. These were in turn based on national traditions that viewed heroic suffering as the last personal act in a struggle for justice and dignity and as a means of achieving immortality. In moments of greatest hardship, this probably evoked a desire to prove themselves as worthy descendants of the nation who were also faithful to the Communist idea. The almost unbreakable connections to their origins and to the Communist organization culminated during the war when the Communists led a two-pronged struggle for the liberation of the country and for the victory of Communist ideology.

As individuals, the Partisans found themselves under the influence of the collective expectations of both the Communist Party and the national tradition, and in this struggle between the individual and the collective valuation of their own lives, they chose the latter and sacrificed their lives for the sake of loyalty to the collective. It was a statement of loyalty and consistency, as well as a response to wartime violence and suffering. In the post-war construction of a collective identity, the idea of subordinating oneself to the needs of the community and the collective maintained precedence over those of the individual, who was subordinated to their interests and will. In order to understand Partisan suicides, one can look at Dedijer's interpretation in which suicide is not viewed as being morally questionable, but rather is glorified as the highest form of personal sacrifice and the greatest contribution to the common struggle and ideals. Collective interests, low valuation, subjugation, and sacrifice of one's personal life were thus favored in order to create a moral model and prove an unreserved sense of belonging.

In Serbia, an entrenched historical consciousness and societal notions were based on a national tradition that glorified heroic suffering and viewed national heroes as being immortal. A cult of sacrifice for freedom merged with a cult of sacrifice for the revolutionary struggle, which made it much easier to articulate Communist goals in a manner that was more palatable to the local population and enabled Communist power to be consolidated and legitimized in accordance with traditional legacies. The traditional and the revolutionary were thus merged within the image of the hero who sacrifices his life for freedom and the struggle. This dual connection was also supported by the Communist organization and used after the war to strengthen its positions.

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ЉУБИНКА ШКОДРИЋ
НЕМАЊА ДЕВИЋ
Институт за савремену историју

САМОУБИСТВО МЕЂУ ПРИПАДНИЦИМА НАРОДНООСЛОБОДИЛАЧКОГ ПОКРЕТА У ОКУПИРАНОЈ СРБИЈИ 1941–1944

Резиме

Самоубиство је крајње личан чин, али се догађа под утицајем друштва, културе и актуелних политичких околности и збивања. Комунисти су у међуратном периоду у Краљевини Југославији били снажно интегрисани и подређени партијској структури, али осуђивани и прогоњени од државних власти. Самоубиство је од стране комунистичког вођства често доживљавано као појава коју марксистичка етика негативно вреднује као самонегацију живота. Поред тога, држање које је очекивано од припадника комунистичке организације приликом хапшења, као и касније у ратним околностима, као исход могло је имати мучење и смрт. За окупирану Србију током Другог светског рата карактеристична су алтруистичка самоубистава припадника комунистичке партије и партизанског покрета. Ова самоубиства, била су чврсто повезана са народном традицијом и прошлошћу Србије као и друштвеним статусом који су комунисти имали у међуратној Југославији. Комунисти су поред свог учења и идеологије били и изданци друштва у коме су поникли и носили су друштвене норме и погледе друштва у коме су васпитани и одрасли, а који су се базирали на народној традицији која је у херојском страдању видела начин за остварење бесмртности и последњи лични чин борбе за правду и достојанство.

Кључне речи: Други светски рат, народноослободилачки покрет, Србија, партизани, НОП, комунизам, саможртвовање, самоубиство, народна традиција.

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LUKA FILIPOVIĆ
Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade
0000-0002-1810-6175
luka.filipovic@isi.ac.rs

YUGOSLAVIA AND EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES DURING THE ‘LONG YEAR’ OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM (1974–1976)

Abstract: In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Mediterranean communist parties’ political practices and party ideologies, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia’s (LCY) policies, and the socialist model of the Yugoslav state, underwent gradual changes according to similar principles. This allowed existing cooperation between the LCY and future Eurocommunist parties to expand. At this time, the countries of Western Europe were experiencing a period of unprecedented economic growth and a reduction in social inequalities. This period eventually ended in political turmoil and crisis caused by ideological and cultural changes significantly driven by the same long-term consequences of developing welfare state models in the Western Bloc’s largest economies. A new social reality in Western Europe, the Mediterranean region, and Yugoslavia, the Mediterranean’s closest socialist country, would influence the events leading to the zenith of the LCY’s influence on the European far left and also to the eventual downfall of the international leftist initiatives launched by the LCY and the Eurocommunist parties. This article will present findings from archival research regarding certain aspects that may have influenced these changes in the international positions of and relations between the LCY and the Eurocommunist parties. It will compare it to those of previous studies within the humanities and social sciences.

Keywords: Eurocommunism, democratic socialism, welfare state, Cold War, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, Enrico Berlinguer.

1. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Rise of Eurocommunism

Two decades of expanding economic and social policies characteristic of the European welfare state created a new social reality in which it became possible for many members of Mediterranean Marxist parties to contemplate reforms of party policies and, eventually, the creation of a new party ideology that would later become known

as Eurocommunism.[1] During this period, the Yugoslav Communists also experienced dynamic and complex changes in their relations with other communist and socialist parties of Europe. At this time, the Yugoslav party transitioned from the isolated outcast it had become after splitting with the Soviet party in 1948 to one of the most influential communist parties in Europe, and it remained so until just before the great turmoil of 1968.[2] The Yugoslav state's increased international influence and financial power attracted European communists searching for new allies and supporters anticipating a clash with the parties of the Eastern Bloc, which would become a foregone conclusion once the Italian, French, Spanish, and Greek Communists introduced new Eurocommunist ideologies. These also put the Yugoslav Communists in a position to organize numerous initiatives to expand cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and communist parties of the Mediterranean.[3]

Within a month or so of the Czechoslovakian crisis, the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano*, PCI) leadership openly declared their party's intention to change the dominant political practices of the Italian Communists and, gradually, the party's ideology.[4] From that moment on, the PCI's reformist policies and international initiatives would garner enthusiastic political support and financial aid from both the LCY's institutions and the Yugoslav government.[5] In the years prior to the great split on the European far left in 1968, members of the PCI leadership were already discussing reformist ideas and criticism of the Soviet party and Soviet state policy in private meetings with representatives of the LCY. At these meetings, Italian reformists often spoke of the past and future Yugoslav role in shaping the new European Marxist ideology, which would later be recognized as Eurocommunism.[6] The Italian Communists also stated that, in addition to the inspiration for new ideas they had found in the historical evolution of the Yugoslav socialist model, Yugoslav support would be crucial for their plans to undermine Soviet influence over international communist across the globe and to expand the emerging reformist bloc of European Marxist parties.[7]

In a joint effort with PCI, the LCY began using its growing international influence to support the reformist faction of the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF).[8] The French party at this point was deeply divided between reformists, who advocated for moving party ideology in the direction already taken by the Italian party at the PCI's 12th National Congress, and the conservatives, who had opted to continue defining

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1 Pons 2001: 3–27; Macdonald 1996: 152–188; Weller and Sant'Ana 2019: 2–30.

2 Miletić 2022: 289–333; Dimić 2012: 59–81; Mišić 2013: 121–145.

3 Živković 2021: 171–198; Bajin 2023: 117–138; Filipović 2022: 477–494.

4 The Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, documents of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, fond 507, section IX, Commission for International Relations and Cooperation, files 395–427, Recorded conversations (of LCY members) with the leadership of Italian Communist Party (abbreviated: AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-395-427, Recorded conversations with the members of PCI leadership).

5 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-395-429-436, Reports of Yugoslav delegation present at the PCI's 12th Congress in Bologna.

6 The Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Archive of Josip Broz Tito, documents of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic, fond 807, section I-3-a, Information about visits of Palmiro Togliatti, Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer (abbreviated: AJ, KPR, I-3-a/44, Information about the visits of PCI leadership).

7 AJ, KPR, I-3-a/44-38-39, Information about conversations between delegations of LCY and PCI in January and August of 1967.

8 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX,30/I-213, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and PCF.

party policies according to the principles of the Bolshevik socialist model and maintain ties with the Soviet party.[9] The Italian Communists tried to integrate French reformists during international Marxist events organized by the PCI and financed largely by LCY, and the Yugoslav Communists hosted their French counterparts during visits to Yugoslavia to research the historical development and practical implementation of the Yugoslav socialist model.[10] An analysis of archival sources indicates that, as debates about the Yugoslav socialist model began occupying more space in the French contemporary leftist press, research visits by French Communists and other Marxist intellectuals became more frequent. The Yugoslav Communists used the French Communists' frequent visits, financed by the Yugoslav state, as an opportunity to form close ties with the leading members of the reformist faction of the PCF.[11]

The LCY and Yugoslav federal institutions also provided various forms of assistance and services to the leaderships of the Spanish and Greek Communist Parties (the PCE and the KKE respectively), who were still operating in exile during the turmoil within the European far left in 1968 and 1969.[12] Documents from the LCY's Department for International Relations state on multiple occasions that Yugoslav party's intention was, if possible, to not make ideological distinctions between various groups within the PCE and KKE, both in exile and at home, because it needed to follow the Yugoslav foreign policy of supporting all those who opposed far-right dictatorships in Spain and Greece. However, after the internal splits in the KKE in 1968 and the PCE in 1973, the LCY maintained connections and provided financial aid exclusively to the Eurocommunist factions of the PCE and KKE.[13] It is also important to mention that Santiago Carrillo, who would later become the general secretary of PCE and one of the most important Eurocommunist thinkers, claimed he developed some of his later published theses about Eurocommunism and the future of European societies during frequent long conversations with his close friend, Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito, which is somewhat supported by notes taken during these meetings.[14]

In the early 1970s cooperation between the LCY and Eurocommunist parties continued to expand, reaching the point where the LCY was formally recognized alongside the PCI as a leading party in the reformist bloc of European Marxist parties.[15] Reports created

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9 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-210-255, Reports about the debates in PCF press about the Yugoslav socialist model, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-331, Information about the internal changes in French party and changes of PCF attitudes.

10 The Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, documents of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, section A, files from the years 1974–1978, Reports on international cooperation (abbreviated: AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on Mediterranean conferences).

11 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-212, Information about the visit of PCF directorate member A. Kazanova, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-230, About the help provided to French journalist A. Gerec, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-236, Reports about the visit of French philosopher and PCF member Roger Garaudy.

12 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-82-110, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-1-710-736, Analyses of the drafts concerning financial aid to Spanish communists in exile and representatives of the Interior Greek party.

13 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-728, Information about internal conflicts in the Greek Communist Party, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-723, Reports on the formation of the new United Central Committee of KKE, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-81-110, Reports on cooperation and communication with the Spanish Communist Party.

14 AJ, KPR, I-3-a/110-7, AJ, KPR, I-3-a/100-8, Reports on the receptions of S. Carrillo and D. Ibarruri.

15 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-52-81, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-392-426, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-210-255, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-712-779, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, PCF, PCE and KKE.

by various LCY party offices show that informal meetings between members of the Yugoslav and Italian Communist Party leaderships had become common enough that the LCY and the PCI reached an agreement to regularly share party documents classified as secret to prepare their representatives for increasingly frequent consultations between the two parties' leaderships.[16] The LCY and the PCI started numerous initiatives and projects meant to augment the development of close connections between different parties on the European far left, including the influential French and Italian Socialist and Social Democratic Parties and those from Northern and Central Europe.[17] Over the course of many cordial conversations with Josip Broz Tito, Enrico Berlinguer, the new PCI general secretary, informally agreed that he would work to align the PCI's practices with those of the LCY regarding changes in relations with leftist parties in Middle East, East Asia, and Africa.[18]

After the fall of De Gaulle following the general strikes and student uprisings of 1968 and 1969, France entered a period of long and succeeding political crises, often associated in historical and sociological analyses with other political and social upheavals of the 1970s in Western Europe. Sociologists would later describe this period as one of crisis for the welfare state in Europe and United States during its last decade which was later viewed as a crisis of the last decade of the welfare state.[19] In rapidly a changing social and political environment and facing increasingly deeper division within the party and the increasing influence of old and new competition on the left, the French Communists elected a new party leadership that mostly included members of Georges Marchais's party faction, which was more moderate in comparison.[20] The new party leadership introduced reforms of political practices and new policies to democratize and decentralize internal party structures, and announced its intention to abandon the tradition of incorporating the principles of the Bolshevik socialist model in favor of creating a new party ideology.[21] Changes in the French party's political practices and ideology were quickly followed by expanded cooperation between PCF and LCY and increased participation of the PCF and members of PCF-aligned unions in numerous Yugoslav programs that provided free research visits, healthcare services, and all-expense-paid vacations to Yugoslavia.[22]

When the French party joined many of the international initiatives started by Italian and Yugoslav Communists,[23] the PCI and LCY departments for international relations jointly concluded that the only thing stopping the unofficial reformist bloc from further expanding its influence into Soviet-dominated relations among the European far left parties was the fact that the Greek and Spanish Communist Parties, which had already started reforming their policies and creating foundations for new party ideologies, were still largely

16 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-395-427, Recorded conversations with members of the PCI leadership.

17 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on Mediterranean conferences, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-392-426, Recorded conversations with the Italian Communists about the possible organization of a Mediterranean conference, AJ, KPR, I-3-a/44-59-62, Recorded conversations of J. B. Tito and L. Longo.

18 AJ, KPR, I-3-a/44-48, Reception of the general secretary of the PCI, Enrico Berlinguer.

19 Obinger and Schmitt 2011: 246–270; Weller and Sant'Ana 2019: 2–30; Petersen and Mioni 2022: 43–59.

20 Kriegel 1967: 253–268; Raymond 2005: 40–63.

21 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX,30/I-213, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and PCF.

22 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-331, Information about internal changes in the French party and changes in PCF attitudes.

23 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-395-439, Recorded conversations with members of the PCI leadership, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX,30/I-213, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and PCF.

operating in exile and did not have the necessary means to join international seminars, conferences, and European Marxist gatherings organized by PCI, PCF, and LCY.[24] However, this was soon about to change as a half century of periodic rule by far-right dictatorships in the Mediterranean quickly came to a close.

2. The Reign of Military Dictatorships in the Mediterranean Comes to an End

From the early 1920s to the latter half of 1970s, many countries in the Mediterranean region, including Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, etc., experienced the rise and fall of different military dictatorships. This is considered a period of far-right supremacy in the Mediterranean because almost all of these dictatorships either established far-right parties upon coming to power or rose up from the ranks of military officers already belonging to existing right-wing movements.[25] Almost all of these right-wing parties and movements were at some point locked in bitter conflicts that sometimes resulted in civil wars with far-left parties and movements, who were their chief competitors in articulating the animosities and social tensions that surfaced during the expansion of social inequalities and economic crises that followed the late industrialization of Mediterranean countries.[26] Consequently, almost all military dictatorships in the Mediterranean viewed communist parties and movements as the biggest threats to their power. They were also hostile toward, and had almost non-existent diplomatic relations with, the post-war Yugoslav state, which had emerged as a new socialist power in the region. This new state rapidly expanded its international influence after enacting economic reforms and providing shelter, financial contributions, and sometimes even military aid to resistance and far-left movements in Mediterranean countries ruled by far-right dictatorships.[27]

Even today there are numerous debates in the humanities and social sciences stemming from disagreements about how much influence various economic, geopolitical, or cultural factors may have had on the long process that eventually made it impossible for the cycle of military dictatorships, in which similar events led to various juntas and far-right regimes seizing power and then eventually falling, to repeat itself.[28] Analyses of archival sources show that Italian and Yugoslav Communists had predicted the downfall of military dictatorships in the Mediterranean and openly discussed future plans to support the Spanish and Greek Communists in their anticipated attempts to regain the influence they had before the Spanish and Greek civil wars. As early as 1971 and 1972, members of the LCY and PCI party leaderships were already sharing predictions during their talks that it was only a matter of time before Franco's regime in Spain, the Greek military junta, and Salazar's government in Portugal fell, and their demises could be expected in the near future, possibly in an event similar to a chain reaction or over the course of a new wave of revolutions in the region.[29] The Italian Communists reckoned it would

[24] AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on Mediterranean conferences.
[25] Mitrović 1998: 166–212; Ristović 2012: 37–61; Mouzelis 1978: 115–133.
[26] Berend 2009: 42–61; Kuljić 1977: 22–28; Bakić 2019: 539–598.
[27] Dimić 2014: 33–67; Mijatov 2019: 58–91; Filipović 2023: 97–109.
[28] Brogi 2018: 134–157; Sassoon 1992: 139–169; Drake 2004: 47–63.
[29] AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-395-427, Recorded conversations with members of the PCI leadership.

be impossible for Mediterranean dictatorships to survive the outside influences of the sweeping political and cultural changes occurring in the United States and Western Europe after the turmoil and uprisings of 1968 and 1969. The Yugoslav Communists, however, argued that economic difficulties and social tensions within far-right dictatorships would force these military regimes to either radicalize internal control, which would incite rebellion, or to create wars and prolonged conflicts, which would eventually end with the same result (which was partially the case with Greek and Turkish involvement in Cyprus).[30]

However, at the beginning of this decade marked by political crises and the later economic consequences of the oil shock (the last decade of the welfare state in Western Europe), there was another factor the Italian and Yugoslav Communists could not possibly haven taken into account. This was the beginning of a new phase in the development of international relations, which would later be referred to in contemporary newspapers and by historians of the Cold War as the détente. During this period, the United States and the Soviet Union signed various treaties and agreements leading to mutual disarmament, an end to many of the proxy wars, and a temporary relaxation of international tensions in Europe.[31] The formal end of Soviet support for many left-wing parties and movements around the world opened the door to further expansion of LCY influence; but more importantly, within the context of the joint interests of the LCY and the Eurocommunist parties, it eliminated the need for stronger US support of those regimes, which had to some extent been brought to power or maintained to stop Marxist parties from expanding their influence in various Cold War fronts and within the Western Bloc, as was the case with Greece and Spain.[32]

Although official contacts between the Greek military dictatorship and the Yugoslav government were so rare as to be almost non-existent, from the late 1960s onward, Yugoslav diplomatic representatives in Athens expressed their fears that the junta would become much more brutal toward the opposition if its leaders felt they were losing the US support. They reported to the Yugoslav government that this scenario was highly likely to occur in the future, simply based on the amount of resentment Western European governments held toward the Greek junta, which would eventually force the US to relinquish its tacit support for it.[33] The writers of reports issued by the LCY's Department for International Relations concluded that, after the Greek government had brutally quashed the 1973 uprising at the Athens Polytechnic and launched a military operation in Cyprus (which was expected to fail sooner or later), it was very likely the US government would want to cut ties with the Greek military regime.[34] Finally, it is important to note that along with anticipating internal destabilization within the Greek government and waning US sympathies toward the Regime

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30 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on Mediterranean conferences.

31 Andry 2019: 93–143; Macdonald 1996: 152–188; Obinger and Schmitt 2011: 246–270,

32 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-52-81, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-392-426, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-210-255, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-712-779, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, PCF, PCE and KKE.

33 Diplomatic Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade, Political Archive of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, Greece, Year 1968, Folder 42, Reports on the activities of political parties (abbreviated: DA, SSIP, Greece, 1968, F-42, Reports on the activities of political parties).

34 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-848-898, Reports about the social and political situation in Greece, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-887, Materials received from the KKE interior's central committee.

of the Colonels, the Yugoslav state and party institutions began increasing all forms of aid to the Greek resistance movements, and especially to the communist resistance groups associated with the KKE, the reformist interior Greek Communist Party.[35]

Almost immediately after the fall of Greek junta in 1974, the Yugoslav Communists began helping with organizing the safe return of Greek refugees and with negotiations between the interior Greek Communists and the provisional government.[36] Recorded conversations between the LCY and PCI leaderships reveal that the Italian and Yugoslav Communists believed the time had finally come to use every form of influence (and 'even exert pressure like the Soviets if necessary,' as the Italian Communists humorously suggested) available to them with the KKE leadership. Some KKE members had been using the struggle with the miliary junta to justify delaying the formalization of already informally introduced reforms as part of official party policy. Now that the struggle with the military junta was finished, the LCY and the PCI wanted to motivate the KKE to fully and formally complete reforms of its political practice and official party ideology.[37] To this end, during discussions with the KKE leadership about continuing financial support from the LCY and PCI, the Yugoslav and Italian Communists insisted it was of crucial importance to the future of Eurocommunism, both in Europe and abroad, to increase cooperation between KKE and other political parties in Greece and reject offers of compromise with the Soviets and the exterior Greek party. It was also a necessary condition for the Greek Communists to participate in future international initiatives by parties who defined their ideologies as democratic socialism.[38]

A year later, after the death of Franco, the PCI and the LCY defined similar shared positions and common policies regarding cooperation between the Spanish Communists and the temporary government in Spain.[39] Santiago Carrillo later claimed he had not expected the PCI and LCY to follow the Eastern Bloc parties in criticizing him for agreeing to participate in the process of political transition, which the temporary government defined as a process of democratization, and even for negotiating about possible communist contributions to the reforms of King Juan Carlos I's administration. He also didn't expect the Italian and Yugoslav Communists to be as supportive as they were of his new political strategy of tolerance toward and appeasement of capitalist left-wing and even moderate right-wing parties; nor did he expect them to expand financial aid to the Spanish Communists after the party leadership returned from exile and the PCE was again legalized, which was, as in the case of the Greek Communists, a unique precedent.[40] During one of many cordial meetings with Carrillo, Josip Broz Tito stated that the Yugoslav party would continue to provide the Spanish Communists with various forms of assistance historically reserved for parties in exile. Tito also joked that even though another Spanish civil war was unlikely, Eurocommunists and the LCY were already engaged in another form of conflict—not just with their traditional enemies embodied in the last remains of Mediterranean

35 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on cooperation with Greek unions, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-1-710-736, Analysis of drafts concerning financial aid to the KKE interior.

36 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-889, Information about cooperation with KKE interior's central committee.

37 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-526-565, Conversations with Italian Communists about the situation in Greece and Spain.

38 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-860-868, Reports on meetings held with the leadership of the KKE interior.

39 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-147-155, Reports on the political and social situation in Spain.

40 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-138, Recorded conversations with PCE party leadership.

fascists, but also with the parties of New Left, Soviet-inclined Bolsheviks, 'and all sorts of other extremists calling themselves worker's movements.'[41]

However, it is important to note that, unlike in Greece, the Yugoslav and Italian Communists supported possible negotiations in Spain about overcoming disagreements and developing cooperation between Eurocommunists and the more radical renegades that had formed their own organization after the split in the Spanish Communist Party.[42] A document from the LCY Department for International Relations openly stated that from the standpoint of the LCY and the PCI's common interests, further development of cooperation between Carrillo's Eurocommunist PCE and Lister's Spanish Communist Workers' Party could be safely viewed as being beneficial. This was further expanded upon by a prediction that there was no possible future scenario in which the Soviet Communist Party would regain its influence over the Spanish Communists through General Enrique Lister and his closest associates as it had with the exterior Greek party, and thus a potential coalition or even a merger of the two former PCE factions would only serve to further strengthen the Spanish party's political position and influence in domestic politics and in the increasingly complex sphere of relations between European Marxist parties.[43]

3. A Time of Enthusiasm: The PCI's Success in the Italian Elections and the French Communist Party's Historic Congress

When examining the common policies that Yugoslav and Italian Communists established regarding the Greek and Spanish parties after their leaderships returned from exile, we found that, in addition to protecting Eurocommunist factions within the Greek and Spanish Communist Parties from a possible renewal of Soviet influence, the LCY and the PCI expected the Greek and Spanish Communists to soon become valuable partners in their planned political initiatives.[44] These international initiatives, some of which had been launched during previous years, were supposed to include Marxist parties from Europe and around the world whose party ideologies had been derived from the values and ideas of democratic socialism and who had reformed their political practices in a similar manner to the LCY and PCI's reformist models.[45] Numerous recorded conversations between Yugoslav and Italian Communists show that the leading parties of an informal group that was already being labeled by the press and many contemporaries as a reformist bloc of European Marxist parties, were also counting on the Greek and Spanish Communist Parties to either return to the prominent political positions they had held before their civil wars or even surpass their previous influence. This would demonstrate the potential political benefits of adopting reformist policies to the European far-left parties that still maintained strong ties with the

41 AJ, KPR, I-3-a/110-18, Information about the visit of Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the PCE.

42 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-143, Briefing about a meeting between S. Dolanc and A. Anna, a member of the PCE.

43 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-144, Materials for the preparation of the LCY delegation for a meeting with Santiago Carrillo.

44 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-526-565, Conversations with the Italian Communists about the situation in Greece and Spain.

45 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on Mediterranean conferences.

Soviet party and were continuing to uphold the principles of the Bolshevik socialist model.[46]

To the same end, in conversations with their Yugoslav counterparts during the last months of 1975, the Italian Communists emphasized the importance of their own anticipated success in the upcoming Italian elections in 1976, and they claimed the perception of the PCI's growing popularity in Italy was already influencing minor Marxist parties and movements in Europe to adopt reforms similar to those adopted by Eurocommunist parties.[47] The PCI's popularity had previously been on the decline after the Red Spring (*primavera rossa*) of Europe (1946–1949) and during the years of forming the welfare state in Italy and creating an 'Italian economic miracle.' According to later studies, after splitting from the Soviet party in 1968 and subsequently adopting Eurocommunist reforms in 1969, the PCI's popularity steadily increased from one election to the next. The election of 1976 was considered crucial for proving that the political crises of the last decade of the welfare state in Europe had not had a significant effect on the rise of the PCI, the first Eurocommunist party in Europe.[48]

Members of the Yugoslav party leadership claimed that even minor gains for the PCI over previous elections would greatly improve the image of all European reformist parties and movements on the far left, especially with periods of political crisis, the economic consequences of the 1973 oil shock, and an increasing number of terrorist attacks by right- and left-wing extremists in Europe.[49] During private conversations with Josip Broz Tito, Enrico Berlinguer said that anticipated successes in the local and parliamentary elections in Italy would not only help the LCY and PCI's plans to expand their influence among the Soviet-controlled European far left, but would also strengthen his own power base within the PCI. This would demonstrate that the PCI's program of political compromise with the Italian Socialists and the ruling Christian Democrats, the so-called historic compromise, was justified. This would then allow the Italian Communists to further expand this policy, which had been implemented to create a position from which the PCI could influence Italian national politics.[50]

Through reports received from PCI party offices and through their contacts with the Italian Socialists and the Christian Democrats, the Yugoslav Communists were well informed about the plans Prime Minister Aldo Moro's plans to expand cooperation with the Italian Communists in an attempt to quell the political turmoil within state institutions and to suppress far-right and far-left terrorist groups who were constantly fighting in the streets with each other and the Italian police.[51] Some reports from LCY party offices suggest that the Yugoslav party leadership found it very probable that with this new strategy of historic

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46 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-52-81, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-392-426, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-210-255, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-712-779, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, PCF, PCE and KKE.

47 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-426-513, Reports on the development of PCI attitudes toward other European Marxist parties.

48 Pons 2001: 3–27; Macdonald 1996: 152–188; Weller and Sant'Ana 2019: 2–30; Obinger and Schmitt 2011: 246–270; Petersen and Mioni 2022: 43–59; Daniel 1964: 594–606.

49 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-522-536, Recorded conversations with the PCI leadership.

50 AJ, KPR, I-3-a/46-61, AJ, KPR, I-3-a/46-62, AJ, KPR, I-3-a/46-64, Reports on the visits of PCI General Secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-602-618, Information on cooperation with the PCI.

51 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports about cooperation with worker's parties and unions in Italy, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-426-513, Reports on PCI attitudes toward other European Marxist parties.

compromise, future Italian governments would be formed by the Socialists and Christian Democrats, with the PCI serving as a cooperative power behind the official government helping to stabilize the country and, in turn, gain political concessions that would allow the PCI to influence events in ways that would allow welfare state policies and the rights of labor unions to expand. This would also allow for increased PCI influence and for the Italian society and the state to gradually evolve into a new form of socialism.[52] In previous years, Yugoslav Communists had often served as mediators during meetings and disputes between the Italian Communists and Socialists and among powerful Italian labor unions, which were under influence of the two biggest parties on the Italian left. Aldo Moro administration also announced plans to deepen the already close relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, so the LCY and the unions began organizing various discussion groups, seminars, and joint visits to Yugoslavia by Italian Communists and Christian Democrats.[53]

At a meeting of LCY and PCI delegations in 1975, Josip Broz Tito and Enrico Berlinguer both openly predicted that Aldo Moro and his compromise faction of Christian Democrats would be very pleased if the PCI achieved certain successes in the upcoming 1976 elections, since this would indicate that the moderate Socialists (with whom Moro, according to his own account, often found harder to come to an agreement during negotiations on policy and division of power than with the PCI about cooperation) and the more radical far-left parties in Italy were losing popularity, and their supporters were joining the Eurocommunists. This public demonstration of the PCI's growing influence also served as a strong argument for those Christian Democrats looking to expand unofficially established agreements within the concept of historical compromise and integrate certain aspects of it into the new government's official policy.[54] When the 1976 elections were over and it became widely known that the PCI had achieved astonishing success in local and parliamentary elections, Josip Broz Tito congratulated Enrico Berlinguer, calling him the 'future president of Italy' and the declaring the PCI 'a substantial part of the future government in all but name.' He also openly predicted that with further expansion of welfare state policies and other aspects of the historic compromise, under Moro and Berlinguer's informal governance Italy would become the first socialist state in the Western Bloc through a natural evolution of social reality and a balance of political power.[55]

A possible consequence of the PCI's success in the Italian elections noticed by contemporary writers of many articles in the French, Italian, and Yugoslav presses, was a noticeable change in the PCF terminology used to describe recent changes in the party ideology, which had been under development for years but was not formalized until PCF's 22nd Congress held near Paris in February 1976.[56] Only a few weeks after the Italian elections, the LCY's Department for International Relations stressed its assessment that Georges Marchais and the PCF leadership had started using the term Eurocommunism in

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52 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-549, Analysis of conversations between Stane Dolanc and Enrico Berlinguer.

53 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-392-426, Information about cooperation between the LCY and PCI.

54 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-550, Analysis of a conversation between LCY member Alexander Gličko and member of CK PCI Giancarlo Pajetta, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-551, Reports on meetings between S. Dolanc and G. Pajetta.

55 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Reports on meetings with the PCI leadership in Berlin.

56 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports about cooperation with worker's parties and unions in France, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-315, Reports from the LCY delegation present at the PCF's 20th Congress.

public to describe their party ideology much more often than they had even just a few months earlier. At the end of the summer, the French Communists shocked their Yugoslav and Italian counterparts by openly admitting the PCF leadership had recently often encouraged the use of the term Eurocommunism, which they considered to be 'attractive to the general public' and 'politically expedient.' Only a few weeks after the elections in Italy, the French party leadership stated that one of the PCF's primary goals was to further expand the reforms adopted earlier that year, and to actively engage in many international initiatives by European Marxist parties organized by the PCI and funded by the LCY.[57]

Yugoslav diplomatic representatives in France later concluded that the only result of the PCF's 22nd Congress was the formal adoption of reforms that had already been implemented. The congress was immediately dubbed 'historic' by the contemporary press as a reference to the PCI's historic 12th Congress in Bologna in 1969, during which the Italian party outlined the principles of what was then called the Italian road to democratic socialism and later Eurocommunism.[58] During meetings held in Berlin in 1976, the LCY and PCI delegations concluded that there had been no important developments in PCF policies after the French Communists' 'historic' congress. However, the same could not be said for the new reforms the PCF adopted after the Italian elections, and especially those related to the planned expansion of cooperation between the PCF and other parties on the European far left.[59] For years, French Communists had been slowly increasing their participation in international initiatives launched by political parties claiming their ideology had stemmed from the fundamental ideas and values of democratic socialism; but until the summer of 1976, French party leadership had been rather reluctant to join initiatives launched by the leading reformist parties (the PCI and the LCY) that had not received support from the Soviet Communist Party and other Eastern Bloc parties.[60] However, the significant shift in PCF policies, which became apparent to the PCI and LCY party leaderships after the Italian election, and the minor changes in terminology the French Communists used during their public addresses, were about to take a much more radical turn after the events surrounding the 1976 conference of European communist parties in Berlin.[61]

4. The Berlin Conference and the Downfall of Soviet Hegemony

Even before its opening ceremony, the Berlin conference of 1976 researchers in the humanities and social sciences were already describing it.[62] After the turbulent events that had marked the end of the 1970s-the student protests, the formation of the New Left, the Czechoslovakian crisis, and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam-numerous leftist parties and movements all around the world started demanding the Soviet party organize an international conference to serve as a forum for discussion about the future of global socialism. An analysis of archival sources indicates the political crisis of the early 1970s

57 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-312-327, Information on changing attitudes and cooperation with the PCF.
58 DA, SSIP, France, year 1980, F-41, Reports on the PCF's activities and meetings with the PCF leadership.
59 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Reports on meetings with the PCI leadership in Berlin.
60 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-312-327, Information about changing attitudes and cooperation with the PCF.
61 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-317, Analyses of reports on a meeting between the LCY and PCF delegations.
62 Popov 1976: 387–992; McGregor 1978: 339–360; Osadczuk-Korab 1976: 178–193.

and the later consequences of the oil shock were factors that strengthened the resolve of various communist and socialist parties, who began pushing back against Soviet resistance to holding a conference for the international labor movement. One of their primary demands for the conference was to consider adapting old party ideologies, or even creating ones, that would align with shifting social and economic circumstances.[63] At the beginning of the détente, the Soviet party finally agreed to organize an international conference to address the growing concerns of various leftist parties and movements and to try to formulate universal principles to be followed by individual Marxist parties when adjusting their policies and party ideologies to the unique circumstances of their respective countries.[64]

For the leaderships of Eurocommunist parties, this meant that their current approaches to defining party policies would be questioned and debated at this conference, which would be organized by the Soviet party and hosted by another communist party from the Eastern Bloc. There were several possible scenarios for how this could play out, with the two most extreme being either the collective condemnation of Mediterranean communist parties by the majority of left-wing parties throughout the world, or the final Soviet recognition of Eurocommunist reforms. The latter option could possibly lead to reconciliation between the communist parties in the Western bloc and their Eastern counterparts. Within the Eurocommunist parties themselves, it could also lead to reconciliation between the reformist factions and the more conservative Mediterranean communists, who still remained convinced of the universal character of the Bolshevik socialist model's defining principles.[65] However, as welfare policies in Western Europe entered their last decade, debates were already raging around the world concerning the organization and expected outcomes of the new labor movement conference. As a result, the Yugoslav and Italian Communists concluded that a collective condemnation of Eurocommunist reforms and a consequential deepening of the 1968–1969 split with the Eastern Bloc parties was the most likely outcome.[66]

In the first months of 1974, at the beginning of a period that would see the greatest expansions of Eurocommunist influence thus far, the Soviet party announced that the long-anticipated international conference of Marxist parties would be held in East Berlin, and it instructed the East German party to create a work group comprised of representatives from all of the participating political parties to determine topics for discussion and the goals of the conference. Over the next two years, a revolving door of representatives and delegations of communist and socialist parties held long and passionate discussions in Berlin about various issues related to the conference. Possibly none of these were as important and fiercely debated as how individual leftist parties would reform their policies and ideologies according to new circumstances.[67] Together, the representatives of the LCY and the PCI

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63 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-52-81, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-392-426, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-210-255, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-712-779, Information about the development of cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, PCF, PCE and KKE.

64 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Materials for preparation of LCY delegation for Berlin Conference.

65 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports about cooperation with worker's parties and unions in Italy, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-522-536, Recorded conversations with the PCI leadership.

66 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-426-513, Reports on PCI attitudes toward other European Marxist parties.

67 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Materials for preparing the LCY delegation for the Berlin Conference.

were the most radical in their demands that the Soviet party not only officially recognize the other communist parties' right to independently change their political practices and ideology, but also promise to change the way it shaped the direction of dominant Marxist thought within the labor movement's international institutions.[68] The Yugoslav and Italian Communists were gradually joined by the PCE, the PCF, and many minor Western European communist and socialist parties, including the Belgian, English, Irish, and Swiss Marxists. The Eastern Bloc parties' position began to change when the reformist Romanian Communists started supporting the Yugoslav delegation's propositions and openly clashing with the most radical anti-reformists from East Germany and Poland.[69]

The Soviet party tried to position itself as an impartial mediator, just as it had eight years earlier during disputes over reforms in Czechoslovakia. Then, it assessed the situation and maintained an image of undeterred power while allowing others to test the resolve of the reformists, until it eventually broke what the Italian Communists called 'the traditional menacing silence that echoes through Kremlin,' and deployed the military to the Czechoslovakian border.[70] Unfortunately for the Soviet party leadership, this approach was becoming increasingly unsustainable due to rapid political and economic changes shaping the social reality in the mid-1970s and changes in Soviet foreign policy in the early years of the détente. predicted that. Due to increasing pressure on the Soviet government to make a gesture of good will regarding the principles of the détente, in the last months of 1975, the Italian and Yugoslav Communists predicted that the more the Soviets got dragged into complex and exhausting negotiations with the United States, the more amenable they would become to compromise in Berlin. The Soviets, however, would also not want to miss an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how much influence the Soviet party still held over many leftist parties in Western Bloc countries.[71] It is difficult to assess the impact events such as the KKE and PCE leaderships returning from exile, formal changes to PCF party ideology, or the PCI's success in the Italian elections may have had on the Soviet party's decision to open up talks about possible compromises with Eurocommunist parties and the LCY, which was also rapidly expanding its international influence.[72] An analysis of archival sources indicates that many contemporary observers from Yugoslavia and Italy believed these events had ushered in what they referred to as a 'long year' for European democratic socialism and strengthened the Eurocommunist parties and their Yugoslav allies' position in Berlin. This had to some degree influenced the Soviet party's decision to seek compromise amidst growing opposition to its weakening control over the European far left.[73]

According to reports from LCY party offices, a compromise was reached only a few

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68 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-550, Analysis of a conversation between LCY member Alexander Gličko and member of CK PCI Giancarlo Pajetta, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-551, Reports on meetings between S. Dolanc and G. Pajetta.

69 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-317, Analyses of reports on a meeting between the LCY and PCF delegations.

70 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Materials for preparing the LCY delegation for the Berlin Conference.

71 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-542-571, Reports about meetings held between members of the LCY and the PCI Departments for International Relations, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-522-536, Recorded conversations with PCI leadership.

72 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-110-162, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-426-513, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-779-825, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-255-290, Information about cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, PCF, PCE and KKE.

73 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Analysis of the LCY delegation's work and achievements. AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Outcomes of the European Worker's party Conference in Berlin.

weeks after the conference's official opening in Berlin in the summer of 1976. It included an informal agreement that the Eurocommunist parties and the Yugoslav Communists would sign a specific part of the conference declaration about the collective willingness among the European leftist parties to uphold the principles of détente; in return, the Soviet party would formally recognize that the Eurocommunist and LCY reforms did not call into question the Marxist spirit of their old and new party ideologies. The Soviet party would also offer support for further reforms of political practices (but not changes in ideology) by individual European Marxist parties that were in line with the unique and rapidly changing social realities in Western Bloc countries.[74] From a modern-day perspective, this may seem to have been nothing more than a symbolic recognition of an already completed historical process, but the writers of the archival documents analyzed here went to almost unprecedented lengths to emphasize the importance this symbolic recognition had for the LCY and PCI party leaderships and those of their contemporary counterparts from other parties of the European far left.[75] For the Yugoslav and Italian Communists, this was a historic victory. Some contemporary analysts, however, considered the conference a 'Pyrrhic victory' for Brezhnev, but this was an assessment based on Soviet foreign interests and was outside the context of the long-term process on the European far left.[76] For the LCY and PCI leaderships, the conclusion of the conference was a symbolic victory that ended over a decade of debate with the Eastern Bloc parties over increased reformist influence on the global left, a testament to their independence from the Soviet party and their growing influence with Marxist parties in Europe and abroad. It was also a major asset for their domestic political propaganda, which would present the success of the reforms as what put the LCY and the Eurocommunist parties in a position from they could successfully negotiate a compromise with the Soviets and other Eastern parties.[77]

5. The Zenith of Yugoslav Influence on the European Far Left and the Road to Insignificance

Even outside the conference rooms in Berlin, Josip Broz Tito and Enrico Berlinguer spent many hours in cordial, confidential conversations about the LCY and PCI's future plans to expand the influence of their informal group, already referred to as the reformist bloc of the Marxist parties, beyond the Mediterranean into the sphere of European politics and the undefined and seemingly borderless yet ever-expanding sphere of the global far left that lay outside the limitations of the labor movement's international institutions.[78] Upon his return to Yugoslavia, the aging LCY leader enthusiastically issued instructions to party offices and Yugoslav state institutions to consider what future actions could be taken to help

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74 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-543-555, Analysis of the correspondence between the institutions of LCY and PCI.

75 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on cooperation with worker's parties and unions in Italy, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-426-513, Reports on PCI attitudes toward other European Marxist parties.

76 Osadczuk-Korab 1976:178–193; McGregor 1978: 339–360.

77 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/I-110-162, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-426-513, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 33/I-779-825, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-255-290, Reports on cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, PCF, PCE and KKE.

78 AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Reports from the Yugoslav delegation present in Berlin, AJ, KPR, I-2/68, Berlin Conference of 1976, Analysis of the LCY delegation's work and achievements.

expand cooperation between the Italian and French Communists and the ruling parties in Italy and France, and to organize and finance various ways to bring together Eurocommunists and socialist labor unions across Western Europe.[79] After returning to Italy, Berlinguer reopened negotiations with Aldo Moro about the PCI's informal participation in the new Italian government. They would be brought even closer together through a new historic compromise between the Communists, Socialists, and Christian Democrats: Welfare state policies would be further expanded in Italy in exchange for Communist support to finally put an end to the revolts by far-right and far-left terrorist organizations and stabilize the political crises in Italy.[80]

Just a few weeks after the Berlin conference, the LCY and PCI delegations met to discuss two main topics: organizing a large political initiative by many major and minor European left-wing parties and movements to strengthen the foundations of the continental welfare state, and organizing discussion forums about expanding cooperation between Eurocommunists and communist or socialist parties in the Middle East, Africa, and South America whose party ideologies had evolved in a similar manner to those used in designing reforms of the Yugoslav socialist model.[81] Through personal contacts with Santiago Carrillo and other members of the PCE leadership, the LCY and PCI were able initiate negotiations about expanding their individual cooperation with influential communist parties in the Far East, and about the possibility of East Asian parties outside the Soviet sphere of influence taking part in new international Marxist initiatives organized by Eurocommunist parties with support from the LCY.[82] After almost a decade of developing and stalling, the LCY and PCI's plans to use a Mediterranean conference as a forum for discussions about cooperation between European communist and socialist parties finally came to fruition. In 1977 and 1978 socialist parties and movements from Mediterranean countries took part in conferences organized by the communist parties of Italy, Spain, and France that were substantially financed by the LCY.[83]

However, contemporaries from this period, which was soon recognized by the Western European press as a time of reformist enthusiasm among the Marxists could not possibly have known that many of the Yugoslav and Italian Communists' ambitious plans would never be realized. After an initial increase in the popularity of PCE and KKE following the return of Spanish and Greek Communists to politics in their respective countries, the number of votes cast for the two prominent and symbolically significant communist parties began to decline, which the Spanish and Greek Communists themselves had predicted as an inevitable outcome of declining fears of right-wing dictatorships regaining power or initiating another civil war.[84] While the shocking events following the kidnapping and death of Aldo Moro disrupted the unfinished rapprochement between the Italian Communists and the Christian Democrats, the French Communists found themselves

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79 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-541-554, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-295-313, Information on relations with the PCI and PCF.

80 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-549, Analysis of conversations between Stane Dolanc and Enrico Berlinguer.

81 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-543-555, Analysis of correspondence between the institutions of the LCY and PCI.

82 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-109, Information about the visits of PCE General Secretary Santiago Carrillo to North Korea, China, and Japan, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 122/1-110, Reports on a conversation between J.B. Tito and S. Carrillo.

83 AJ, SSRNJ, A-074-078, International cooperation, Reports on Mediterranean conferences.

84 AJ, SKJ,507-IX,122/I-110-162, AJ, SKJ,507-IX,33/I-779-825, Information on cooperation with PCE and KKE.

locked in a bitter rivalry with the Socialist Party faction led by the future president Francios Mitterrand. They were ultimately unable to get past their disagreements with other major leftist parties and exploit the last time in the history of the twentieth century when French politics was dominated by left-wing parties and labor unions.[85]

Lastly, gradual changes in Yugoslav domestic policies managed to cast a shadow over the LCY's role as the creator of an exemplary model for the internal democratization of communist parties, a role that would only expand in the years to come. The first cracks in relations between the Eurocommunist parties and the LCY can be seen at the very zenith of Yugoslav influence over the European far left. Analyses of archival sources indicate that the Yugoslav Communists were somewhat concerned about the sincerity of their relations with Eurocommunists. They were particularly worried about their close friends from the PCI after they were not fully informed about private conversations in Madrid in 1977 between Berlinguer, Marchais, and Carrillo during an official meeting of Eurocommunist leaders.[86] Even before Tito's death and the beginning of the economic, and later political, crises in Yugoslavia, the Italian Communists were already openly questioning the direction Yugoslav state and party ideology was taking as a result of the events of 1972 and 1974.[87] In the early 1980s, a new generation of Italian and Spanish reformists began criticizing Berlinguer and Carrillo for maintaining close ties with the Yugoslav party leadership, which was increasingly being seen as not being sufficiently reformed, democratic, or decentralized and was thus stagnating in comparison to the Eurocommunist parties. Finally, when Tito's successors declared their support for the French party's decision to end Eurocommunist reform, the Italian, Spanish, and Greek Communists began referring to the Yugoslav party-the same party that had created their former ideals for reformist policies and the democratic socialist model-as a Marxist party of the Eastern Bloc outside the Iron Curtain.[88]

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85 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-633-688, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 30/I-339-356, Information about the meetings and correspondence with the party institutions of PCI and PCF.

86 AJ, SKJ, Ideological commission, II/2-b-(244-252), Materials from the session of the federal Ideological Commission regarding the worker's movements in Europe, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-543-555, Analysis of correspondence between the institutions of the LCY and PCI.

87 AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-513-626, Reports on the development of cooperation with the PCI.

88 AJ, SKJ,507-IX,122/I-110-162, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX,33/I-779-825, AJ, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-633-688, Information on cooperation with PCI, PCE and KKE.

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ЛУКА ФИЛИПОВИЋ
Институт за савремену историју, Београд

ЈУГОСЛАВИЈА И ЕВРОКОМУНИСТИЧКЕ ПАРТИЈЕ ТОКОМ "ДУГЕ ГОДИНЕ' ЕВРОПСКОГ ДЕМОКРАТСКОГ СОЦИЈАЛИЗМА (1974–1976)

Резиме

Други процеси проширивања сарадње Савеза комуниста Југославије и комунистичких партија Италије, Шпаније и Грчке значајно су убрзани током оних догађаја у земљама Западне Европе који су обележили време које ће касније бити означено као "дуга година' демократског социјализма у Европи. Од 1974. па до 1976. године, дошло је до завршетка више од пола века дугог циклуса успона и падова војних диктатура и режима крајње деснице на Медитерану, што је омогућило повратак комуниста на политичке позорнице Шпаније и Грчке, до великих изборних успеха и јачања политичке позиције Комунистичке партије Италије, која је убрзо ступила у преговоре са демохришћанском струјом Алда Мора о неформалном учешћу у раду будуће владе, као и до званичне промене партијске идеологије Комунистичке партије Француске на XX Конгресу француских комуниста, на коме се француска партија коначно определила за еврокомунизам. Сви ови догађаји дешавали су се у време брзог смењивања зближавања и сукоба комунистичких партија Источног и Западног блока, и током дебата вођених у Берлину између представника реформистичких и конзервативних партија које су обележиле двогодишње припреме за одржавање велике Конференције радничких партија Европе 1976. године. Југословенска партија подржавала је еврокомунисте током сукоба са партијама Источног блока, пружала финансијску и друге врсте помоћи грчким и шпанским комунистима у земљи и у емиграцији, посредовала у преговорима између италијанских социјалиста, комуниста и демохришћана, као и између француских комуниста и социјалиста. Заједно са Комунистичком партијом Италије, Савез комуниста Југославије учествовао је у организацији различитих форми окупљања и планирању заједничких политичких иницијатива све бројнијих партија крајње европске левице које су своју идеологију дефинисале следећи принципе демократског социјализма и које су напустиле покушаје прилагођавања бољшевичког социјалистичког модела локалним историјским и друштвеним посебностима. Наведене активности југословенских комуниста допринеле су проширивању утицаја Савеза комуниста Југославије у сфери односа партија крајње европске левице, па је југословенска партија достигла зенит свог утицаја како на европској левици тако и у институцијама Међународног радничког покрета, који ће непосредно претходити удаљавању СКЈ од еврокомунистичких партија.

Кључне речи: Еврокомунизам, демократски социјализам, држава благостања, Хладни рат, Савез комуниста Југославије, Јосип Броз Тито, Енрико Берлингуер.

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REVIEWS

Tamara Scheer, *Die Sprachenvielfalt in der österreichisch-ungarischen Armee (1867–1918)*, Wien: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum/ Militärhistorische Institut, 2022, 431 pages.

The Austro-Hungarian army was a significant presence in social and political life in the monarchy. In the eyes of Emperor Franz Joseph, it remained one of the cohesive factors and pillars of the state itself. During the interwar period and after World War II, many of the national historiographies of Balkan and Central European countries portrayed it as a great power that had compromised the safety and very existence of Serbs, Croats, Romanians, and others. A significant number of historians have focused on the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Deák, Rothenberg), but this book by Dr. Tamara Scheer undeniably deserves special attention when considering one of the most complex aspects of the monarchy's history—its army.

Dr. Scheer's monograph raises numerous important questions related to how the Austro-Hungarian army was organized, particularly regarding the chain of command and the way soldiers were addressed in everyday language and commands, all of which are relevant for an understanding of everyday life. Scheer focuses specifically on the structure of the army itself and the relations among those within it during the period following the settlement (Ausgleich) of 1867, which is the basis for understanding every issue that arose following it. As Scheer undeniably demonstrates, political relations between key players in both Vienna and Budapest were frequently fraught with conflicts over this important issue.

It is particularly important to stress just how complicated issues were around language within the context of the political events that unfolded after the settlement. For instance, the matter of language was perceived by Serbs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians as a part of Magyarization. Similarly, language was intrinsically related to the question of ethnicity and how they should be resolved. Scheer analyzes this by drawing from the latest findings in historiography (from Judson, Cornwall, Deák, and Becker) related to everyday life, language, communication, and politics within the wider European context of nineteenth century bureaucracy. At this time, due to the nature of their employment in the military, administration, or bureaucracy, many people were expected to read and speak more than one language, which creates additional challenges for researchers. I believe Dr. Scheer has very much succeeded in overcoming them.

When analyzing the developments within the military after the settlement—changes in laws and regulations and the issues facing the officers' corps that were caused by them—which Scheer focuses most of her attention on, it becomes even clearer how complex and multifaceted this topic is. Personnel changes in the War Ministry were frequent, and the division into commands came with serious problems related to language related to both the language in which orders were given and relations with local populations. The education of future officers was complicated by the issue of language and how languages were taught (for example, Serbian and Croatian), and by issues regarding units of soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Vienna and Graz. One of the more interesting topics Scheer tackles is that of language tutors in military schools in 1872, which may seem less significant but proved to be an important one in practice. In a command system as complex as this one, such problems were part of a much broader mosaic, one that Scheer touches on when analyzing critical situations. An entire segment of a chapter is given to a detailed statistical analysis of the in which commands were exchanged between officers and soldiers. Scheer demonstrates that this statistical data is

just one aspect, whereas the reality depicted in historical sources paints a very different picture.

The chapter "Das Sprachensystem der k.u.k Armee (Die Reglemntierung der Sprachenvielfalt in der österreichisch-ungarischen Armee)" provides an in-depth analysis by presenting numerous archival documents and newspaper excerpts illustrating how difficult it was to manage the army and organize it as an efficient defense system crucial to the monarchy's integration and integrity. With the 1876 reforms and regulations (and the 1910 regulations in Hungary), it becomes clearer how frequent complicated events unfolding within the military corps generated numerous issues and even national crises. This chapter presents a large amount of information to help further explain political developments within the monarchy, which will be of significant value for future scholars. Scheer then dives into a detailed analysis of individual regiments and the languages used in them by providing additional explanations related to every milieu within the regiments and the overarching military, and she focuses in particular on the problems that arose among officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers. She also addresses the choice of prayer books and liturgy for religious services within the Austro-Hungarian army. Scheer uses numerous examples to successfully illustrate the complexities of communication and the everyday practice of common prayers.

Complex relations between officers, as much as their ethnic background and that of their families, affected how officers perceived each other and what their position in society was. Most officers spoke German fluently, but they were also expected to also speak at least Hungarian or Czech. More often than not, they were not able to, or at least not well enough. Scheer substantiates this by drawing on excellent historical sources originating from analyses of the officers' geographic origins from across the monarchy, ranging from Galicia to Croatia and Slavonia. The situation within individual regiments was somewhat different because there were not many officers who could speak other languages or were willing to learn them. It is clear that the general staff and the War Ministry were slow and not overly persistent in addressing this, which became a reason for much criticism later on.

Scheer also touches on other important issues, such as the quality of textbooks officers used for learning languages, the time allocated for language lessons, and the ideas propagated by the War Ministry regarding the necessity of learning languages spoken by the peoples surrounding the monarchy. With detailed insight into *Qualifikationsliste*, Scheer analyzed information on the languages spoken by officers, including the languages they spoke before joining the corps. By providing personal examples from archives, along with autobiographies and journals kept by officers, she vividly illustrates the various tactics officers employed to avoid learning foreign languages and changing regiments. In addition, several memorable stories help illustrate the positions Emperor Franz Joseph and Archduke Franz Ferdinand took regarding these issues.

Reserve officers, how they were educated, and the problems they faced when communicating with high-ranking officers are also analyzed in detail. Once again, the discrepancies between languages spoken by officers and those used to communicate within individual regiments appear to have been ongoing. An analysis of the civilian staff employed by the army and attached to regiments, including physicians, pharmacists, and priests, was particularly interesting because they included reserve officers. In her distinct style, Scheer once again uses a sequence of personal stories to illustrate the extent to which the system lacked harmony and alignment between various parts of the monarchy, which created difficulties for the army and the general staff. The section on priests and their education, training, and work methods is particularly dynamic and pivotal to the entire chapter.

The chapter "Die Sprachenvielfalt im öffentichen Raum" is one of most interesting for scholars. At the very beginning Scheer compares the lives of soldiers stationed at different garrisons in various parts of the monarchy, where they inevitably integrated into civilian society, and the political debates engaged in by parties in the press and in parliament. The author describes

everyday life in garrisons in a dynamic and interesting way, almost as if she were a narrator. Whether it was regular military duties or maneuvers and parades, there were countless occasions when locals came into contact with soldiers, which often led to situations that needed to be managed, which she recounts through anecdotes. Overcoming these often required the services of interpreters. Specifically, the use of the German became an issue beyond everyday operations for the army, and it eventually became a political issue discussed and written about in the press in many corners of the monarchy. Scheer dedicates a separate segment to analyzing the effect the political system had on the issue of language in the monarchy and its army. Numerous examples are provided in this chapter to substantiate her contention that there was a strong correlation between finding a solution for the national question and the use of languages in the army. Scheer pays particular attention to the crisis caused by Count Badeni and the ensuing Hungarian Debate, which eventually resulted in Hungarian being recognized as the official language of Honvéd. The issues arising from the use of Hungarian took more than three decades between 1868 to 1904/1905 to resolve. This often affected political relations between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy and further fueled discontent among the officers and soldiers who were not allowed to decide for themselves what languages the army used.

Another particularly important issue Scheer tackles in detail in "Die Sprachenvielfalt im Ersten Weltkrieg" is day-to-day interactions between officers. Everyday life for soldiers has often been neglected in the historiography, but here Scheer provides a fresh outlook by producing a substantial number of sources such as archival documents, memoires, and journals, and compiles them into a separate chapter illustrating all sorts of drama, dynamics, fears, and emotions. When soldiers are viewed through this new lens, the motifs, desires and hopes that drove them throughout their years of service become all the more vivid.

Nevertheless, it is equally interesting to also gain insight into soldiers' lives in times of peace through their jokes, problems, misunderstandings, solidarity among officers, and the everyday anecdotes that make up the essence of daily life. However, the difficulties related to compiling this segment focusing on the everyday life of ordinary soldiers in times of war and peace must also be considered. Scheer nevertheless succeeds in presenting this segment to her readers in a very skillful and balanced manner. It is precisely this style of presentation, grounded in methodologically transparent segmentation and integration of archival sources and the important literature, that enables her to create an image of the entire military corps through the lens of language. Complicated and difficult ways of operating, endless regulations and legal provisions, problems facing the general staff and officer corps—all of these perspectives are shown to be being integral to a soldier's daily life. It was a challenging one, even in everyday conflicts that would all come to a head with the outbreak of and during World War I.

The Great War came with a number of complex tasks and difficulties for the Austro-Hungarian army. Campaign plans that encompassed multiple strategic directions—Galicia, the Balkans, and Italy after the spring of 1915—resulted in numerous operational problems that were additionally complicated by the issue of language. The manner and speed of commands, the official language of communication, and multinational units instead of ethnically homogeneous armies (as in the Balkans), were objective problems for the Austro-Hungarian army. Starting with the first days of mobilization, Scheer taps into a narrative of the officers' need to speak their regiments' languages due to numerous difficulties related to coordination, especially with events developing rapidly on all fronts in 1914 and 1915. The losses suffered by the army were not easy to compensate, and it became necessary to deploy reserve officers. The issue of Jewish soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian units is also given considerable attention. With equal meticulousness, in a dynamic manner, and substantiated with ample sources, Scheer addresses physicians and priests and the problems involved in recruiting them as part of her effort to illustrate how they cared for the soldiers' physical and spiritual well-being. The

sense of isolation experienced by soldiers and the roads taken by prisoners of war taken by the Austro-Hungarian army that Scheer describes also add an important element to this mosaic. Disloyalty and suspicions of treason— both related to issues around ethnicity—undoubtedly affected how the army operated during the Great War, which Scheer very competently analyzes. Archival sources provide the basis for a nuanced picture of the complex problems faced by the Austro-Hungarian soldiers fighting in World War I.

Dr. Tamara Scheer's monograph represents a major milestone for research into the Austro-Hungarian army. Her analyses and conclusions are as original as they are well-substantiated by sound historical sources. *Die Sprachenvielfalt in der österreichisch-ungarischen Armee (1867–1918)* is highly recommended reading and an abundant source of inspiration for further exploration into the topics it addresses. Dr. Scheer's conclusions have come as a result of years of research and analysis and place her among the leading scholars of the history of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Goran Vasin

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Danijel Radović, *Jovan Ristić (1829–1899): A Biography of Serbian Statesman*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2023, 721 pages.
(Danijel Radović, *Jovan Rajić (1829–1899). Biografija srpskog državnika*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2023, 721 str.)

It is difficult even to enumerate all the roles played by Jovan Ristić, who was without question one of the most prominent political figures in nineteenth century Serbia. His presence in Serbian political life began with Serbian Uprising of 1848 as a student and revolutionary. Ristić later served as the Serbian envoy to Constantinople and twice as regent, helped draft a new constitution, served as prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, was the head of the Liberal Party and the Serbian Royal Academy, among others. He was a rarity among his contemporaries - a *homo pluriae tempi* - one of the rare personalities who found himself at the pinnacle of the Serbian political establishment at different and consequential times. Unlike other figures with similar qualities, for instance Nikola Hristić - the Summary criminal courts man - Ristić was able to maintain his position by taking a balanced approach toward the crown, which meant being neither too humble nor too defiant in his dealings with the head of state.

Considering all this, it is no wonder that parts of Ristić's life and work have been the subject of a vast number of scholarly works. However, despite the tremendous amount of existing literature, there are regrettably very few comprehensive biographies of this distinguished statesman. This leaves open an opportunity to fill this existing vacuum, but it also leaves scholars vulnerable to criticisms of conducting insufficient research.

Danijel Radović, a research associate at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade has authored a 721 page monograph on Jovan Ristić's life and work entitled *Jovan Ristić (1829–1899): biografija srpskog državnika*, published in Novi Sad in 2023 by Prometej, which has successfully filled this intolerable vacuum in Serbian historiography with extensive research that leaves almost no room for potential criticism.

Despite the Radović 's modest statement that "one should not hold the belief that a few hundred pages will reveal everything about Ristić" (p. 20), his book covers every significant part of Ristić's public and private life, starting with convincing evidence of 1829 as the year of his birth rather than 1831, which has even been carved on his tombstone (p. 29).

The book comprises seventeen chapters organized chronologically, and except for the introduction (*Uvod: povesnik i biografija*) and conclusion (*Zaključak: srećna zvezda državnika*), each is divided into subsections. The titles of the chapters and subsections explain their content very concisely (for instance, "Ustav 'od korica do korica'" [The Constitution from Cover to Cover], an extract from King Milan's statement at the beginning of the constitutional convention in 1888

explaining how this new supreme legal act should be adopted). Radović's monograph is on sound footing drawn from all relevant published and unpublished sources, literature, and the press. There are several groups of sources the author drew from to illustrate Ristić's life and work in its totality that are of particular significance. Examples of these are archivalia from Heldelberg University, which contain Ristić's autobiography (see, for example, the subsection "Srpski sokak na Nekaru" [A Serbian *sokak* on the Neckar], documents kept in the Prussian Secret State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation referenced in the subsection "Spectemur agendo," and the Political Archives of Foreign Service referenced in the subsection subchapter "Promisao Božja i ljudski razum" [God's Providence and Human Reason], both in Berlin, and Ristić's legacy preserved in the private belongings of his descendants referenced in the subsection "Iza zatvorenih vrata - portret i porodica" [Behind Closed Doors - A Portrait and A Family]).

Radović has also successfully avoided the potential pitfall of writing a monograph solely of interest to a narrow circle of historians by ending his work with interesting anecdotes about Ristić's private life. A careful reader will notice that Ristić's wife Sofija was "authorized" by her husband to expel their sons Mihailo and Milan from the family home if they did not properly respect her mother or fell into a disappointing or disorderly life (p. 638). The statesman was also a disciplined walker and maintained a healthy exercise habit (even twice a day) into his old age (p. 644).

The depiction of Ristić's personality Radović shares with his readers suggests Ristić as a private individual should be judged in the same way as his political and public persona - as someone who avoided extremes. Radović states that Ristić's chief historiographic works - *Spoljašnji odnošaji Srbije novijega vremena* (Serbian Foreign Relations in more Recent Times) and *Diplomatska istorija Srbije za vreme srpskih ratova za oslobođenje i nezavisnost 1875–1878* (A Diplomatic History of Serbia During the Serbian Wars for Liberation and Independence, 1875–1878) met all the scholarly standards of their time (p. 16). Radović also emphasizes Ristić's steadfastness at critical moments such as when Serbia stood at a precipice during the Serbian-Turkish wars and the somewhat disappointing outcome of the Congress of Berlin (p. 416). Nevertheless, Radović does not shy away from corroborating Ristić's adversaries' oft repeated accusation that, as regent, he altered records of interrogations of suspected accomplices to Prince Mihailo's assassination (p. 186).

The author's stylistic expression is an ideal balance between scholarly writing and colorful literary prose. This juxtaposition is also evident in some of the tiles of chapters and sections such as "Namesnik" (The Regent) alongside "Jabuka razdora" (The Apple of Discord), "Odbrana i poslednji dani" (The Defense and the Last Days), "Poniženi i uvređeni" (Humiliated and Insulted). Relatively short sentences of such quality make Radović's monograph easily readable for the general public.

Taking all of this into consideration, the monograph *Jovan Ristić (1829– 1899): biografija srpskog državnika* should be viewed as a superb contribution to Serbian historiography and among the most highly recommended works.

Uroš Stanković
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