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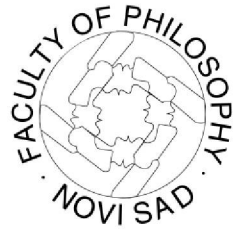

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LITERARY TESTIMONY OF ILLNESS AND DEATH IN THE EPISTOLOGRAPHY OF PLINY THE YOUNGER

Abstract: In his literary letters, one of the first of its kind in Roman literature, Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus writes about various topics concerning the everyday life of Romans. His collection consists of stylistically revised (*epistulae curatius scriptae*/*litterae curiosius scriptae*) actual letters addressed to family members and friends, which the author personally selected and published. Although Pliny is considered an optimistic writer, the epistolary part of his work is often intertwined with topics related to various diseases and health conditions, aging, (premature) death, suicides, and as a counterweight to all this is the omnipresent desire for fame and immortality.

The aim of this paper is to shed more light on the phenomenon of illness and death from a literary aspect. We will explore relevant excerpts and provide a broader picture when looking at this topic. Literary creativity was Pliny's greatest pleasure and the path to immortality. His letters, full of piety for ancestors and care for descendants, should guide us nowadays.

Keywords: Pliny the Younger, literary epistolography, illness, death, immortality.

1. Introduction: Private Letters as Artistic Literature

Besides being the primary form of written communication in antiquity, letters evolved into a distinct genre of literary creation. Since the 4th century B.C., there existed the institution of the *open* letter, in which political proposals and opinions were expressed. Additionally, for promotional purposes, fictional and pseudonymous letters were written, while the letters of Alexander the Great, of which very few have survived, represented a kind of popular historiography.[1] Pliny the Younger is one of the first Roman authors who wrote and published *literary*, that is, stylistically edited actual letters, addressed to close individuals (*epistulae curatius scriptae/litterae curiosius scriptae*).[2] According to

[1] Cic. 1998: 20, preface by Dejan Matić.

[2] Plin. *Ep*. 1. 1.1. In addressing his friend Septicius, who had encouraged him to write, Pliny himself states that

the ancient definition attributed to Demetrius of Phaleron,[3] a letter is *a halved dialogue*, a conversation between two people physically separated (*sermo absentium*), and therefore, careful attention must be paid to the writing style, particularly in letters intended for publication. Thus, it could be stated that Pliny's actual recipient reflects a broad Roman audience. Given the high mortality rate in antiquity,[4] a significant number of letters were dedicated specifically to diseases and, consequently, to dying. From the perspective of funerary studies, archaeological and epigraphic evidence is rightly prioritized, although literary works represent a relevant source for studying this topic. Based on the analysis of relevant excerpts, we will attempt to examine how illness and death were perceived in Roman society and culture at the beginning of the Common Era and how these themes were addressed in the form of letters. For clarity and in order to follow the development of the author's thoughts, examples will largely be presented in the order in which they appear in the collection, although they will also be grouped by theme.

The epistolary portion of Pliny's work comprises 368 letters arranged into ten books. The first nine books were composed and published during the period from 79 to 109 AD, totaling 247 letters, while the tenth book, which includes the correspondence with Emperor Trajan during Pliny's tenure as governor of Bithynia and Pontus, was written between 111 and 113 AD and published posthumously. This book encompasses 121 letters from both correspondents and is distinguished from the others by its content and length. The reason for the inclusion of Pliny the Younger's official correspondence with Trajan alongside his private artistic letters lies in the fact that, at the turn of the era, no distinct boundary was drawn between official and private writings; both were received on the same interpretive level as art–*ars*.[5]

2. Immortality as a Motif in Pliny's Letters and Creative Work

According to the theoretical principles preserved through antiquity, literary letters were expected to be characterized by brevity, a clear and refined form, an elegant writing style, wit, and approachability, with a preference for addressing lighter topics suitable for this literary form. Additionally, they could present a historical event, a scientific problem, or offer moral instruction and encouragement in an engaging manner. Letters could serve as a form of entertainment for the recipient and, subsequently, for a broader reading audience. Pliny composed his letters within such theoretical frameworks. His style reflects the literary conventions of ancient epistolography, combining simplicity with elegance, enriched with descriptions and comparisons. He regarded letter writing as a type of scholastic exercise aimed at refining one's style.

The introductory letters, serving as a brief preface and an author's note to the entire collection, begin with a distinctive motif of immortal fame that intellectual work brings

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he has gathered and refined his letters, but that he does not adhere to their chronological order in their publication, since, as he notes, he was not writing a historical work.

3 Dem. Phal. *Eloc*. 223–224. More about the authorship of the definition and the development of epistolography can be found in the paper: Prtija 2022.

4 Hope 2007: 1.

5 Cic. 1998: 20, preface by Dejan Matić.

to its authors.[6] In ancient literature, from Homer onward, poets were aware of the enduring nature of their written works. Literary creation, as the greatest source of fulfillment, represented humanity's struggle against mortality even in Pliny's era.[7] Inspired by his friends' requests to write, he, in the third letter of the first book, advises the historian Caninius Rufus–who was documenting Trajan's wars with the Dacians–in a similar spirit:

> Why not assign those shallow and shoddy concerns to others, for it's time you did, and apply yourself to your books in this time of boundless and slothful retirement? Make this your business and leisure, your work and relaxation. Devote your waking hours to this, and your sleeping hours too. Create something and shape it, so that it becomes yours for ever.[8]

Like Horace and Ovid,[9] Pliny compares poetry to a monument, as everything else human in nature is fragile, transient, and subject to decay and oblivion.[10] As we shall see in many of his later letters, he is driven by a desire for fame among future generations: he wishes for his name to be remembered and for his work to be admired, just as he admires the great Cicero and his contemporary Tacitus.[11] The transience of human existence fills him with sorrow; even the deepest old age makes human life appear short and limited. Through noble deeds, diligent reading, and the pursuit of knowledge, one must extend one's existence so as to leave behind a testament to future generations that we once lived.[12]

These motifs permeate the entire collection of his letters, and we can conclude that they serve as both the foundation and inspiration for Pliny's literary endeavors. His writings predominantly depict leisurely daily life, current events in the courtroom and the city, descriptions of villas, learned discussions on oratory, and the works he writes. Since illness and death are inextricable parts of everyday life, it is through letters on these topics that we perceive Pliny's profound sensitivity, selflessness, and concern for others. Although this literary form contains very few artificial embellishments, empty phrases, or examples of text lacking substance, which makes writing a letter with lasting and universal value challenging,[13] Pliny's letters still abound with diverse emotions and personal reflections.

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6 Pliny's letters have literary and linguistic value (Plinije 1982: 11, preface by Branko Gavela), and with their diverse content, they also provide direct insight into a specific historical moment (Alade 2021: 253), deepening its context. To check how successful Pliny was in his intention to gain immortal fame through literary work, see the paper: Fort 2012.

7 Plin. *Ep*. 2.10; 9.3.

8 Plin. *Ep*. 1.3.3–4. This and all the following quotes are cited according to the publication: Plinius G. Younger, *Complete Letters*, trans. Peter Walsh, Oxford: University press, 2006.

9 Hor. *Car*. 3.30, 1; Ov. *Met*. 25.871. More on the comparison of literary creation with the construction of monuments as symbols of something lasting and imperishable: Đurić 2024.

10 Plin. *Ep*. 2.10.4.

11 *Ibid*. 1.5.8; 6.16.1; 8.20.

12 *Ibid*. 3.7.11–15.

13 Plinije 1982: 5, preface by Branko Gavela.

3. Pliny's Testimonies on Illness and Death

3.1. Marcus Aquilius Regulus

Senator, high priest, and notable orator Marcus Aquilius Regulus is one of the rare individuals about whom Pliny speaks negatively, writing hostile letters about him. Regulus was an infamous informant during the reigns of Nero and Domitian. Pliny mentions him as early as the first book, noting that Regulus rejoices in the death of his rival to the extent of reciting and publishing a book attacking him.[14] From this example, it becomes evident that certain Romans, like the aforementioned Regulus, did not hesitate to criticize their deceased enemies, sometimes going to great lengths by publishing malicious pamphlets against them. It can be said that the respect for the dead or any fear of them, embodied in the ancient adage *de mortuis nihil nisi bene* ("of the dead, speak nothing but good"), was present in Roman society of that era. Pliny relies on this sentiment when writing these lines, underscoring Regulus's lack of restraint in the given situation as a particularly negative trait. On the other hand, Pliny expresses respect for Regulus's deceased only son, remarking that this was the one misfortune his adversary did not deserve. However, he also laments that even in mourning his son, Regulus behaved with excess and ostentation:

> The boy had many ponies, some harnessed in pairs and others unfettered for riding; he also had dogs, larger and smaller, nightingales, parrots, and blackbirds. Regulus slaughtered all of them around his funeral pyre. This was no grief, but a mere display of it. [15]

In said ostentation, Regulus knows no bounds:

> He decided to mourn his son; he mourns like no other. He decided to have the greatest possible number of statues and portraits of his son made; he sets to work on this in every studio, and has him fashioned in colours, wax, bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and marble. Recently, he gathered a huge audience and declaimed a biography of his son. It was a mere boy's life, but he nonetheless declaimed it. He had a thousand copies transcribed and dispatched throughout Italy and the provinces. He wrote letters to the authorities, asking town councillors to choose from among them their most articulate member to read each out before the citizens. This was done.[16]

In one of his later letters, written after Regulus had already passed away, Pliny admits that he often wished to face him in court, as Regulus appreciated oratory and put great effort into his speeches. However, being fully aware of Regulus's less admirable traits, Pliny openly remarks: "But whatever the merits of this, Regulus did well to die, and would have done better to die earlier".[17] Despite this blunt statement, the letter is not an invective against his greatest adversary. On the contrary, it serves as a sort of tribute to Regulus as a skilled master of the written word who achieved significant success in oratory.[18] Based on these excerpts,

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[14] Plin. *Ep*. 1.5.2.
[15] Plin. *Ep*. 4.2.3–4.
[16] *Ibid*. 6.7.1–2.
[17] *Ibid*. 6.2.4.
[18] *Ibid*. 6.2.

we can conclude that Pliny treated the deceased with a sense of respect. Evidence of this is the fact that, after this letter, he never mentions Regulus again. Namely, true eulogies and Pliny's profound sensitivity will become apparent in the analysis of the letters that follow.

3.2. Voluntary Death

Illness and death were an everyday reality for the Romans, which can be concluded from the frequent presence of these themes in Pliny's epistolography. The first in a series of letters is about Corellius Rufus, who, at the age of thirty-three, fell ill with gout in his legs. In his youth, he managed the disease through moderation and a disciplined lifestyle, but as he grew older, the illness spread throughout his body. He fought with patience and self-restraint, but eventually decided to end his life through starvation (*abstinebat cibo*). Neither the pleas of his wife nor his daughter could stop him, nor even Pliny, who was called upon to help persuade him against this idea after he had fasted for several days. Pliny does not pass a moral judgment on the act of suicide,[19] but he outlines the reasons why Corellius should have remained alive, and even cautiously shows some understanding of his decision:

> Corellius Rufus has died–in fact, it was suicide, which aggravates my pain, as it is the most grievous form of death when it is seen to occur neither naturally nor inevitably. For whatever the circumstances of death by disease, the very fact of necessity is a great consolation, whereas in the case of those taken from us by suicide, our grief is irreparable, because we believe that they could have had a long life. In fact, Corellius was constrained by supreme reasoning, which for philosophers is the equivalent of necessity, and by conscious decision, yet he had numerous reasons for living–the highest rectitude, the highest repute, the greatest authority, and in addition to these, a daughter, a wife, a grandson, and sisters, and among all these cherished ones some true friends. But he was tormented by such a lengthy and harsh illness that these rewards for living were outweighed by reasons for dying.[20]

The sorrowful Pliny comforts himself by stating that Corellius was ill and old, having died at the age of sixty-seven, which, as he notes, is a long life even for the strongest of men. In this letter, it is clear that death was perceived as more tragic when it occurred to someone young and physically healthy, rather than in old age, following a prolonged illness.[21] Even after taking all of this into consideration, Pliny does not find solace, instead

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[19] Exploring the ethics of suicide in Pliny's letters, Alade concludes that in ancient Rome, suicide was not considered a mental or health issue that required medical assistance. The Romans even saw this act as a reflection of courage and honor, as they cared about how they would be perceived after their death. On the other hand, the Greeks did not view such an act with approval and did not organize the customary funerals for those who committed it. However, in the case of defeat in battle or war, they supported such a choice with the aim of protecting personal integrity and reputation, as well as the property they were defending. Alade 2021: 247–248; 253.

[20] Plin. *Ep.* 1.12.1–4.

[21] This is particularly emphasized in one of the letters Pl. *Ep*. 5.21.3: "But your further news is clearly not merely melancholy but also grievous, that Julius Avitus has died when returning from his post as quaestor, and that he died on board ship, far from his most affectionate brother, and far also from his mother and sisters. … The news is grievous also because this young man of such great talents has been snuffed out in his green years. He would have attained the highest eminence if his qualities had reached full maturity."
Also, *Ibid*. 7.30.1: "I am deeply pained by your loss of a pupil who, you write, showed outstanding promise. Of course, I realize that your studies have been hindered by his illness and death, for you are most attentive to

seeking an additional word or special comfort from his *absent correspondent*. The letters in which he reports the deaths of his friends often conclude with a request or reference to consolation. The motif of compassion and comfort is one of the most frequent themes in the collection of letters:

> So you must send me some words of consolation, but do not say, 'He was an old and sick man,' for I am aware of that. Make it something original and impressive, such as I have never heard or read before, for the consolations, such as I have heard and read, come to me unbidden, but are unequal to this great grief.[22]

The renowned advocate and consul, Silius Italicus, author of the epic *The Punic Wars*, also committed suicide by starvation (*inedia*) due to an incurable tumor. He died at the age of seventy-five, and as Pliny writes: "Until the day of his death, his life was happy and successful, except that he lost the younger of his two children. However, his elder son, the better of the two, is doing well and has, in fact, attained the consulship."[23]

It seems that it was not an uncommon occurrence for the sick to seek relief from their suffering in "voluntary death" (*mors voluntaria*), as Pliny calls it. Namely, his friend Titus Ariston had suffered for a long time, plagued by thirst and fever, and thus he gathered his friends to consult with doctors about the nature of his illness, deciding that he would seek an exit himself should the doctors declare the disease incurable. Although Pliny emphasizes that it was Titus's duty to heed the pleas of his wife, daughter, and even his friends, and to fight as long as there was hope for recovery, he does not condemn the thought of suicide:

> It is a tendency shared with many to hasten one's death under some impulse and emotional urge, but to ponder and weigh the motives for it, and then to adopt or abandon the decision to live or die as reason dictates, is the mark of a noble mind.[24]

Furthermore, in one of his letters, he states:

> The melancholy news is that Julius Valens is seriously ill. Yet this is not melancholy, since it is thought to be in his interest, for it is good for him to be delivered from his incurable illness with all possible speed.[25]

Since such cases of suicide were not uncommon, he sometimes expressed fear for his friends:

> This illness of yours, which is so persistent, frightens me, and, though I am aware of your supreme self-control, I fear that it may have an impact on your behaviour.[26]

However, in illness, one's best qualities emerge, for a person only desires to recover,

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all your obligations, and you show the most abundant affection toward all those of whom you approve."

22 *Ibid*. 1.12.13.

23 *Ibid*. 3.7.2.

24 *Ibid*. 1.22.10.

25 *Ibid*. 5.21.2.

26 *Ibid*. 7.1.1.

does not succumb to their weaknesses, is content with what they have, and is determined to live a happy life in moderation once healed:

> So I can briefly prescribe for you and for myself what philosophers try to teach in countless words and even in countless volumes: When restored to health, we are to persist in being what, when ill, we maintain that we will be.[27]

3.3. Attitude toward Meritorious Individuals

As is sometimes the case in today's time, creators in any field are often valued more after their death than during their lifetime; in praise of Pompeius Saturninus, it is written as follows:

> The fact that he is a living author ought not to prejudice his works. If he had flourished among men on whom we have never set eyes, we would be searching out not only his books but also his portraits. So are his distinction and popularity to wane because he is still with us and because we have had more than our fill of such writing? But it is wicked and spiteful to refrain from admiring a man wholly worthy of admiration, merely because it is our fortune to see and address and hear and embrace him, and bestow on him not only our praise but also our affection.[28]

Pliny also speaks highly of Titinius Capito's intention to erect a monument to his deceased friend Lucius Silanus in the city square:

> Loyalty and a sense of obligation are still observed among men, for there are some who maintain their friendship even with the dead. … For it is as noble and striking a gesture to erect a statue in the Forum of the Roman people as to be commemorated by one.[29]

Distinguished and meritorious Roman citizens could be buried at the state's expense. Pliny writes about the funeral of his guardian, Verginius Rufus,[30] a triple consul and commander of the Roman army in Germania. Clearly shaken, Pliny remarks that his public funeral provided the Roman people with a magnificent and unforgettable spectacle. The burial of such a man served as a great honor to the emperor and the era, as well as to public, judicial, and political oratory. This farewell was made even more majestic by the eloquent eulogy delivered by the consul and historian Cornelius Tacitus. Although Pliny laments his death as premature, and believes it to be close to a sin, since Verginius lived so gloriously and exemplarily that he will live on forever in the memory and conversations of people. It could be said that his death also stemmed from virtue. Namely, he had been preparing a speech in gratitude to the emperor for being elected consul for the third time. A heavy book fell from his hands, and when he bent down to pick it up, he slipped on the polished floor and fractured his hip. The injury did not heal properly, and due to his advanced age, he did not recover–but he still lived to the age of eighty-three.

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27 *Ibid*. 7.26.4.
28 *Ibid*. 1.16.8–9.
29 *Ibid*. 1.17.1–4.
30 *Ibid*. 2.1.

In one of his later letters, ten years after Verginius's death, Pliny complains to a friend that Verginius has been forgotten, that his modest monument remains unfinished due to neglect, and he ends the letter in a pessimistic tone, saying:

> Loyalty in friendship is so rare, and forgetfulness of the dead so habitual, that we ought even to erect our own monuments, and anticipate all the obligations of our heirs.[31]

In addition to grand funerals, honor was also expressed through triumphal statues. Pliny gives the example of the senator and consul Vestricius Spurinna and his prematurely deceased son Cotus, for whom statues were erected. These statues served as a reward for virtue and courage, and they provided comfort to the surviving family members. Spurinna had defeated the Germanic tribe of the Bructeri, and his son died during his absence. Although this was a rare occurrence, they erected a statue for the young man as well, in order to ascribe immortality to his short and difficult life and to ease the father's grief. Pliny sees a positive side to this act:

> As I see it, this distinction was not merely directed toward the memory of the dead man and to assuage the grief of his father, but also to be an inspiration to others. The establishment of such august rewards for our young men, as long as they are worthy of them, will incite our youth to practice the virtues. Our political leaders will likewise be encouraged to rear children, both by the joys they experience from those who survive, and by such glorious consolations from those who have been lost to them.[32]

Through the literary portrait of Vestricius Spurinna and a detailed description of his daily activities, Pliny provides a picture of an idyllic life in old age, which he himself aspires to:

> A well-ordered human existence gives me the same pleasure as the fixed course of the stars, especially so in the case of old men. The regimen that Spurinna most steadily maintains reflects this. With a sort of routine and fixed circuit, he undertakes in order those unimportant activities– unimportant, that is, except that they are carried out daily.[33]

Physical and intellectual activities alternated throughout the day according to a set routine, including walking, bathing, and sunbathing when the conditions allowed, playing ball, reading, and writing in *both languages* (Greek and Latin are implied), socializing, and sharing meals. As the vivid depiction of Spurinna's daily life suggests, the elderly should spend their days in the spirit of ancient *kalokagathia*, while for the young, Pliny shows a fatherly understanding and writes the following:

> A cluttered and disorganized mode of life is not at that stage inappropriate for the young, but for

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31 *Ibid*. 6.10.5.

32 *Ibid*. 2.7.5.

33 *Ibid*. 3.1.2. Unfortunately, Pliny did not live to a ripe old age; he passed away in his early fifties. His letters provide a valuable contribution to gerontological studies of the ancient world, as he wrote about the lives of elderly people in an unpretentious and realistic manner. More on this topic: Kebric 1983. The precise schedule of Spurinna's daily routine and Pliny's activities during their summer vacation in Tusculum can be found in the appendix of the paper: Winsor Leach 2003: 164–165.

> old people an entirely tranquil and well-ordered existence is apposite. For them, sustained activity is outdated, and ambition is degrading.[34]

One of the most touching letters in Pliny's collection is addressed to Vestricius and Cotia upon the death of their son Cotus. Writing a memorial for him, Pliny carefully and with chosen words asks the parents of the deceased young man to advise him on how best to execute this task:

> It is hard for you as yet to turn your mind to it in your grief. Yes, it is hard, but just as you would advise a sculptor or painter, when fashioning a representation of your son, what features he should emphasize or change, so you must mould and guide me in the same way, for I am trying to achieve a likeness not frail or fleeting, but one that is, in your opinion, immortal. The more authentic and fine and finished it will be, the longer it will survive.[35]

The fifth letter of the fifth book is a posthumous eulogy in honor of Gaius Fanius, a prominent Roman jurist and writer. Pliny highlights his virtues and laments his premature passing, as he did not have the time to complete the works he had begun, which were written thoroughly and diligently:

> For those at work on some immortal project, death seems to me to be always bitter and to come too early. For those who surrender to pleasure, and who live, so to say, for the day, each day forecloses their reasons for living. But for those who give thought to posterity, and prolong remembrance of themselves through their works, death at any time is too sudden, for it always cuts off some work which has been begun.[36]

3.4. Women Confronting Death

Women are sometimes the addressees[37] and main protagonists in Pliny's epistolography. Such letters often evolve into true panegyrics, such as the eulogy for Fania.[38] In addition to actual illnesses and deaths of women that he writes about, Pliny also speaks of famous examples *(exempla*) of female heroism from recent history. One notable instance is the bravery of Aria, the wife of Cecina Paetus, who participated in Scribonianus's conspiracy against Claudius. While Paetus was gravely ill, their son also fell ill and died. Aria managed the funeral rites in such a manner that her husband knew nothing of it. When he asked about their son, she replied that he was alive and improving, but once she left the room, she would burst into tears. When Paetus was condemned to suicide for his involvement in the conspiracy and hesitated to carry out the order, she took a dagger, drove it into her chest, and then handed it to her husband, saying the famous words: "Paetus, it

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34 *Ibid*. 3.1.2.

35 *Ibid*. 3.10.6.

36 *Ibid*. 5.5. 4.

37 Pliny writes very tenderly to his wife Calpurnia *Ibid*. 6.4; *Ibid*. 7.5; her aunt Calpurnia Hispulla *Ibid*. 4.19; *Ibid*. 8.11, as well as to the mother of his first wife, Pompeia Celerina *Ibid*. 1.4. He was also concerned for Cornelia Hispulla, the daughter of his mentor, Corelius Rufus. *Ibid*. 3.3; *Ibid*. 7.14. Sherwin-White 1969: 79 Emphasizes that Pliny was the first Roman to write love letters to his wife.

38 Plin. *Ep*. 7.19.

does not hurt!" (*Paete, non dolet!*).[39]

No less famous is the heroic deed of Pliny's fellow countrywoman, not as well-known as Aria, who also voluntarily departed from life along with her husband due to his severe illness:

> She urged him to die, and herself became his companion in death—or rather she led him, was his inspiration, and compelled him, for she roped herself to her husband, and threw herself into the lake.[40]

Although this practice was rare in Roman society, Pliny recounts the burial of the chief Vestal Virgin Cornelia due to her alleged violation of the vow of chastity. Emperor Domitian condemned her in absentia, without a trial, which, in Pliny's view, was a greater crime than the one for which she was being punished. According to custom, the Vestal Virgin was, while still alive, lowered into an underground chamber.[41]

On the other hand, what often occurred was death in childbirth, and this sad and bitter fate befell the sisters of Helvedius:

> I grieve, but my grief is within bounds. It is a cause for lamentation that girls of the highest calibre have been cut off by their fertility in the first flower of youth.[42]

The adjective "bitter" (*acerbus*) in a figurative sense was used to denote the death of a young person, akin to a fruit that has not ripened. In literary texts, the expression "bitter funeral" (*funus acerbum*) was used to signify any untimely death, but in inscriptions and legal documents, such as the municipal contract from Puteoli, the term specifically referred to two groups: free persons of any status and gender who died before the age of twenty-five, as well as slaves who died before or around the age of thirty, which represented the minimum number of years required for their manumission.[43]

One of the most poignant letters in Pliny's collection is dedicated to the death of Minicius Fundanus's younger daughter.[44] Deeply moved, Pliny describes the lovely girl as someone who deserved a long life and nearly immortality. Like Antigone, she died just before her wedding–a motif often found in literature:[45] "She was not yet fourteen, but had already embodied all the virtues of a mature woman."[46] Although the inscription on her tombstone, which Bodel suggests marks her grave,[47] states that Minicia lived for twelve years, eleven months, and nine days (*v(ixit) a(nnis) XII, m(ensibus) XI, d(iebus) VII*), Pliny refers to her as having lived fourteen. This age is commonly associated with the expected

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39 In examples from the past (*exempla*) that speak of people on their deathbeds, there is often a particular connection between their way of life and their last words: Pigoń 2005: 204.

40 Plin. *Ep.* 6.24.4–5.

41 *Ibid*. 4.11.

42 *Ibid*. 4.21.2.

43 Bodel 2016: 92.

44 Plin. *Ep*. 5.16.

45 Bodel 1995: 456.

46 Plin. *Ep*. 5.16.2.

47 CIL 6. 16631; Bodel 1995: 456.

time for marriage, marking the threshold from childhood to adolescence, and the beginning of psychophysical maturity. Scholars have debated whether this discrepancy is due to a manuscript error. However, since these are literary letters, the exact number of years is not the focal point; Pliny's intent is to emphasize the pathos of the girl's tender years, which were tragically cut short before she could reach an important life milestone.[48] As Bodel notes, from the time of Hippocratic followers and Solon, human life was often divided into *heptamades*, or periods of seven years. Thus, Pliny is not concerned with the precise number of years, but rather with highlighting that she never reached a key turning point in life. As seen in other examples, Pliny provides exact ages when the context demands it.[49] Furthermore, certain expressions, such as *non dum tot compleverat annos* ("he/she had not yet reached so and so years"), were common in epitaphs of the period of the Early Empire. Thus, they have shifted from the "language of the epitaph" into literary discourse, echoing a standardized and ritualistic funerary expression.[50]

The letter concerning Minicia's death is imbued with poignant descriptions of her bravery and the manner in which she confronted her grave illness, triumphing over it through her remarkable virtues:

> What love she showed to her nurses, her attendants, and her teachers, according to the duties of each! With what diligence and intelligence she applied herself to her studies! And how restrained and circumspect she was in her play! What self-control, endurance, and resolve, too, she showed in her final illness! She obeyed the doctors, encouraged her sister and her father, and when her physical powers failed her, she kept herself going with her strength of mind, which endured in her to the end, for neither her lengthy illness nor fear of death broke her spirit.[51]

Certainly, her death is profoundly tragic and heartbreaking, for it came far too soon: *O triste plane acerbumque funus!*[52]

The pathos of this letter is further heightened by the image of her father, Fundanus:

> I cannot describe in words the ghastly wound which pierced my heart when I heard Fundanus himself (for grief devises many trials) giving instructions that the money which he had intended to disburse on clothes, pearls, and jewels should be spent instead on incense, ointments, and spices.[53]

The letter concludes with a request for comfort to be offered to the inconsolable father, expressed through gentle and carefully chosen words:

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48 *Ibid*. 457.

49 Plin. *Ep*. 6.24.1: "Ummidia Quadratilla has died, shortly before her eightieth birthday. She retained her vigour until her final illness, and her body remained compact and sturdy, more than is the norm for a married woman. She left the most edifying will at her death."

50 Bodel 1995: 457. In a letter concerning his friend Macrinus, whose wife had passed away, he writes the following: "He lived with her for thirty-nine years without wrangling or animosity." The sentence in Latin reads: Plin. *Ep.* 8.5.1: *Vixit cum hac viginti novem annis sine iurgio sine offensa*. The term *sine iurgio sine offensa* and similar expressions are also derived from the funerary style.

51 Plin. *Ep*. 6.16.3–4.

52 *Ibid*. 5.16.6.

53 *Ibid*. 5.16.7.

> …for just as a wound still raw shrinks from the hands of healers, but then bears with them and begs for them unasked, so mental grief while fresh rejects and shrinks from any consolations, but then pines for them and becomes resigned to them, if they are proffered with sympathy.[54]

3.5. Pliny's Concern for Loved Ones

From the end of the fifth book, the illness of loved ones becomes an increasingly frequent theme in the letters. One such letter talks about the freedman Zosimus, whom Pliny praises highly, emphasizing his scholarship and integrity, but also highlighting his care and concern for those under his charge:

> … for a few years ago, when in the course of recitation he was straining himself to the utmost, he vomited blood. For this reason, I sent him to Egypt, and after a lengthy sojourn abroad, he recently returned restored to health. But subsequently, he put too much strain day after day on his vocal chords, and a cough gave him warning of his former weakness, and he again vomited blood.[55]

Concerned about Zosimus's health, Pliny sends him to his friend's estate in Forum Iulii, as the air there is fresh and the milk is the most suitable remedy for such a condition.[56] This and many other letters on similar topics are a treasure trove of timeless life wisdom: "*It is a rule of nature that nothing rouses and ignites love so much as fear of loss.*"[57]

Certainly, the letters regarding the death of Pliny the Elder and the description of the eruption of Vesuvius are among the most famous in the collection. These are letters sixteen and twenty from the sixth book, addressed to the historian Cornelius Tacitus, who asked Pliny to describe these events. In the first address to the recipient at the beginning of the letter, we notice the recurring motif of the aspiration for immortality:

> You ask me to describe for you the death of my uncle, to enable you to transmit a more truthful account for the benefit of posterity. I am grateful to you, because I realize that perennial glory is in store for the manner of his death if it is extolled by you.[58]

Pliny himself describes his uncle for eternity as a scholar who begins to investigate this extraordinary phenomenon, and then, with knightly courage, rushes to save those in danger at the foot of Vesuvius. In his battle with the hellish forces of nature, he loses his life on the shore of the sea:

> My uncle lay down there on a discarded sail and repeatedly drank cold water, which he had requested. Then flames and the smell of sulphur heralding the flames impelled the rest to flight and roused him. Leaning on two of his confidential slaves, he stood up and at once collapsed. I infer that his breathing was choked by the greater density of smoke, and this blocked his gullet, which was often frail and narrow, and often unsettled. When daylight was restored, two days after

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54 *Ibid*. 5.16.11.
55 *Ibid*. 5.19.6.
56 *Ibid*. 5.19.7.
57 *Ibid*. 5.19.5.
58 *Ibid*. 6.16.1–2.

> his eyes had closed in death, his body was found intact and unharmed. It was covered over, still in the clothes he had worn. It was more like someone sleeping than a corpse.[59]

Pliny's reputation as a cheerful writer[60] is primarily based on the content of the first six books of his letters, in which, aside from a few sporadic exceptions, lighter themes dominate. In the seventh book, he mentions for the first time that he himself is ill, his eyes inflamed, yet he humorously notes to his friend that, despite this, he noticed that the hen sent to him as a wish for a fast recovery was "nice and plump".[61] In this example, we can observe that even in difficult situations, such as this one, there was still room for humor– one of the more important characteristics of his literary style. Pliny is known for his intention to amuse and entertain the recipient, or reader, with jokes at his own expense.

The frequency of writing about illness and death reaches its peak in the eighth book, where almost a third of the letters are dedicated to these themes. Ronald Syme offers the explanation that the period covered by the seventh, eighth, and even ninth books might have been preceded by a series of poor weather conditions[62] or perhaps an epidemic connected to the Second Dacian War.[63] Pliny writes the following:

> I have accomplished the journey successfully, though with the one snag that one of my servants fell ill in the most oppressive heat. In fact, my reader, Encolpius, mainstay of my serious studies and joy of my relaxation, coughed up blood when his throat was irritated by the dust. … then, too, he is a self-controlled patient, we are exercised about him, and the doctors are attentive. Moreover, the healthy climate, the retirement, and the relaxation give promise of a cure as much as of leisure.[64]

It is possible that the pessimism that colors these three books was further triggered by Pliny's personal losses. Namely, his third wife, the young Calpurnia, had a miscarriage:

> She had a girl's ignorance that she was pregnant, and for that reason, she both failed to take the precautions which pregnant women should take, and did things which she ought not to have done. She has paid for her mistake with harsh realization, for her life was in the greatest danger.[65]

Two letters from the eighth book are of the same theme.[66] Pliny is deeply troubled by the poor health of his wife, as well as the illnesses and deaths of his loved ones and slaves. He finds solace in literature and in granting freedom to his slaves while they are still young, allowing them to write a kind of testament, which he safeguards and considers legally valid. However, he does not completely fall into despair:

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59 *Ibid*. 6.16.18–20.

60 More details on the topic: Strunk 2012: 178.

61 Plin. *Ep.* 7.21.4.

62 *Ibid*. 8.17.1: "Surely you are not enduring such harsh and stormy weather as we are? Here we have had continual storms and frequent flooding. The Tiber has left its channel and burst its banks further downstream to a considerable height."

63 Syme 1985: 182.

64 *Ibid*. 8.1.1–3.

65 *Ibid*. 8.10.1.

66 *Ibid*. 8.16; 19.

> … for it is part of being human to be assailed by grief and to have feelings, but to struggle against them and to acknowledge consolations rather than to have no need of them.[67]

Although a shift in tone and writing style can be noticed, it has not significantly affected the perception of Pliny as an "optimistic" writer. Instead, the final books are interpreted as "uncharacteristic" of his recognizable narrative style.[68] The theme of immortality is present even in the concluding books of the collection:

> Different people hold different views, but I regard as wholly blessed the man who enjoys the anticipation of a good and lasting repute, and lives in certainty of the survival of his name and future fame.[69]

In the ninth book, the grim references to illness and death are rarer, infused with a certain dose of optimism. Pliny consoles his friend with a eulogy in honor of the deceased and rejoices in the recovery of Paullus Psenus, the grandson of Propertius, who was also a talented writer.[70]

The tenth book, the largest in terms of the number of letters, consists of correspondence between Emperor Trajan and Pliny, who at the time was the governor of the province of Bithynia and Pontus. He had been gravely ill on several occasions, and as a result, he appealed to the emperor for civil privileges for the doctors who had attended to his health.[71] The following brief correspondence is a testament to the fact that health was regarded as the greatest blessing in ancient times, just as it is today:

> Well, then, just write that you have nothing to write, or nothing beyond the introductory greeting which our forebears used to use: 'If you are well, that's fine; I am well.' I am satisfied with that, for it's the main thing.[72]

4. Conclusion

Each book of Pliny's collection contains a mention of death or illness of at least one of his friends or acquaintances, and some contain several such references. Therefore, we can conclude that these topics were, at least for him personally, a focus of attention. While reflecting the writer's preoccupation with current events and individual situations, they also leave ample space for more general reflections and conclusions.

When considering the principles of ancient epistolography through excerpts from his collection, it is clear that the themes of illness and death were not only relevant but also particularly well-suited to the epistolary literary genre. A letter on said topic could meet stylistic requirements such as clarity and brevity, while also addressing thematic concerns like presenting examples from the past (*exempla*), offering moral lessons, and providing

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67 *Ibid*. 8.16.4.
68 Gibson 2013: 2–4.
69 Plin. *Ep*. 9.3.1.
70 *Ibid*. 9.9; 22.
71 *Ibid*. 10.5; 11.
72 *Ibid*. 1.11.1.

moral support. Such letters are imbued with motifs of comfort, encouragement, and sympathy, with Pliny at times writing and sending a letter as a kind of gift, since it was perceived as such in the ancient world. Furthermore, a letter represented an image of the author's soul and character, and within them, we not only learn more about the recipient, but also about the sender himself. When writing about someone's illness or death, Pliny evokes memories, expresses his thoughts and emotions, as his letters are often self-reflective. He articulates his own sorrow in response to the illness or loss of a friend, which P. Walsh describes as a "sense of deprivation," which is one of Pliny's most civilized characteristics.[73] We would further add that he also actively shares in the pain of others, empathizing with those who have lost someone close to them.

Moreover, we have noticed that, in isolated examples, but especially throughout the entire collection, one of the central principles of letter writing is particularly evident: the need to anticipate the recipient's reaction and emotion. An illustrative example is certainly his advice to Marcelinus on how to express condolences to their mutual friend Fundanus over the death of his daughter Minicia. In this paper, we have highlighted certain similarities between the ancient and the modern world–the illness and death of a young person were experienced with tragedy. However, even on such occasions, Pliny advocated for restraint in grief and perseverance, and through portraits of (celebrated) women, he depicted said examples.

The archaeologist and art historian Branko Gavela, in the introduction to the translation of Pliny's *Letters* by Albin Vilhar, compares Pliny's literary expression to the visual language of Scopas's figures and the compositions on the Pergamon Altar dedicated to Zeus Olympios.[74] From these cited examples, we can observe how Pliny's literary work, much like Scopas's sculpture, radiates an unmasked emotionality, reverence, suffering, and unrest. Through these brief literary essays, we observe that death was a daily presence, both as a tangible reality and as a thought process. Numerous life stories depict voluntary death as a form of liberation, while material traces set up in honor of the deceased serve as comfort for the living and protection from oblivion. Illness can influence a person's character, weakening or strengthening it, providing an opportunity for improvement.

Pliny's collection reminds and warns us of the altruistic values that should still guide us today. It is honorable and wonderful to help the sick, to remember the deceased, and to erect statues or monuments for the deserving. His letters are an example of sincere affection toward those to whom he writes, reverence for his ancestors, and care for future generations.

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[73] Walsh 2006: preface xix.

[74] Plinije 1982: 6, preface by Branko Gavela.

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МАРИНА АНДРИЈАШЕВИЋ
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ЛИТЕРАРНА СВЕДОЧАНСТВА О БОЛЕСТИ И СМРТИ У ЕПИСТОЛОГРАФИЈИ ПЛИНИЈА МЛАЂЕГ

Резиме

У својим литерарним писмима која су једна од првих те врсте у римској књижевности Гај Плиније Цецилије Секунд говори о разноликим темама из свакодневног живота Римљана. Римски државник Трајановог доба и литерата широког образовања, био је зачетник ове нове књижевне врсте настале под снажним утицајем античке реторике. Његову збирку чине стилски обликована (*epistulae curatius scriptae* / *litterae curiosius scriptae*) стварна писма упућена пријатељима и блиским особама, која је аутор лично одабрао и објавио. С тим у вези, можемо рећи да се у Плинијевом стварном адресату заправо огледа широки римски аудиторијум.

Циљ нашег рада био је да се на богатом и шароликом материјалу који ова збирка пружа додатно осветли феномен болести и смрти са литерарног аспекта. Премда Плиније важи за ведрог писца, будући да његова писма садрже описе лежерне свакодневице и учене доколице, екфразе велелепних имања и вила, епистолографски део његовог стваралаштва често прожимају теме везане за разне болести и стања, старење, (преурањену) смрт, (само)убиства, а као контратежа свему томе стоји свеприсутна жеља за славом и бесмртности. Већи број помена болести и смрти не треба да буди посебну позорност имајући у виду високу стопу смртности тога доба, а и свакако представљају део свачије свакодневице. Са друге стране, оно што смо ми могли закључити на основу анализе релевантних ексцерпата, болест и смрт јесу погодна тема за само литерарно писмо. Отворена, тј. јавна писма углавном су се писала у устаљеним стилским и садржинским оквирима, те нису служила само да информишу већ да поуче, посаветују и охрабре. Адхортативни мотиви сами по себи происходе из поменуте тематике.

Литерарно стваралаштво Плинију је представљало највеће задовољство и пут ка бесмртности. Његова писма, пуна пијетета према прецима и бриге према ближњима треба и данас да нам буду путоказ и прибежиште.

Кључне речи: Плиније Млађи, римска литерарна епистолографија, болест, смрт, бесмртност.

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RESCUE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION IN MITROVA REKA AND NEW INSIGHTS INTO THE BOUNDARIES OF THE BANJSKA MONASTERY ESTATE IN RAS*

Abstract: During archaeological monitoring of conservation and restoration works carried out in 2022 on the Church of St. Demetrius with its old cemetery in Mitrova Reka, a cultural monument dated to the 16th century, walls from an earlier construction phase and part of a medieval necropolis were uncovered. In order to address structural damage to the walls and foundations on the northern and northeastern sides of the church, rescue archaeological excavations were also conducted in the same year. The current situation suggests that the existing church was built upon the remains of a medieval church. The previous architectural and burial findings in Mitrova Reka provide new insights into the spatial boundaries and territorial extent of the surrounding estates of the Banjska Monastery, recorded in the Svetostefan Charter of King Milutin from the second decade of the 14th century. The confirmation of earlier archaeological layers raises questions about the spatial contextualization of the church within its surrounding landscape, significantly impacting the perception of its cultural and historical value. Furthermore, it complicates the continuation of conservation and restoration works aimed at its preservation and presentation.

Keywords: Medieval Raška, Svetostefan Charter, church, burial, grave slab.

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1. Introduction

Since the reign of Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja (1169–1196), Deževo (locally known as Deževa) has been an important area where settlements and hillforts connected to the fortified capital town of Ras developed. Numerous churches are recorded in King Milutin's (r. 1282–1321) charter to the Banjska Monastery,[1] attesting to the significance of the Deževa Valley in the social, political, and cultural life of medieval Serbia. Important historical decisions were made here, such as the change of rulers of the Serbian Kingdom at the Deževa Assembly in 1282, as described by Archbishop Danilo II (c. 1270–19 December 1337).[2] The subsequent period, which marked a time of economic and cultural prosperity for the state, lasted until 1455, when the Ottomans, after a months-long siege, captured Novo Brdo and subsequently the entire Branković territory and the Ibar Valley.[3] With the later stabilization of political conditions, the population of the Deževa villages, during the 16th and 17th centuries, restored the destroyed churches and erected new ones.[4] During this period, numerous church buildings were constructed, sharing similar spatial concepts, building techniques, and architectural decorations, such as the Church of Saint Nicholas at Štitari, Saint Marina at Doinovići, Saint Lazarus at Živalić, Saint Nicholas at Kuzmičevo, and the Church of the Holy Virgin at Kovačevo.[5]

During this building phase, on the left bank of the Deževa River, in the area of the village of Alulovićе, on an elevation by the road leading from the village of Deževa to Mount Golija, the Church of Saint Demetrius was erected[6] (Fig. 1). The structure features a single-nave layout, constructed from dressed trachyte and sandstone blocks, with the incorporation of marble spolia, and is covered by a barrel vault. The interior is organized into a nave, with an inner and outer narthex, the outer one potentially representing an addition or reconstruction, most likely from the 19th century. The altar apse is semicircular on the inside and polygonal on the outside. The western portal features a richly profiled frame surmounted by a niche, flanked by seven-pointed stars enclosed in circles. Within the niche is a dedicatory inscription carved on a plaque of white Studenica marble, topped by a Saracenic arch.[7] Above the niche, a secondary medieval tombstone (slab insert) of white marble, in the shape of a trapezoid, with a Maltese cross and a sculpted depiction of the deceased's head,[8] was built in, originating from an older

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1 Editions of the Svetostefan (Banjska) Charter, see Jagić 1890: 1-47; Kovačević 1890: 1–11; Novaković 1912: 622–631; Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik Vol. I, No. 125, 2011: 455-469; Trifunović 2011, Vol. 1, 19-83.

2 *Danilo II et al.*,1866: 25–27.

3 Mišić 2014: 53–54.

4 Stanić 1969: 224.

5 Šuput 1991: 81, 109, 282 with earlier literature; Premović-Aleksić 2014: 57, 66 with earlier literature.

6 By Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia No. 633-6501/2019 of June 27, 2019 (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 47/2019 of June 28, 2019), the complex was designated an immovable cultural property—cultural monument.

7 There is a clear resemblance in the design of the roof cornice and entrance portal to that of the Church of Saint Marina in Doinoviće; similar masonry techniques and entrance portal treatments can also be observed in the churches of Saint Nicholas in Kuzmičevo and the Holy Virgin in Kovačevo, as well as in the form and appearance of the polygonal apse of the Church of St. Nicholas in Štitari, see fn 5.

8 For similar examples of medieval tombstones, see Stanić, Vukadin 1969: 150–151, fig. 6; Milutinović 2019: 55–56, fig. 9.

necropolis. Precise data regarding the construction date of the church is not available. Based on stylistic characteristics, it is presumed to have been built in the second half of the 16th century, i.e., after the restoration of the Peć Patriarchate in 1557.[9] An inscription on the western façade above the entrance to the church reveals that it was restored by the local inhabitants in 1853, during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823–1861) and the episcopate of Parthenios (1849–1854), the last from among the Phanariots to serve as Metropolitan of Raška and Prizren.

Figure 1. The Church of Saint Demetrius and the old cemetery at Mitrova Reka (photo: D. Anđelković)

A graveyard developed around the church, serving as a burial site for the population of the surrounding villages until the early 20th century (Fig. 2). These grave markers were carved in the shape of large stone crosses, a form well known from the necropolis at the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Novi Pazar. The existence of an earlier burial layer was indicated by larger slabs with beveled edges, which were incorporated as spolia into the base of the bell tower.[10]

[9] Premović-Aleksić 2014: 97.
[10] *Ibid*.; *Ead.* 2015: 162.

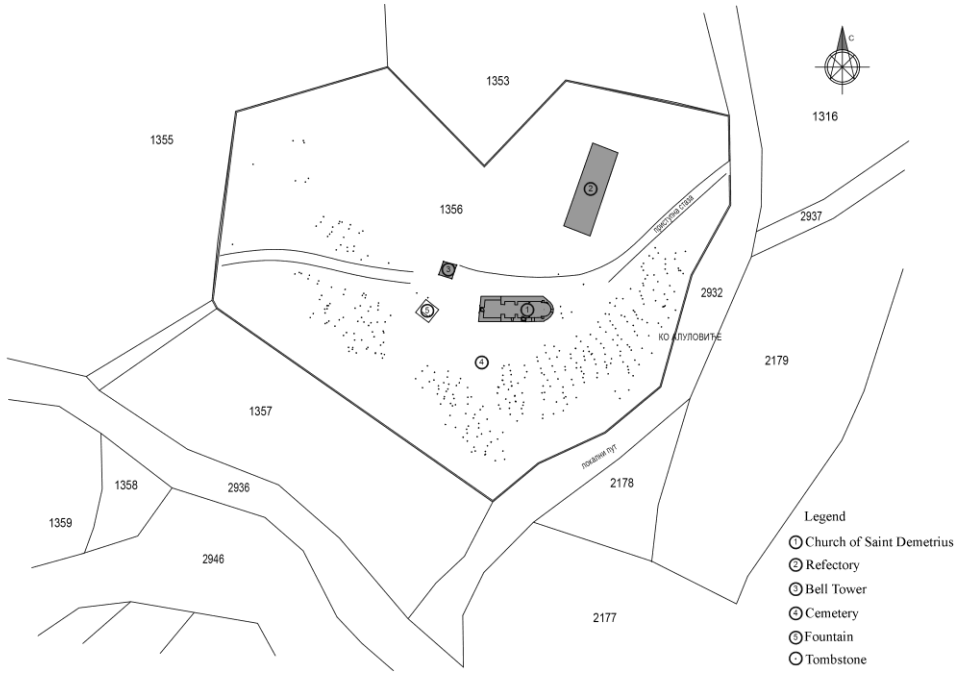

Figure 2. Site plan of the cultural monument Church of Saint Demetrius with the old cemetery in Mitrova Reka (drawing by M. Slavković)

2. Conservation Treatment of the Church of Saint Demetrius

Conservation and restoration works on this cultural heritage site have never been systematically carried out, which is why the territorially competent Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Kraljevo proposed in 2018 the repair of all structural damages to the church, as outlined in the Project for the Conservation and Restoration of the Church of Saint Demetrius with the Old Cemetery in Mitrova Reka, Municipality of Novi Pazar.[11] The works included the restoration of the foundations on the northern side of the church, due to subsidence of the ground and shallow foundations, as well as partial restoration of the large cracks in the lower zone of the northern wall, which indicated weak load-bearing capacity and a potential risk of the building's collapse. The Project also included the repair and replacement of the tiled roof covering. Following the restoration of the church, the team planned activities on the monuments of the younger necropolis.

The Project was phased and financed by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, with conservation and restoration works commencing in 2021. During the second phase, in 2022, the restoration of the foundations on the northern side of the building was carried out. As the required activities were contingent on necessary earthworks,

[11] Documentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Kraljevo, 2018.

archaeological monitoring was conducted. During the excavation of the trench on the northern side of the building and the raising of the existing sidewalk, two grave markers were discovered *in situ* beneath the foundations of the church (Fig. 3), confirming the hypothesis of an earlier burial layer. The conservation works were temporarily halted to allow for archaeological research,[12] aimed at protecting the material remains and documenting new data on this immovable cultural heritage site.

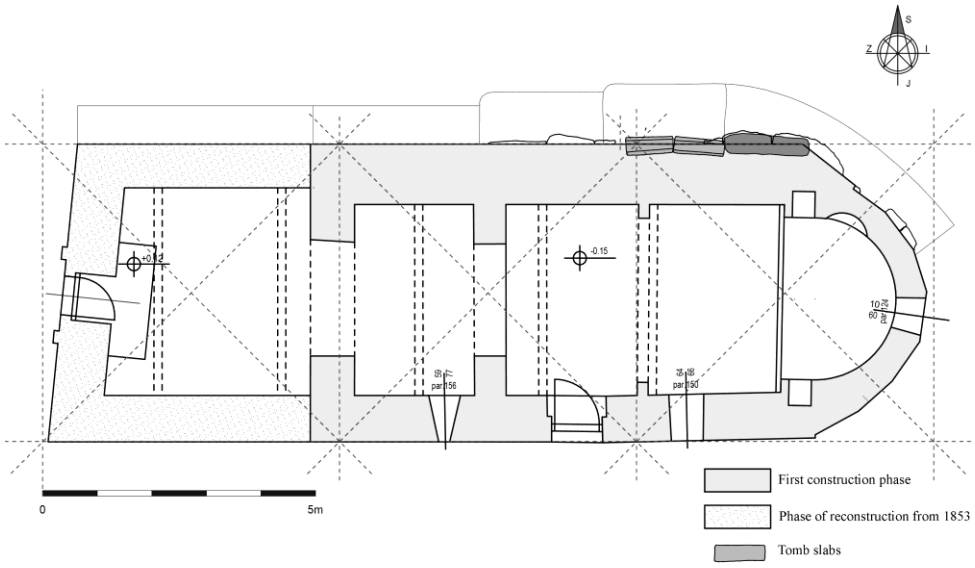

Figure 3. The plan of the existing church
with the position of medieval tombstones (drawing by M. Slavković)

3. Methodological Challenges and Research Findings

The documentation of the Institute in Kraljevo records several previous conservation and restoration interventions on the structure, which, as a rule, did not include archaeological research. Unfortunately, all previous works were solely focused on restoring the disturbed structural integrity of the building, involving earthworks without the application of archaeological methodology, resulting in the irreversible loss of valuable data about earlier layers.

Given the specificity of the discovery of grave slabs beneath the foundation zone of the 16th-century church (Fig. 3), at a depth of approximately 0.6 m from the level of the contemporary courtyard, it was not possible to carry out excavation within the standard principles of archaeological methodology. Since the associated graves were clearly located

[12] The protective archaeological research was conducted by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Kraljevo, under the leadership of Marija D. Marić, Ph.D., with a team consisting of the co-authors of this text.

beneath the later construction, it was necessary to statically secure the structure to prevent the collapse of the wall and ensure the safety of the researchers during the excavation. Due to the inability to establish absolute reference points because of the inaccessibility of the findings, the measurements were documented in relative heights in relation to known architectural elements of the church. The research encompassed the area around the two-part marble grave slab (Fig. 3), while the remaining earthworks in the trench along the northern wall and apse were archaeologically monitored due to the potential for new archaeological finds. The upper layers were devastated by previous conservation works related to the installation of the earlier sidewalk, and it was only by lowering the excavation that the intact layers were reached.

Beneath the foundation level of the 16th-century church, on the northern and eastern sides, walls of an earlier structure, somewhat narrower in size, were discovered (Fig. 4). Its longitudinal wall is set back approximately 0.35 m in relation to the northern façade line of the later church. The newly discovered structure was built using a completely different technique, with smaller dressed and broken stone, and bonded with lime mortar (Fig. 5). It has a semicircular apse, which on the northern side ends with a straight section and joins the longitudinal wall at a right angle (Fig. 6), clearly indicating that this is the wall of an older church.

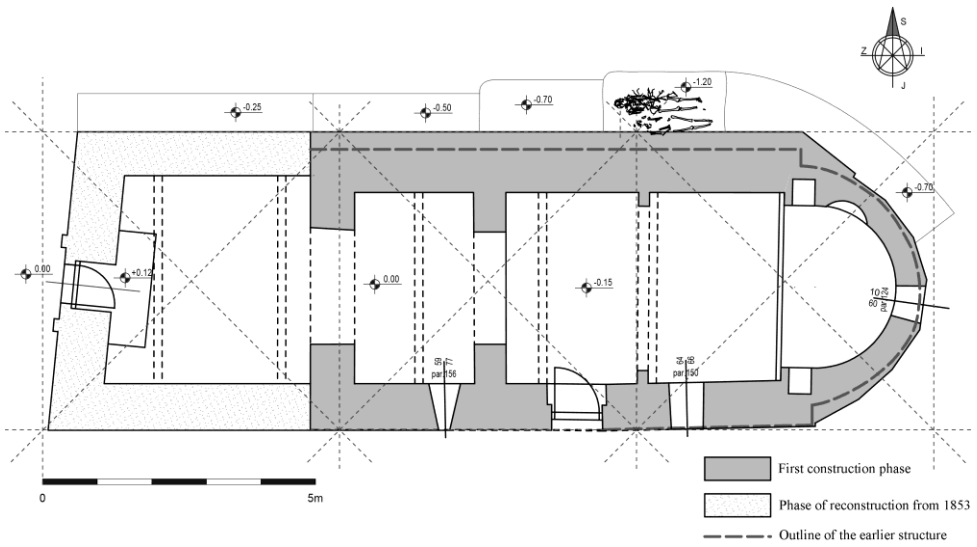

Figure 4. Plan of the existing and older church with uncovered graves (drawing by M. Slavković)

Figure 5. Detail of the exterior face of the northern wall
of the older church beneath the foundation level (photo by M. Slavković)

Further excavation on the northern side, along the wall of the younger church, toward the east, revealed another grave marker (Fig. 3). It is a massive dressed sandstone slab measuring 1.60 x 0.40 m, with an average thickness of 0.25 m, featuring a stylized anthropomorphic depiction on its upper surface (Fig. 7). The archaeological excavation beneath the grave slab, where a grave was expected, was not carried out due to the potential risk of seriously compromising the structure's stability. The other previously mentioned grave marker is in the form of a two-part, smoothly dressed marble slab with an elongated rectangular shape and slanted sides, measuring 1.80 x 0.32 m and approximately 0.10 m in thickness. It is decorated with six shallowly carved circles divided into seven segments (Fig. 8). Due to the location designated for the underpinning of the church's foundation at that spot, the slab was removed. After the temporary static reinforcement of the northern wall, the excavation of burial units beneath and alongside the slab in the trench was carried out. Two graves were found beneath the slab. At a relative depth of 0.7 m from the surface level, a partially preserved juvenile skeleton was uncovered (Grave 2). Due to the significantly deteriorated condition, it was almost impossible to clean and lift the bones, so the find was not subject to bioarchaeological processing. Beneath this skeleton, at a relative depth of 1.05 m, the skeleton of an adult individual was found (Grave 3), which, together with the aforementioned slab, forms a burial unit. Due to the composition and hardness of the soil,

it was challenging to define the burial features clearly. Directly adjacent to these two graves, on their northern side, a third grave was discovered with the skeletal remains of an adult individual (Grave 1), at a relative depth of 0.9 m. The skeletons of two adult individuals were found in an anatomical position, buried in an east-west orientation, with their heads to the west (Fig. 4). The hands of the deceased were crossed over the chest.

Figure 6. Detail of the exterior face of the apse wing wall
of the older church beneath the foundation level (photo by V. Milutinović)

The movable archaeological material found during the excavation is scarce. In the upper, disturbed layer, beneath the sidewalk, a forged iron nail, 7.5 cm in length, was discovered. In addition, a fragment of the rim of a ceramic vessel, intensely black, made from clay with silica inclusions, was found. The lack of decoration makes it impossible to date with certainty, although the texture suggests it is medieval pottery. In the layer above the two-part grave slab, but beneath the foundations of the younger church, eight fragments from the same pot were found, with thinner walls and a dark grey color. The fragments are missing the diagnostic parts of the vessel, so based on their texture, this ceramic material can be roughly dated to the late medieval or post-medieval period. No other finds were encountered.

Figure 7. Massive grave slab with an anthropomorphic depiction *in situ* (photo V. Milutinović)

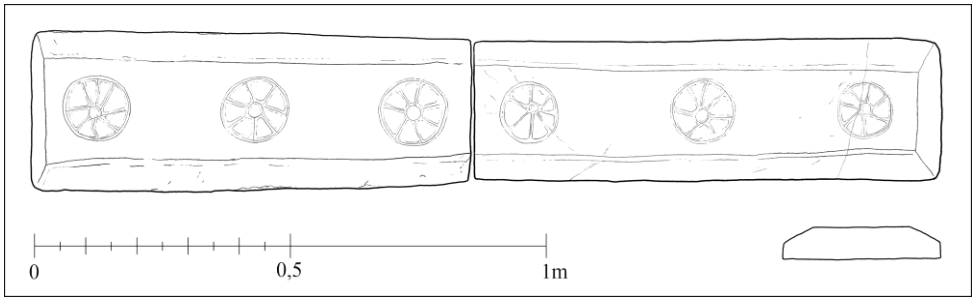

Figure 8. Marble grave slab with a solar circle motif (drawing A. Matović)

4. Analysis of the Research Results

Although the scope of the protective archaeological investigations was limited, being dictated by the requirements of architectural conservation, restoration, and stabilization works on the later church, they yielded significant chronological data and raised numerous questions that form the basis for further research into this sacral

complex. The analysis of the previously described excavation results established that the later Church of Saint Demetrius from the 16th century represents a reconstruction of an earlier structure from the medieval period (Fig. 4). From the latter, only segments of the outer faces of the north and south walls, together with part of the apse, were uncovered. Adjacent to the older structure, a necropolis developed, as evidenced by two grave markers and the skeletal remains of the deceased (Figs. 3 and 4). The first sandstone grave marker, bearing a stylized anthropomorphic representation on its upper surface (Fig. 7), is a type of rustic monument which, during the medieval period, constituted the most common form of sepulchral marker on Serbian necropolises.[13] The second grave marker belongs to the type of two-part marble slabs with slanted sides, decorated with six stylized solar circles (Fig. 8). The irregularity in the appearance of the motif is discernible, particularly in the carving of the solar rays, which may also be attributed to the stonemason's lack of skill. Such ornamentation generally symbolizes rebirth, in which death is not perceived as an end.[14] Based on an analogy with a grave slab from Studenica, this find from Mitrova Reka is broadly dated to the period from the late 13th to the mid-15th century.[15] The medieval burial layer around the Church of Saint Demetrius is also evidenced by a second, amorphous grave marker found at the same level beneath the foundations of the later church (Figs. 3 and 7).

A basic bioanthropological analysis[16] of the skeletons revealed that Grave 3, located beneath the two-part slab, contained the remains of an adult female individual,[17] while Grave 1, situated adjacent to it and buried somewhat more shallowly, held the remains of an adult male individual over 35 years of age (Fig. 4). No pathological conditions or injuries were observed on the recovered skeletal remains, indicating a relatively good health status at the time of death. In the grave of the female individual, a subsequent burial of a child was carried out, which may suggest a familial relationship between the interred. The graves contained no grave goods, making it impossible to discuss a more detailed chronology of burials within the examined sample of the necropolis.

5. Discussion

Knowledge about the stratigraphic layers from the period of construction of the medieval church in Mitrova Reka is based exclusively on archaeological investigations of limited scope. Given the importance of the Deževa Valley in the Middle Ages[18] and the results of the rescue excavations, it is necessary to consider the possibilities for its historical contextualization.

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13 Popović 2015: 383 with earlier literature.

14 Dudić 1995: 101.

15 Popović *op. cit.*, 383–384, 392, T3/4.

16 The basic bioanthropological analysis of the skeletal remains was carried out by Tamara Pavlović, M.A., a bioanthropologist and researcher at the Laboratory of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Belgrade.

17 Precise age determination was not possible due to the absence of the pubic bone, but the morphology of the pelvic bones indicates female sex characteristics.

18 Kalić, Popović 1982.

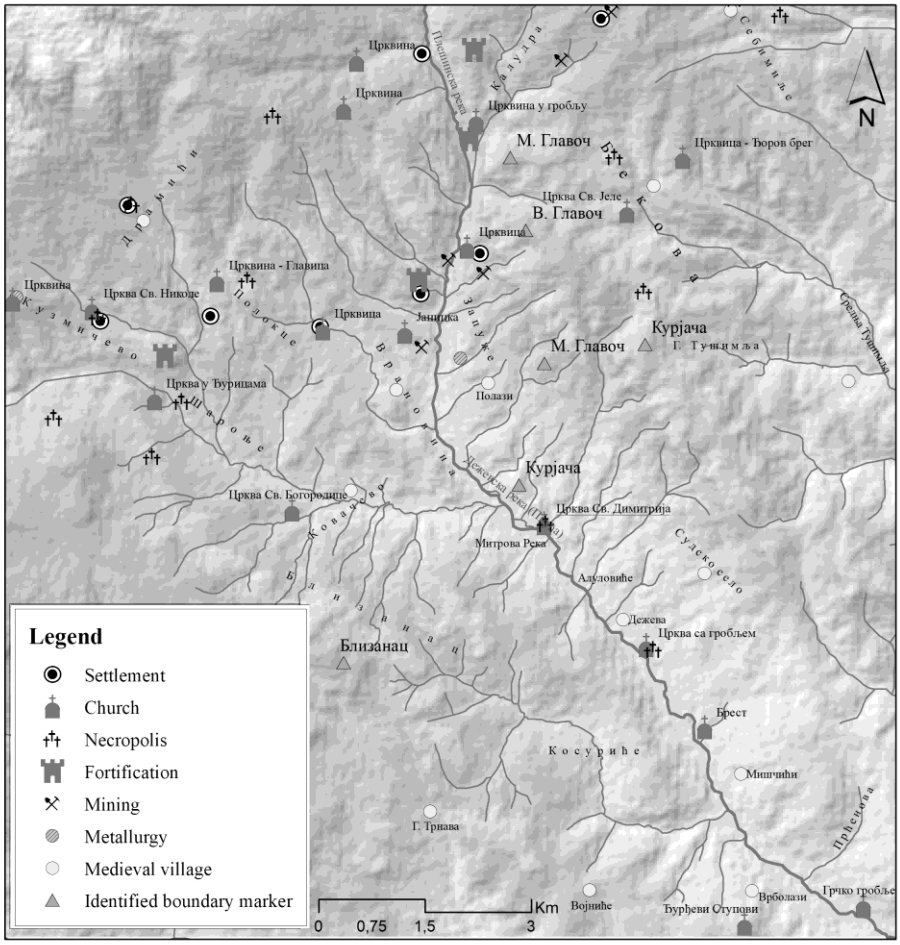

Figure 9. Medieval topography of the Deževa Valley (prepared by M. Marić)

The Deževa River flows through the Deževa area, known in the Middle Ages as Pnuća[19] (Fig. 9). This older name has survived only as a toponym at its confluence with the Raška River. In the second charter of King Stefan the First-Crowned and his son Radoslav to the Žiča Monastery, issued in 1220,[20] the *Župa* of Pnuća[21] is mentioned as a territorial and administrative unit. Thus, in written sources, the Župa of Ras and the Župa of Pnuća are attested, their

[19] Kalić 1977: 58.

[20] The inscription is located on the south wall of the passage beneath the bell tower of the Church of the Holy Savior in the Žiča Monastery. The chrysobull is dated approximately to the time of King Stefan Radoslav's wedding; see Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik, vol. I, No. 15: 93–94. For the possibility of dating the transcription of charter excerpts on the church walls, see also Milutinović & Marić 2017: 97–99.

[21] Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik, *op. cit.*, No. 15: 94.

territories being unambiguously associated with the valley of the Deževa River. At this point, we return to the question of the spatial and administrative relationship between these two župas until the end of the 13th century,[22] when the name of the Župa of Pnuća disappeared in the regional sense and its territory came under the jurisdiction of Ras. In this context, it is necessary to consider once again King Milutin's Svetostefanska chrysobull (issued between 1314 and 1316),[23] which, on the occasion of the founding of Banjska Monastery, also defined the scope of its endowments. In addition to numerous villages throughout the Serbian lands, the chrysobull also mentions several settlements "in Ras" that were granted to Banjska Monastery: Deževo, Suti, Bekova, Tušimlja, Polazi, Hropalica, Dramići, Pavlje Selo, Kovači, Ivanovo, and the village of Dobroslav Stepković,[24] accompanied by detailed descriptions of their boundaries and hamlets. As early as 1977, J. Kalić observed that earlier researchers had not sufficiently identified the toponyms mentioned in this written document, and it seems that the situation remains much the same today. Such research into micro-toponymy would greatly illuminate life in the Ras area during the 14th and 15th centuries,[25] that is, the period up to the founding of Novi Pazar (in the second half of the 15th century) and the establishment of Ottoman rule in this area, which would remain in place until 1912.[26]

The present-day name *Mitrova Reka* or *Dmitrova Reka* undoubtedly derives from the Church of Saint Demetrius, which is now known to have been built in the medieval period. P. Ž. Petrović considered that the existing Church of Saint Demetrius in Dmitrova Reka, as well as its predecessor, could not be identified with the church that King Milutin granted to the Banjska Monastery in 1316.[27] He identified this 14th-century church (allegedly located in Gornja Bekova[28] according to his interpretation of the Svetostefan chrysobull) as being situated at the site of Crkvina within the area of the present-day village of Donja Bekova. This argument is based on the location and name of the spring Dmitrova voda near Crkvina, which, in his view, confirm that the 14th-century Church of Saint Demetrius once stood at that site. Immediately after the destruction of that church, a new one was erected in a more accessible location, dedicated to the same saint, in commemoration of the old church.[29] At the site where, in Petrović's opinion, the original Church of Saint Demetrius once stood, a church dedicated to Saint Jela[30] was later built (Fig. 9), at a time when the memory of the original patron saint had faded among the local population.[31]

The previously mentioned information recorded by Petrović is based on a hypothesis

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22 Kalić, *loc. cit.*

23 Bogdanović 2011: 117.

24 Tomović 2011: 226–230, Katić, Vojvodić 2020: 130–132.

25 Kalić, *loc. cit.*

26 Zirojević 1977: 111-112.

27 Petrović 1984: 161.

28 In the Svetostefan chrysobull, when the village of Bekova is mentioned, it is never specified whether it refers to Gornja or Donja Bekova (Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik, op. cit., No. 125: 460). The division of the village into two parts was, in fact, the result of the population's obligations either to the Banjska Monastery or to the Church of Saint Demetrius.

29 Petrović is probably referring to the Church of Saint Demetrius in Mitrova Reka.

30 In folk tradition, "Saint Jela" is a shortened form of Saint Helena, most commonly identified with Empress Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine the Great, whose cult was widespread in the medieval Serbian lands.

31 Petrović, *loc. cit.*

put forward by Petković as early as 1950, regarding the small church (*Crkvica*) above Debeličko Hill in Bekova, which he identified as the Church of Saint Demetrius with its estate, later incorporated by King Milutin into the Banjska Monastery estate (*banjsko vlastelinstvo*).[32] This view has persisted to the present day in works that, in any respect, address the territorial organization of the villages of the Župa of Ras.[33] The precise spatial pinpointing of the church is an important argument in delineating village or estate boundaries, a matter that will not be discussed here in detail. However, it is necessary to reconsider the possibility of identifying the Church of Saint Demetrius in Mitrova Reka with the donation to Banjska Monastery, mentioned in the above-referenced chrysobull.

Today, the Church of Saint Demetrius in Mitrova Reka is located within the cadastral territory of the village of Alulovićе (Fig. 9). Petrović states that this is an old village which, at the end of the 17th century, was settled by Muslims who lived there until 1878, after which local Christians moved in.[34] On the other hand, speaking of the village of Bekova in spatial terms, he notes that it is situated in Gornja Deževa, with hamlets that formed in the shaded headwaters of two streams. The village is territorially divided into three parts: Gornja Bekova (below the hills of Katina and Šanac), Srednja Bekova (Staro Selo), and Donja Bekova, with houses situated lower on the hill of Glavoč. He also remarks on the abundance of springs in the area, identifying Dmitrov izvor, among others, as being situated within the present-day Srednja Bekova. Continuing his description of the village, he further notes that the foundations of the wooden church dedicated to Saint Jela, burned by the Turks in 1876, along with the necropolis on the slope, are situated "below Streovac Hill, in Donja Bekova." He further cites the Svetostefan chrysobull, which mentions the place Kurjača on the boundaries of Bekova, locating it within Alulovićе, together with Glavoč Hill, the site of a former Turkish border fortification (*merćez*).[35] From this anthropogeographical study provided by Petrović (2010), different spatial arrangements can be observed compared to those he presented in 1984. The clearest example is the designation of Dmitrov izvor as a reference toponym, taken as evidence for identifying the patron saint of the nearby Crkvina. At the time of the issuing of the Svetostefan chrysobull, Alulovićе did not exist as a village; rather, the area belonged either to Deževa or to Bekova. During the High Middle Ages, when this document was written, both villages belonged to the Župa of Ras. According to the Svetostefan chrysobull, the same oronym Kurjača is listed as a boundary marker of an estate comprising the villages of Deževo, Suti, and Bekovo, as well as a boundary marker of the estate of the Church of Saint Demetrius, which likewise included the village of Bekovo together with the villages of Polazi and Hropalica.[36] In this area, there are two elevations named Kurjača, both located within the territory of the village of Alulovićе (Fig. 9). Kurjača Mountain lies on the boundary of the present-day cadastral municipalities of Alulovićе, Gornja Tušimlja, and Bekova (elevation 982 m),[37] while a lower hill of the same name is situated in the center of Alulovićе, above the

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32 Petković 1950: 18.

33 See Dudić, *op. cit.*, 33, Premović-Aleksić 2014: 82–83 and others.

34 Petrović 2010: 103.

35 Petrović, *op. cit.*, 105.

36 Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik *op. cit.*, No. 125: 461.

37 Loma (2013: 126), under the entry *Kurjača***,** in the list of toponyms from the Banjska chrysobull, identifies the mentioned boundary marker Kurjača with Kurjača Mountain (elevation 982 m), as had earlier been

Deževa River, approximately 400 m northwest of the Church of Saint Demetrius (elevation 695.2 m). Kurjača Hill[38] can be identified with the boundary marker Kurjač rt,[39] which marks the end of the Church of Saint Demetrius' estate boundary. If the territory of Alulovićе, and thus Mitrova Reka, did fall under Bekova, it becomes important to reopen the question of which Church of Saint Demetrius, together with its estate, is referred to in the Svetostefan chrysobull. In support of the importance of considering which church is mentioned in the chrysobull, we should also take into account the preservation of the patron's name, Saint Demetrius, in both cases. In the case of the Crkvica site in Bekova, where the local community gathers today on Saint Jela's feast day,[40] the supposed earlier foundations have been attributed to Saint Demetrius as patron on the basis of the nearby Dmitrov izvor.[41] However, this spring need not necessarily be linked to a church or its dedication; it could, for example, refer to a certain Dmitar, a former landowner, or something similar. In the oral tradition, there is also a preserved legend about the "flight" of this church,[42] a common motif in stories related to the renewal of places of worship during the Ottoman period.[43] However, such traditions do not constitute reliable evidence of their earlier dedication, nor do they confirm a connection between the two churches. Conversely, the inscription recording the church's restoration makes it clear that the dedication of the Church of Saint Demetrius in Mitrova Reka is beyond doubt.

Finally, in order to address the issue of identifying the church mentioned in the Svetostefan chrysobull, it is necessary to analyze the preserved architecture of both churches together with their associated cemeteries and the contextual evidence provided by the movable archaeological finds. The Church of Saint Jela in Bekova has been preserved in a ruined state, with the lower courses of its walls constructed from reused older tombstones.[44] Although no archaeological excavations have been carried out, the form of its ground plan, with a polygonal apse matching the width of the nave, directly suggests it can be dated to the period of Ottoman rule. Protective archaeological investigations in Mitrova Reka have confirmed the existence of the only medieval church so far discovered within the territory of the villages of Alulovićе and Bekova.

6. Conclusion

Archaeological investigations of the sacred complex, which comprises the Church of Saint Demetrius and the adjoining cemetery established in the late 19th century, have yielded new and significant data, offering valuable insights into the historical and cultural

proposed by Škrivanić (1956: 185–187) and Tomović (2011: 227).

38 Loma, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–126, under the entry *Kurjač rt*, also included this oronym in the list but marked it as unidentified, referring to the discussion in Škrivanić, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

39 In the Svetostefan chrysobull, the toponym *Kurjač rt* refers to an elevated ridge or slope used as a natural boundary marker.

40 Premović-Aleksić 2014: 83.

41 Petrović, *loc. cit*.

42 Premović-Aleksić, *loc. cit*.

43 The legend of the "flight" of churches arose as a result of the practice of building new churches from the material of abandoned church sites, in order to avoid administrative obstacles and high construction taxes across the Ottoman Empire, *Ead.* 2015: 18–19.

44 *Ead.* 2014: 82.

context of the medieval period in this area. Although the trial excavations were constrained and defined by the scope of the conservation and restoration works, the results have once again brought into focus the spatial location of the Banjska estate of the Church of Saint Demetrius at Bekovi and its associated villages.

This research demonstrates that the Church of Saint Demetrius in Mitrova Reka was reconstructed upon the foundations of an earlier medieval church, emphasizing the continuity of sacred space. Alongside the earlier sacred structure, a necropolis developed, active during the 14th and 15th centuries, which currently provides limited yet significant information concerning the sex and age of the deceased, burial practices, and grave slabs. The newly uncovered stratigraphy of the Church of Saint Demetrius in Mitrova Reka, together with the proposed identification of Rt Kurjač in its immediate surroundings, has enabled its spatial correlation with the church of the same name and the estate mentioned in the Svetostefan Charter. Accordingly, this research provides arguments for the reinterpretation of the territorial extents of villages and estates, as well as for a more precise delineation of their boundaries. Further research attention should be directed toward the relationship between this church and the toponyms recorded in the charter, bearing in mind that specific names appear at multiple locations within the study area, and that place-names have changed over time. For the time being, the question of the location of other churches in this part of the medieval Župa of Ras, as well as the relationship between the toponyms that define medieval estates, remains open.

Finally, the issue of conserving immovable remains at Mitrova Reka must not be overlooked. The newly uncovered immovable remains not only require particular attention in their future protection but also call for a change in the approach to the preservation and presentation of this monument. Archaeological investigations, conducted across all phases of protection, enable the recognition of the multi-layered nature of heritage and support the revalorization of its values. In this way, the historical narrative is continuously enriched, serving as a resource for public education and the preservation of cultural identity.

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ЗАШТИТНА АРХЕОЛОШКА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА У МИТРОВОЈ РЕЦИ И НОВИ УВИДИ У ПОСЕДЕ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ ЖУПЕ РАС

Резиме

Црква Св. Димитрија са старим гробљем у Митровој Реци, споменик културе из 16. века, налази се у атару данашњег села Алуловиће у области Дежеве код Новог Пазара. Археолошким праћењем конзерваторско-рестаураторских радова на цркви 2022. године, откривени су сегменти зидова старије средњовековне цркве и део истовремене некрополе. Тада су спроведена прва археолошка ископавања у циљу истраживања, документовања и заштите старије фазе локалитета, након чега је настављено са радовима на статичкој и конструктивној санацији млађе цркве. Резултати ових исктраживања донели су нове податке о габаритима и техници градње старије цркве око које се развила некропола током 14. и 15. века. Датовање старије фазе локалитета извршено је на основу стилске анализе два надгробника која су откривена уз темеље старије цркве. Први споменик припада типу рустичних притесаних плоча од пешчара са стилизованом антропоморфном представом, које представљају најбројније сепулкрално обележје српских средњовековних некропола у области старог Раса. Други надгробник је у облику дводелне мермерне, равно клесане плоче издужене правоугаоне форме са косо засеченим странама и украсом у виду шест плитко урезаних кружница подељених на седам сегмената. Он је широко датован у период 13. до 15. века на основу директне аналогије из Манастира Студеница. Ископавањем гробне целине испод дводелне мермерне плоче откривена су два скелета на различитим дубинама. Скелет на вишој коти припадао је детету (Гроб 2), док је испод њега лежао скелет одрасле мушке индивидуе (Гроб 3). Северно од овог гроба откривен је и укоп са скелетним остацима старије женске особе (Гроб 1). Скелети две одрасле индивидуе су пронађени у анатомском положају, оријентисани су у правцу запад-исток, са главом на западу. Руке покојника биле су прекрштене на грудима. Гробови нису

садржали инвентар ни прилоге, тако да није могуће расправљати о детаљнијој хронологији сахрањивања на истраженом узорку некрополе.

Анализом претходно описаних резултата ископавања утврђено је да млађа црква Св. Димитрија из 16. века, представља обнову старије грађевине из периода средњег века. Имајући у виду ову чињеницу, као и сачувану дипломатичку грађу за предметни простор у позном средњем веку, у раду је још једном размотрена историјска контекстуализација откривене старије цркве. У Светостефанској (Бањској) хрисовуљи краља Милутина, побројани су земљишни поседи Манастира Бањска у жупи Рас, који обухватају више насеља са детаљним описима међа, међу којима је и посед цркве Св. Димитрија у Бекову са припадајућим селима. Старији истраживачи су поменуту цркву препознали на простору данашњег села Бекова, према делимичној убикацији међника средњовековних села и једног савременог микротопонима, који их је семантички упућивао на име патрона црве. Нови увид у стратиграфију Цркве Св. Димитрија у Митровој Реци, уз први пут овде предложену убикацију међника Курјач Рт у непосредном окружењу, омогућио је њену просторну идентификацију са истоименом црквом и поседом који се помиње у Светостефанској хрисовуљи. Самим тим, ово истраживање дало је аргументе за реинтерпретацију територијалних обухвата села и поседа и прецизнију диспозицију њихових граница.

Кључне речи: Рашка област, средњи век, Светостефанска хрисовуља, црква, сахрањивање, надгробна плоча.

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THE EXCLUSIONARY RHETORIC AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ORTHODOX OTHER IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN OF CAPISTRANO*

Abstract: This paper examines the narrative and rhetorical strategies in John of Capistrano’s correspondence concerning Orthodox Christians during his stay in Hungary (1455–1456). It shows how derogatory language and framing techniques were deployed to portray the Orthodox as religious, political, and social “others” in relation to the Roman Catholic identity of the letter-writers. This exclusionary rhetoric, manifested in calls for repression, conversion, and papal intervention, is contextualized within the broader framework of anti-Orthodox Latin medieval discourse, the region’s religious conflicts, and complex political relations amid the rising Ottoman threat. Finally, the paper considers the impact of such rhetoric and its persistence along the frontier regions.

Keywords: John of Capistrano, heresy, medieval letters, 15th century, othering.

1. Introduction

John of Capistrano was a prominent 15th-century Franciscan preacher and inquisitor. After leaving his career as a jurist, he entered the Franciscan order in 1416. Following the death of his teacher, Bernardino of Siena (1444), Capistrano emerged as one of the leaders of the Observant movement. From the time he joined the Franciscans until he died in 1456, “he was almost constantly on the move in Italy and beyond,” preaching religious and moral reform of the cities, both within and outside Italy, strengthening the Observant movement, advocating loyalty to the papacy, and opposing religious adversaries such as heretics and Jews.[1]

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1 Galamb 2023: 33–36, quote at 33; Hofer 1965: 57–419.

Capistrano's correspondence, written between 1418 and 1456, includes more than 665 letters. The portion examined in this study was produced in the context of his mission in Central and Eastern Europe (1451–1456). He began his journey in Vienna and concluded it in Hungary, following the missionary aims outlined above. This "grand tour" of Capistrano was characterized by his fiery sermons, especially against the Jews and in favor of the moral renewal of towns, which left a strong impact on his audiences, as well as by anti-Hussite polemics.[2]

After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, promoting the crusade became a significant addition to Capistrano's missionary goals. To that end, he participated in the Imperial Diets of Frankfurt (1454) and Wiener Neustadt (1455). He then set out for Hungary to preach the crusade and personally assist in its organization. Arriving in May 1455, he established contacts with John of Hunyadi and other Hungarian nobles and, in June 1455, took part in the Diet of Győr, where the campaign against the Ottomans was discussed.[3] Soon after his arrival, however, it became evident that the crusade would not be his sole concern. Parts of southern Hungary and the Serbian-Hungarian-Bosnian frontier were zones of Catholic–Orthodox conflict. In Transylvania and the neighboring areas, efforts to socially exclude the Orthodox had been ongoing since the mid-fourteenth century.[4] In addition, anti-Catholic violence and murders occurred in the western parts of the Serbian Despotate following the expansion of Franciscan missions in the mid-15th century.[5]

Faced with the perceived Orthodox threat, Capistrano organized a mission aimed at their conversion in the southern regions of Hungary (September 1455–early 1456).[6] At the same time, in Hungary, he met Serbian Despot Đurađ (George) Branković (1427–1456), an Orthodox ruler allied with Hungary, who was expected to join the crusading cause. While aware of Đurađ's strategic position, Capistrano was also expected to act as a protector of the allegedly persecuted Franciscans in Serbia.[7]

From February 1456 onward, Capistrano concentrated his Hungarian mission primarily on the anti-Ottoman crusade. His preaching helped to gather a contingent of forces that joined the defense of Belgrade from the Ottomans in the summer of 1456, alongside the army of John Hunyadi and the Hungarian barons, with additional support from the Serbian Despot. Capistrano himself took part in the battle, encouraging the crusader troops with his sermons. The battle ended in an Ottoman defeat in July 1456. Shortly afterward, Capistrano died in Ilok on October 23, 1456.[8]

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2 Galamb 2023: 35–36, 38; Housley 2004; Elm 2016; Sedda 2025; Sedda 2014. Different aspects of Capistrano's mission in Central and Eastern Europe are examined in the volume Kras and Mixson (eds.) 2018. For the strengthening of the Franciscan Observance and the spread of papal policy, see Viallet 2018; Kalous 2018. For anti-Jewish and moral preaching, as well as the polemical letters against the Hussites, see Soukup 2018; Klaniczay 2018; Zaremska 2018.

3 Housley 2004: 94–97; Galamb 2023: 36–38.

4 Daniel 2014: 130–133, 194–195; Magina 2021: 251.

5 Andrić 2016: 217–218; Antonović 1993: 66.

6 Hofer 1965: 357–361; Damian 2024: 21–28; Dobrei 2021.

7 Andrić 2016; Spremić 2005.

8 Pálosfalvi 2018: 178–181; Housley 2004: 97–107; Hofer 1965: 389–410; Kalić 1967: 127–170. For sources in English translation regarding the battle, see Mixson (ed.) 2022.

Capistrano's correspondence regarding the Orthodox has so far been considered in studies on particular phenomena, such as his Transylvanian mission,[9] relations with the Serbian Despot,[10] and Serbian-papal relations in the 15th century.[11] The recent critical edition of the Hungarian correspondence has laid the foundations for further systematic research of this type of source.[12] Eastern Christianity was identified as one of the three main thematic layers of the correspondence, alongside the crusade and the strengthening of Franciscan Observance.[13]

The main objective of this research is to reveal the narrative and rhetorical strategies employed to define the Orthodox within the aforementioned political-religious context. Primary sources consist of letters sent and received by Capistrano from June 1455 to August 1456, grouped in two sets: (1) letters related to the mission in southern Hungary[14] and (2) letters concerning Despot Đurađ and the Serbian Orthodox.[15] Their examination allows for an investigation of the correspondents' exchange of ideas, immediate reactions to the religious and political crises, and connection of their rhetoric to broader discursive trends in late medieval Latin Christianity.[16] Research focused on the construction of otherness through derogatory language and framing techniques reveals the manners in which issues were presented and shared in communicative discourse.[17] The theoretical and methodological basis of the research consists of historical, discourse, and rhetorical analysis, as well as communication framing theories, and historical contextualization.[18]

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9 Hofer 1965: 357–361; Damian 2009; Daniel 2014: 112–227; Damian 2024: 23.

10 Andrić 2016.

11 Antonović 1993: 68–69.

12 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023.

13 Galamb 2023: 60, 62–64.

14 These include invitation letters to Capistrano from the city authorities of Lipova (September 18, 1455) and the provost of Arad church (October 5, 1455); Capistrano's letters to the barons of Transylvania (Azach (likely Hațeg), January 6, 1456), cardinal Juan Carvajal (Pest, February 3, 1456), and letters concerning Orthodox bishop John of Caffa to Cardinal Domenico Capranica (Buda, April 15, 1456), and Pope Callixtus III (1455–1458) (Buda, April 1456); letters from friar Michael Székely to Capistrano (Lipova, February 6, 1456; Lipova, February 10, 1456); letters from John Hunyadi to Capistrano (Timișoara, January 18, 1456; Lipova, February 7, 1456; Lipova, February 8, 1456); a letter from János Geszti, guardian of Tövis monastery to Capistrano (March 26, 1456). Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 230–231, no. 74, 232–233, no. 76, 259–260, no. 95, 266–268, no. 100, 271–276, nos. 102–105, 287, no. 116, 297, no. 128, 314–315, no. 133.

15 These include four Capistrano's letters to the pope (Győr, June 21, 1455; Győr, July 4, 1455; Csanád, September 17, 1455; Stari Slankamen, August 17, 1456), John of Hunyadi's letter to Capistrano (Dobra, September 8, 1455) and Pope Callixtus III's letter to Capistrano (Rome, December 10, 1455). Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 177–180, no. 50, 181–185, no. 52, 215, no. 69, 218–228, no. 72, 244–246, no. 86, 367–373, no. 173.

16 Further on the importance of medieval letters in investigating complex relations and conceptual perceptions in medieval societies, see Høgel and Bartoli 2015; Riehle 2020; Perelman 1988; Šaranac-Stamenković 2022, 249–252.

17 Entman 1993, 52–53; Nshom 2024; Collins and Christianson 2024.

18 For theoretical and methodological basis, and its implementation in medievistics, see Van Dijk 2015; Fairclough 1992; Tracy 2005; Kuypers and King 2021; Eisenbeiss and Saurma-Jeltsch (eds.) 2012; Yıldız 2019; Goetz and Wood (eds.) 2021; Nieto-Isabel and Milian (eds.) 2022.

2. Source Analysis

2.1. Letters Related to the Mission in Southern Hungary

The choice of certain terms and labels is the way in which concepts are highlighted and made more salient in the communicative discourse.[19] In the analyzed correspondence, the most frequent terms used to define the Orthodox were "schismatics" (*scismatici/schismatici*)[20] and labels directly connoting infidelity, such as "unbelievers" (*increduli*)[21] and "infidels" (*infideles*).[22] Christian theology distinguished between schism, which denoted ecclesiastical disobedience without necessarily nonorthodox teachings, and heresy as a more severe form of apostasy.[23] However, this distinction was not always obviously made in the high and late Middle Ages.[24] Heresy was rather a "willful disruption of a saving awareness of God previously shared with others" than a strictly defined sum of false teachings.[25] Thus, the near-synonymous usage of "schismatics" and "heretics" for the Orthodox in the analyzed letters followed the established discursive pattern in the Latin West, including Hungary, in which the Franciscans were its proponents.[26]

The opposition between the concepts of *infidelitas* (infidelity) and *Christianitas* (Christendom) frequently appears in the letters. Terms *Christiani* and *fides Christianitatis* were used solely to refer to Catholics.[27] This reflects the medieval conceptual framework of *Christianitas*, which was exclusively related to Roman Catholicism.[28] *Infidelitas* referred primarily to non-Christians, most commonly Muslims, but also to heretics, carrying the connotation of separation from the *fideles* (i.e., the Catholics).[29] In the letters, both the Orthodox and Muslims were designated with the term *infideles*.[30] This conceptual framing was frequent in contemporary Eastern and Central European discourse in relation to

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19 Entman 1993: 51–55.

20 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 231, no. 74, 233, no. 76, 260, no. 95, 275, no. 105, 298, no. 128, 315, no. 133.

21 *Ibid.* 231, no. 74, 266, no. 100. The cited letter from the town representatives of Lipova also mentions *pagani* alongside *schismatici* and *increduli*. *Ibid.* 231, no. 74. Although the Orthodox were occasionally labeled as pagans in contemporary Central and Eastern European discourse, unlike the other two terms, *pagani* does not appear elsewhere in Capistrano's correspondence to designate them. Therefore, it cannot be stated with certainty that the term in this case referred to the Orthodox community. On the labeling of the Orthodox as pagans in other sources, see Petkov 1995: 172–173, 176–177.

22 *Ibid.* 266–267, no. 100, 298, no. 128, 315, no. 133.

23 Peters 1980: 17; Baker 1972: 1, 17–18.

24 Baker 1972: 7–9, 41–44.

25 McGrade 1999: 135.

26 Neocleous 2019; Daniel 2014: 24–27; Petkov 1995: 172–180, 174–175, 177; Galamb 2002.

27 "Sed tamen ipsos incredulous nobiscum ducere non possumus, quos nos ad fidem Christianitatis converti optaremus." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 231, no. 74; "Scilicet suis fidelibus Christianis ipsas inhabitantibus plurimum defectum patitur et detrimentum, quas nunc vilissimi scismatici pro maiori parte inhabitant, […] alios novellos Christianos malis variis ipsorum operibus inficiunt." *Ibid.* 233, no. 76.

28 Berend 2010.

29 Weltecke 2015.

30 For the Orthodox, see Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 266–267, no. 100, 298, no. 128, 315, no. 133. For the Muslims, see *Ibid.* 178–180, no. 50.

religious others.[31] In the context of the Ottoman threat on Hungary's borders, labeling both the Turks and Orthodox with identical terms further reinforced a derogatory image of Orthodoxy as the opposite of Christendom.

The term *heretici* was used in the correspondence both for the Hussites[32] and the Orthodox.[33] Furthermore, the Orthodox were portrayed as heretics by analogy and allusive meanings. Capistrano grouped them with the Hussites as the corrupted religious group,[34] and Orthodox bishop John of Caffa was described in terms which clearly implied heresy, such as *heresiarcha* and *magister omnium schismatum et haeresum*.[35] Additionally, disobedience to the pope and the Church was ascribed to the Orthodox by Capistrano[36] and the provost of the Arad church.[37] This misconduct was a defining heretical feature in the anti-heretical Latin discourse.[38]

In his letter to Transylvanian barons, Capistrano labeled the Orthodox churches as *sinagogas Sathane eorum scismaticorum*.[39] In medieval inquisitorial rhetoric, the term "synagogues of Satan" was used to denote sites of heretical practices, desacralizing them as places of Devil worship. Consequently, their churches were typically ordered to be demolished.[40] This measure is explicitly demonstrated in Capistrano's letter.[41] A similar example of justifying violence against the Orthodox appears in friar Michael Székely's letter to Capistrano from February 10, 1456.[42] Székely labeled the Orthodox priests as *pseudopresbyteri*, a term typically attributed to heretical priests.[43] This term was employed in his call for the "rooting out" of these priests to facilitate the conversions.

Schism-related terminology and heretical framing of non-Catholic groups bear similarity to Capistrano's earlier rhetoric found in anti-Hussite and anti-Jewish polemics.[44] Moreover, he portrayed the Transylvanian Orthodox as an isolated group, outside even the boundaries of Greek Orthodoxy, stating that Orthodox Bishop John

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31 Petkov 1995: 175–176; Srodecki 2016: 104; Jenks (ed.) 2018: 458–501, nos. 97–104.

32 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 259, no. 95.

33 *Ibid.* 287, no. 116, 315, no. 133.

34 "Fidedigna relatione cognovi vos […] pro augmento sancte fidei nostre vehementer ardere, precipue contra scismaticos, ideo Walachos et Rascianos et hereticos Hossitas […]." *Ibid.* 260, no. 95.

35 *Ibid.* 298, no. 128, 315, no. 133; Cross and Livingstone (eds.) 1974: 639.

36 "Non enim ecclesiam Dei, non papam, non Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam quidquam pendebat, sed abscissus et alienus effectus." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 315, no. 133. This quotation relates to Bishop John, previously described in the letter as "heresiarch." *Ibid.* 315, no. 133.

37 "[…] quas nunc vilissimi scismatici pro maiori parte inhabitant, qui Deum non timent, nec cognoscunt, et proprium dominum naturalem spernunt […]." *Ibid.* 233, no. 76.

38 Fudge 2023: 2–4; Ames 2018: 42–44; Galamb 1997: 216–217; Siecienski 2017: 256, 279, 282–283, 290–294.

39 *Ibid.* 260, no. 95.

40 Novotný 2021: 155, 166–167, 186–187, 229; Kras 2020: 258; Radek 2022.

41 "Nam exemplo magnifici d(omini) Iohanni wayvode […] et aliorum baronum regni Hungarie moveri debetis, qui sinagogas Sathane eorum scismaticorum comburi mandaverunt ubique in dominiis suis, querentes quod sacerdotes scismatici aut baptizetur aut omnino expellantur." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 260, no. 95.

42 "Siquidem nisi ipsi pseudopresbyteri, [et] nov[elli et ant]iqui, [extirpentur, conversio gentis scismatice non sortie]tur eff[ectu]m." *Ibid.* 275, no. 105.

43 Souter 1957: 332.

44 Sedda 2014; Johannes de Capistrano 1858a: 697, 698, 699, et passim. Capistrano explicitly considered any non-Catholics to be heretical: "Omnis Judaeus, omnis infidelis gentilis et schismaticus dicuntur heretici." Johannes de Capistrano 1858a: 698.

"adhered neither to the Roman nor the Greek rite,"[45] and that he consecrated the priests "in his own way."[46] In the letter Capistrano received from Arad, Orthodox Christians are described as a threat to Catholics, being corruptors of converts labeled as *novellos Christianos*.[47] This threat narrative also appears in Michael Székely's letter, in which he complained to Capistrano about the anti-Catholic sermons of the Orthodox archdeacon Peter of Hunyad.[48]

Calls for repression and forced conversions were particularly characteristic of Capistrano's and Székely's narrative. When referring to conversions, both friars explicitly used the verb *baptizo*, which implied the actual act of baptism.[49] This choice of words suggests that the Orthodox may have been subjected to rebaptizing. Referring to conversions as actual baptisms reinforced the otherness of the Orthodox, positioning them closer to non-Christians than heretics, as heretics were typically received into the Church through revocation and reconciliation, without rebaptism.[50] Justification of violence mostly relied on the traditional Latin anti-heretical discourse, in which violent acts were seen as a means of saving heretical souls.[51] Capistrano's letters reflect this by describing forced conversions as bringing the Orthodox to the "knowledge of the truth"[52] or "saving [their, I.S.] souls."[53]

While the Transylvanian barons adopted derogatory rhetoric toward the Orthodox in communications with Capistrano,[54] Székely's letters reveal their actual reluctance to implement the harsh measures advocated by the friars.[55] The barons' repressive actions targeted only Bishop John and priests ordained by him, and not the entire Orthodox community.[56] This suggests that the need for stable subjects ultimately prevailed over religious zeal and that Capistrano's rhetorical strategy had a rather limited effect.[57]

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45 "Hic enim cum multitudine sequacium et complicum suorum neque Romanum neque Graecum ritum tenebat." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 315, no. 133.

46 "[…] consecrabat Valachos suo modo". *Ibid.* 298, no. 128.

47 "Vilissimi scismatici […] alios novellas Christianos malis variis ipsorum operibus inficiunt et errare cogunt." *Ibid.* 233, no. 76.

48 "[…] quoniam et in perti[nentiis] Hwnyad [et Dewa vulgus satis ad conversionem foret inclina]tum, si Petrus a[rchidiaconus] presbiterorum Valacho[rum] de [Hwnyad suis sermonibus cauterinis aliter] non suaderet. De quo, ut relatu veridico percepi, timentes populi [converti non auderent], po[tius enim ignem …] ut eligant, consulit, q[uam] bap[tismum] suscipiant in [forma ecclesie] Ro[ma]ne." *Ibid.* 275, no. 105. Recent studies suggested that these "archdeacons" hold semi-episcopal status in the Greek-rite communities. Daniel 2014: 156.

49 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 260, no. 95, 266, no. 100.

50 Kras 2020: 256–266.

51 Ames 2020: 482–485; Valodzina 2024.

52 "[...] pro cognitione veritatis Iesu Christi d(omini) nostri, ad salutem eorum." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 260, no. 95.

53 "[...] etsi mens mea non nihil amaritudinis tulerit ob fructum salutis animarum, quem sic imperfectum reliqui." *Ibid.* 266, no. 100.

54 *Ibid.* 271–272, no. 102, 274, no. 104.

55 *Ibid.* 271–272, no. 102, 275–276, no. 105; Petkov 1995: 178; Damian 2009: 148. After Capistrano's and Hunyadi's deaths, radical efforts waned, and King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) later granted privileges to Orthodox communities. Daniel 2014: 113.

56 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 274, no. 104.

57 Hunyadi, although undoubtfully dedicated to Catholicism, led thoughtful policy toward the Orthodox depending on his interests. Simon 2020; Daniel 2014: 182, 203–204.

2.2. Letters Related to the Serbian Orthodox

A significant portion of the Serbian set of letters considers the role of Despot Đurađ Branković in contemporary political and religious processes. There were several shifts in Capistrano's way of addressing Branković's Orthodoxy. Initially, writing from the assembly at Győr, he maintained a neutral tone, focusing on coalition-building against the Turks, and even expressing sympathies for the Serbian losses in wars against the Ottomans. Capistrano acknowledged the despot's faith without condemnation.[58] However, in July and September 1455, his tone shifted, portraying Branković and the Serbian Orthodox as hostile to Catholics and harmful to Christendom. According to Capistrano, the change was caused by the reports by Bosnian friars about anti-Catholic Orthodox violence and Branković's refusal to convert to Western Christianity.[59] Additionally, the shift coincided with Branković's negotiations with Sultan Mehmed II (1444–1446; 1451–1481) after the failure of crusading plans proposed at Győr.[60] In a letter from September 17, Capistrano denounced this as "peace with the most savage enemy of Christ" and a part of the ongoing "dangers facing the Christian Republic."[61]

Following the crusader victory at Belgrade (1456), in which the despot acted as an ally, Capistrano's tone softened again. He described Branković as "the illustrious lord despot (who even if he does not accord with our faith, nevertheless […] is with us in coming together against the faithless Turks)."[62] However, this rhetorical shift does not necessarily indicate a change in Capistrano's theological stance toward Orthodoxy. Notably, the despot was still rhetorically isolated as someone who "does not accord with our [Catholic, I.S.] faith."

The letter of July 4, 1455, contains the most detailed critique of the Orthodox in the entire correspondence, especially its appendix, which consists of eighteen articles on Serbian religious "errors."[63] In the first part of the letter, Capistrano listed several accusations against Despot Đurađ Branković. He criticized the despot for persisting in Orthodox traditions, rebaptizing his granddaughter Elisabeth of Cilli, the fiancée of Hunyadi's son Matthias Corvinus at that time, and for intending to establish monasteries in

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58 "[…] despotum Rassiae, qui hic cum his dominis et baronibus anhelat ab eis subsidium et defensionem dominii sui, denuncians ipsi despoto et baronibus nefandissimum nominis Christi hostem, Mahometh, Turcarum imperatorem occupasse potissimam Rasciae civitatem, Hobordam nomine. […] Despotus autem Rasciae, quamvis valde damnificatus sit, obtulit se paraturum decem millia [equitum, I.S.], licet in sua fide perduret." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 178–179, no. 50.

59 *Ibid.* 182–183, no. 52; Andrić 2016: 221; Spremić 1994: 454–455.

60 Spremić 1994: 459.

61 "[…] post ceteras notifications de periculis Reipublice Christiane nunc insinuo […] quod despotus ille […] pacem iniit cum Christi hoste sevissimo Magno Theucro Mahumeth." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 219, no. 72.

62 "[…] illustris dominus despotus, qui licet cum nostra fide non concordet, cum intentione tamen vestre sanctitati conveniens contra perfidos Turcos nobiscum est." *Ibid.* 369, no. 173. English translation was taken from Mixson (ed.) 2022: 105, no. 13. According to John of Tagliacozzo's biography of Capistrano, the friar indeed softened his anti-Orthodox rhetoric during the battle of Belgrade. However, this change likely reflected his pragmatic need for military cooperation. Andrić 1999: 33; Daniel 2014: 202.

63 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 182–184, no. 52. It represents a sort of a treatise-letter, which is a form that Capistrano frequently used in his anti-Hussite polemics. Soukup 2018. This example complements the others noted in Galamb 2023: 48. Similar short anti-heretical treatise-letters, without firm organizing structure, were written by other contemporary Franciscans. See Galamb 2002: 43–49.

Hungary staffed with "Greek monks" (*calogeri Graeci*).[64] These monks were accused of denying the filioque and purgatory, as well as stating that the saints "do not enjoy any glory until the Day of Judgment," and that the damned will not be punished until the Judgment Day.[65] Moreover, Capistrano disregarded the bull of Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455), which confirmed that Branković's faith aligned with that of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1445), as issued *ex non bona informatione*.[66]

Regarding the portrayal of the Serbian Orthodox community, Capistrano predominantly used heretical and schismatic framing, combined with allegations of anti-Catholic hostility. Serbian Orthodox were labeled as *schismatici*,[67] and were referred to as those who "rend and tear to pieces the seamless tunic of our Lord,"[68] which served as a typical allusion to schism.[69] Furthermore, Capistrano asserted that Serbian errors were supra-heretical, since they had particularities that were "beyond the heresies of the Greeks."[70] As in the Transylvanian correspondence, the term *Christiani,* or *Christianos catholicos*, was used exclusively to denote Roman Catholics.[71] Serbian Orthodoxy, like its Transylvanian counterpart, was framed as isolated from Greek Orthodoxy. Folk beliefs, such as the notion that "man was once a bear" and the avoidance of certain foods due to superstition, were likely cited as markers of cultural deviance.[72]

A significant portion of accusations centered on Orthodox hostility toward Catholics, such as property seizures, forced baptisms,[73] and mocking Catholic rituals and prayers.[74]

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64 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 182, no. 52. On Elisabeth's alleged rebaptism into Orthodoxy, see Andrić 2016: 208–209.

65 "[…] calogeros Graecos, qui omnino dicunt Spiritum Sanctum non procedere scilicet a filio, qui negant purgatorium esse, qui inficiantur animas quorumcunque sanctorum nullam gloriam usque ad diem iudicii habere, nec animas quorumcunque damnatorum aliquam poenam pati usque ad iudicium, et multa alia." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 183, no. 52.

66 *Ibid.* 183, no. 52. Further on the bull, see Stamenović 2023.

67 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 183, no. 52.

68 "Non satis aequo animo ferre possum […] discidentes atque dilacerantes tunicam inconsutilem domini nostri Jesu Christi […]." *Ibid.* 181–182, no. 52.

69 Blumenfeld-Kosinski 2009; Metaxas-Mariatos 1988: 72; Whelan 2014: 513. Pope Pius II (1458–1464) used this metaphor in his oration *Subjectam esse* (Mantua, 1459) to strengthen the thesis that the unity of the Church rests upon the Apostolic See in which "the undivided tunic of the Lord is kept" ("hic indiscissa [indivisa, cor. M. Cotta-Schønberg] domini tunica custoditur"). Pius PP. II 2024.

70 The eighteen articles were described as "[…] articuli, in quibus errant Rasciani ultra haereses Graecorum." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 183, no. 52.

71 "[…] compellunt Christianos aliquas quintas et sextas ferias et nonnulla festa secundum opinionem eorum"; "[…] non permittunt Christianos quarta feria vendere nec comedere carnes"; "[…] quando vero quis interficit Christianum, duodecim tantum [ferias, I.S.]." *Ibid.* 183–184, no. 52.

72 "Dicunt, ursum hominem fuisse, sed de exercitu Pharaonis hominem in ursum conversum, ratione cuius carnes ursi non comedunt"; "Non comedunt animalia, nisi prius per ferrum interficiantur; et si gallinas vel aves trahendo collum interficiantur, pro vita non comederent. Vel si canis leporem occideret, abiiciunt, impingendo Christianis, quod cadavera comedunt, qui huiusmodi comedunt." *Ibid.* 184, no. 52.

73 "Violenter Christianos catholicos arripiunt baptizando eos invitos, qui nollent, quandoque eis auferendo bona, et quandoque incarcerando eos." *Ibid.* 183, no. 52.

74 "Derident divina officia nostra"; "Compellunt Christianos catholicos violare ieiunia nostra in vigiliis sanctorum et festorum vel quatuor temporum"; "Quod orationes fidelium catholicorum et Romanorum nihil eis prosint, et dicunt quod sunt inutiles." *Ibid.* 183–184, no. 52.

Similar to the Transylvanian set of letters, disrespect and disobedience toward the Roman Church were highlighted, alluding to the heretical behavior.[75] Orthodox scorn toward the Catholic Eucharist was another pattern in Capistrano's religious othering, previously used in his anti-Hussite and anti-Jewish polemics.[76] The image of Orthodox hostility was further supported by allegations of light Orthodox penances for killing Catholics, which were three times lighter than for killing a dog.[77]

In the eighth article, Capistrano described the Serbian "baptismal" rite that supposedly included an explicit renunciation of the Latin faith, which is not known to other sources.[78] Just a few articles after, however, Capistrano referred to a well-documented Eastern Orthodox baptismal formula.[79] This was likely done to contrast it with the Catholic practice, as forms of baptismal rites were a point of contention between the two traditions.[80] The rite described in the eighth article may not have been completely fabricated, though. The rebaptism of Catholic converts was a frequent practice in Orthodox Christianity, and it was criticized by the Catholic theologians.[81] The inclusion of an explicit renunciation of the Latin faith and Saturday fasting suggests that the described rite may have been performed specifically for Catholic converts. However, this still remains a hypothesis, until it can be substantiated with evidence from other sources.

The aim of Capistrano's critical letter was to strategically urge the pope to "address these evils and errors [malis et erroribus]" in order to protect the Catholics, prevent the despot from establishing Orthodox monasteries in Hungary, and to reconsider his role as an anti-Ottoman ally.[82] Doctrinal polemic was of secondary significance, since only five of the twenty-two "errors" enumerated in the letter directly address doctrinal issues. The final impact of the accusations was limited. John of Hunyadi's letter to Capistrano (September 8, 1455) mentions Hunyadi's ill daughter-in-law, *neptis domini despoti* Elisabeth, without any mention of her rebaptism or derogatory language used.[83] Moreover, Pope Callixtus III, responding to Capistrano's letter, valued the Serbian despot solely for his military usefulness, and seemed indifferent to Capistrano's religious concerns.[84]

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75 "Iura ecclesiastica confringunt"; "Sacerdotes eorum dicunt, quod sunt Romani abscissi de fide eorum, et Romana fides non est, sed ab eis derivata"; "De obedientia papae nihil curant"; "Indulgentias ecclesiarum et papae contemnunt, dicentes, quod haec vera non sunt"; "Contemnunt festa Corporis Christi, et Beatae Virginis non tenentes." *Ibid.* 184, no. 52.

76 "Quando portatur sacramentum Eucharistiae ad infirmos, ipsi violenter spernunt, tanquam rem abhominabilem, in contemptum fidei catholicae." *Ibid.* 183, no. 52. For earlier uses of this pattern, see Johannes de Capistrano 1858b: 808–812; Sedda 2014: 145–146, 151–152; Rubin 2004: 120–125.

77 "Quando quis gattam interficit, pro poenitentia […] ferias sextas; quando interficit canem, triginta sextas ferias; quando vero quis interficit christianum, duodecim tantum". Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 184, no. 52.

78 "Quando […] baptizant, dicunt baptizandis: abrenuntias fidem Latinam? Et ille respondet: abrenuntio. Et illi: abrenuntias ieiunium sabbati? Et ille respondet: abrenuntio. Et illi: abrenuntias Petrum Guignani? Et ille respondet: abrenuntio." *Ibid.* 184, no. 52. Petrus Guignani still remains unidentified. *Ibid.* 184, note 1.

79 "Quando baptizant, dicunt: baptizetur servus vel serva Dei in nomine Patris, Amen; in nomine Filii, Amen; in nomine Spiritus Sancti, Amen." *Ibid.* 184, no. 52.

80 Avvakumov 2011.

81 Neocleous 2019: 58–61, 81–82; Kolbaba 2005.

82 Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 182, no. 52.

83 *Ibid.* 215, no. 69.

84 Andrić 2016, 223. The pope wrote: "De despoto autem et futuris [periculis displicent nobis ea, que scribis, sed

3. Conclusion

Both sets of letters mostly portray Orthodox Christians as the excluded "enemy-other" in Christendom, using medieval Latin derogatory terms to depict them as heretical, schismatic, socially and culturally deviant, and opposed to Roman Catholic *Christianitas*. Derogatory language and framing played a crucial role in this process by shifting the focus away from commonalities with the Orthodox to highlighting their "dangerous" otherness.[85]

While the exclusionary language used in both sets of letters was largely similar, its strategic deployment varied: the Transylvanian letters, emerging from a position of Catholic power, aimed to compel Orthodox conversions and assert dominance, whereas the Serbian letters, reflecting Catholic vulnerability, warned of Orthodox hostility. The overall reach of this rhetorical othering appeared to be limited and "out of time" in relation to declining anti-Orthodox discourse in the Latin West.[86] At the same time, the analyzed correspondence shows that religious conflicts continued to generate exclusionary rhetoric and reinforce Catholic identity and Catholic–Orthodox distinctions on a localized scale in the frontier regions.

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spe]randum est in misericordia Dei, que non sinet gregem suum disperdi, et aderit nobis in brachio potenti, adversu[s quod non prevalebit infidelium feritas. Ne]que vero credas, omnem spem nostram po[suisse nos dudum in prefato despoto, neque ita necessaria] esse praesidia sua, [u]t aliter fieri non possit." Galamb et al. (eds.) 2023: 244–245, no. 86.

85 In situations of violent conflicts between different cultural groups, these distinctions become accentuated, often leading to the legitimization of violence as a means of excluding the "other" and reinforcing group identity. Murer 2009; Murer 2014.

86 Petkov 1995: 187, note 38; Bisaha 2004: 122–133.

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РЕТОРИКА ИСКЉУЧИВАЊА И КОНСТРУКЦИЈА ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ДРУГОСТИ У КОРЕСПОНДЕНЦИЈИ ЈОВАНА КАПИСТРАНА

Резиме

Угарска кореспонденција Јована Капистрана (1455–1456) настала је у контексту сложених околноси православно-римокатоличких конфликата на простору јужне Угарске и западних делова Српске деспотовине, те превирања на хришћанско-османској граници. Православни су у писмима примарно представљени као група позиционирана изван граница хришћанства (*Christianitas*), поистовећеног са римокатоличанством. Искључивање се највећим делом остваривало кроз појмове који су наглашавали верску другост, попут *scismatici*, *infideles*, *heresiarcha* (за епископа), *sinagogas Sathane* (за храмове) и др. Употребом датих појмова, упоредо са реториком културне и друштвене другости, православни су изједначавани са јеретицима и неверницима. У писмима везаним за Српску деспотовину, Капистранов став према православљу деспота Ђурђа варирао је упоредо са Ђурђевим променама у антиосманској политици. Критике у овој групи писама истицале су, између осталог, насиље православних над католицима, непоштовање римског ауторитета, исмејавање католичких традиција и сујеверје.

Терминологија и реторика обе групе писама већим делом је слична и ослања се на латински средњовековни противправославни и јересиолошки дискурс. Међутим, употреба искључујуће реторике варирала је у односу на политички контекст, примаоце писама и различите позиције моћи римокатолика и православних. У јужној Угарској, где су католици били у доминантном положају у односу на православне, конструкција православне другости служила је јачању католичког идентитета, истицању доминације и легитимизацији насиља у циљу покрштавања православних. У случају Српске деспотовине, реторика другости служила је стварању слике рањивости и угрожености католика у већински православној средини, како би се придобила папска заштита. Анализирана кореспонденција показује опстајање негативног наратива према православнима у пограничним и конфликтним подручјима, упркос његовом ширем опадању на латинском Западу након пада Константинопоља (1453)

Кључне речи: Јован Капистран, јерес, средњовековна писма, 15. век, другост.

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NADA KLAIĆ AND SIMA ĆIRKOVIĆ ON EARLY MEDIEVAL BOSNIA – TWO EXAMPLES OF APPROACHES TO THE ISSUES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL BOSNIA

Abstract: This article presents the attitudes of two respectable historians, Nada Klaić and Sima Ćirković, on the earliest history of medieval Bosnia. Although mutually conflicting to a large extent, their attitudes represent a breakthrough in studying Bosnian history but also the history of the Middle Ages in the Balkans. Challenging the concepts related to this subject developed during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, Klaić's and Ćirković's positions faced difficulty reaching not only history enthusiasts but also some experts. Sima Ćirković's approach is analytical, cautious, and meticulous, written with the wish to encourage divergent thinking rather than to provoke. He points out the problem of researchers' subjectivity and frequent projections of the present onto the past. Nada Klaić's approach is more polemical and imbued with the need to refute the theories that projected modern times onto the past, and in those efforts, she often fell prey to the very errors she tried to correct in other people's work.

Keywords: Bosnia, Nada Klaić, Sima Ćirković, ethnos, the Middle Ages.

The question of ethnic character and identity of Bosnia in earlier periods started to attract the attention of historians and scholars in other humanities and social disciplines only recently. That is, from the time when modern nations developed in this territory. The answer to this question, which, in its nature, is much more political and contemporary than historical, is not simple. In addition to being difficult to define methodologically, unclear and scarce sources represent another obstacle to a more precise answer. Regardless of all these difficulties, there have not only been interested amateurs but also often educated historians who have readily provided inconclusive answers to this question.

Historicism was an extremely important element in creating modern national consciousness in the territory of the Western Balkans. Modern nationalism–and the politics derived from it–was as intertwined with history as much as history, especially the one related to the pre-Ottoman medieval period, was intertwined with the needs of national ideologies and politics. Consequently, the questions and answers related to the history of medieval

Bosnia and especially its ethnic identity were influenced by national identity and political needs and often by various prejudices of historians and other participants in these discussions.

In this paper, we will not deal with a number of historians' views that can be reduced to a simple line of thought on medieval Bosnia as a Serbian, Croatian or Bosniak medieval state structure.[1] We will consider the thoughts of two respectable historians whose views have left a mark only in the narrow circle of specialist historians but have remained without a without wider recognition–Nada Klaić, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, and Sima Ćirković, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

For a clearer understanding of their somewhat concordant but largely opposing theses, it is necessary to define the term of medieval Bosnia in the territorial sense but also to define the term of ethnos in its dynamic meaning. These issues are the ones that both scholars agree on.

They search for the original Bosnia within Porphyrogenitus's "little land Bosnia," known from the 10th-century historical source titled *De administrando imperio*. They recognize the borders of this original state in the upper and middle course of the Bosna River, the areas that gravitate to it, the middle course of the Drina River in the east and the upper and middle courses of the Vrbas River in the west.

The notion of ethnos is seen by both as a dynamic category, with emphasis on the various factors which contributed or hindered the processes of ethnic development, such as the durability of state formations, the rule of a ruler or dynasty, institutions, and primarily estates, linguistic proximity (remoteness), religious traditions of the territory, distinctive medieval social structures (Ćirković), that is, dynamic through mixing of different tribes which continuously attributed new qualities (Klaić). This is where any similarity in the opinions of these two scholars ceases when it comes to the development of Bosnia in the early Middle Ages.

Any cogitation on this subject will face the most important obstacle–very few historical sources, even far fewer in comparison to other neighbouring areas in this period. Traces of unclear and often contradictory data can be found in the report of the emperor writer Constantine Porphyrogenitus, known as *De administrando imperio*, *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*; *Annales regni Francorum*; and some indirect historical and archaeological sources.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of five Serbian territories in the Balkans: Pagania, Zahumlje, Travunia, Serbia and Bosnia. There are contradictions in his text. Zahumlje, Pagania and Travunia are listed as lands inhabited by the Serbian population but also as the territories of separate tribes. Unlike these areas, Bosnia is, as Porphyrogenitus

[1] Summarizing the thoughts related to national interpretations of Bosnian medieval past in the sense of Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian medieval exclusivity in that territory, we can reduce them to the following theses:
- Bosnia as ethnically Serbian territory, which partially lost that character only in the process of Islamization at the time of the Ottoman Empire.
- Bosnia as Croatian land, which only embarked on independent development in the late medieval period.
- Premises of a separate Bosnian ethnos, related to the emancipation of one of the younger nations in these territories, Bosniaks, who saw in those premises, leaning on historical and even more often pseudohistorical tools, a means of identity defence against aggressive and older nationalisms of Serbs and Croats.
On these theories abound with explicit political historicism, see: Lovrenović 1996: 26–37; Lovrenović 2002: 60–84. Ekmečić 2021: 268.

states, undoubtedly connected to Serbia.[2] Confirmation of the connection between Bosnia and Serbia is also found in the semi-mythical C*hronicle of the Priest of Duklja,* which states the following when mentioning Serbia and Zagorje:

> Serbia, however, which is also called Zagorska, he divided into two provinces: one, which stretches westward from the great Drina River to Borova mountain, he called Bosnia, and the other, stretching from the same Drina River eastward all the way to the villages of Lipljani and Lab, he called Raška.[3]

Some data relevant to drawing conclusions on early medieval Bosnia is also found in the *Annales regni Francorum*.[4]

Nada Klaić formed her unique scholarly work often by opposing the very tradition of defending Croatian political needs using various historical constructions.[5] In the efforts of Croatia to express its statehood within the complex Habsburg monarchy, very important political premises of historical borders on the Drava and Drina rivers and exclusively Croatian heritage of Dalmatia impacted the course of historical conclusions on the early medieval history during the 19th and part of the 20th century. Even very prominent historians such as Franja Rački, Vjekoslav Klaić, Ferdo Šišić and others were led by the political needs of the Croatian state, which strived for emancipation within the Habsburg monarchy, and they subordinated some of their conclusions to those efforts. A unique character, Nada Klaić polemicized with all historical myths in existence, both those in the Croatian public and in historiography. In her most important work on the history of Bosnia, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna: politički položaj bosanskih vladara do Tvrtkove krunidbe (1377. g.)*(in English *Medieval Bosnia: The Political Position of Bosnian rulers up to Tvrtko's Coronation*, *1377*), speaking of the emergence of the Bosnian state, she stresses the Avar origin of authorities not only in that area but also in Carantania, Croatia and probably Serbia.[6] Sharply opposing the theses of Serbian core and Croatian core, which were dominant in the Western Balkans and in a short time integrated all independent communities and areas, she often presented original and unorthodox theories on the beginnings of states in the Western Balkans. She fiercely opposed the position of Sima Ćirković on the gradual and long-term stratification of the Bosnian society, which Ćirković says cannot be tracked but ultimately leads to the elevation of *župans* (chieftains) and their clans "over the mass of free and equal Slavs" and imposition of "their authority on the surrounding territories". Referring to the fact that the title of *ban*, which is mentioned in Croatia and Bosnia, is Avar in origin, she draws the conclusion that Bosnia must have been an Avar *banovina* and then grew into an independent

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2 Maksimović 1959; Moravcsik 1967. Famous work by Constantine Porphyrogenitus is the subject of a number of papers. The most significant source on the history of these areas is Ostrogorski 1948: 24–29. For a list of more recent scientific literature, see Živković 2010: 161–180 and Živković 2012: 313–332.

3 *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 2009: 59.

4 *Annales regni Francorum* 1895: 158: "Exercitus de Italia propter Liudewiticum bellum conficiendum in Pannoniam missus est, ad cuius adventum Liudewitus Siscia civitate relicta ad Sorabos, quae natio magnam Dalmatiae partem optinere dicitur, fugiendo se contulit et uno ex ducibus eorum, a quo receptus est, per dolum interfecto civitatem eius in suam redegit dicionem."

5 For more details on the scholarly work of Nada Klaić, see Galović–Aličić 2014.

6 Klaić 1994: 11–12.

state organisation after the fall of the Avar Khaganate at the beginning of the 9th century. Believing that Serbian and Croatian migration into the Balkans did not take place in the 7th and 8th century, she emphasises that:

> We no longer… need to wander about the nature of the relationship between the Avar-Slavs and Croats or Serbs, but rather about the nature of the position Slavs held in the Avar-Slavic community and how the Avar-Slavic relationship developed until the end of the 8th century, when the Avar Khaganate disappeared in the Frankish-Avar wars.[7]

Referring to the conclusions of Kronsteiner on Avar-Slavic symbiosis in the Alps, Nada Klaić reaches a logical conclusion that in the course of two hundred years there had to have been such an influence in Bosnia too.[8] She also accepts the thesis that Croats were Avar-Slavic warrior cast that spoke a Slavic language.[9]

Thus, she draws the definitive conclusion that:

> Bosnian lands – I deliberately speak in plural – in the Avar period also have their own organisation of government like all other Slavs who found themselves within the Avar empire. In other words, this means that they had Avar bans and župans, whose existence, naturally, cannot be doubted. And just as Avar župans became rulers in Raška at some point, so has the title of the former Avar most dignified official continued to serve Bosnian rulers as the title of ruler up to Tvrtko's coronation in 1377.[10]

The problem with this very interesting hypothesis is that the few historical sources available do not confirm it. This, however, was not an obstacle for Nada Klaić, who in her methodological processing sometimes uses methods that she consistently criticizes when they are employed by 'patriotic' historians.[11] Historical sources that do not suit her thesis she rejects as forgeries or interprets them in a methodologically incorrect manner, accompanied by highly imaginative interpretations. While we can accept part of her argumentation for rejecting the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the C*hronicle of the Priest of Duklja* as deliberate and partly accidental forgeries, her interpretation of a short statement in *Annales regni Francorum* is an example of unjust distortion of facts in order to confirm a thesis set beforehand that ethnic Serbs (whoever they may be at that moment) are not found west of the Drina, and, criticizing Ćirković, she states:

> 'But these inept 'projections' about Bosnia as Serbian are as valuable as Šišić's attempts at proving Bosnia to be Croatian. Oh, Ćirković will not take into account that the Serbs the Frankish chronicler is referring to are today's Serbs along the famous centuries-old Una route, which not only formed a separate Croatian parish in the Middle Ages, but also exists in the same place to this day![12]

It would suffice to read a record from 822 in the *Annales regni Francorum* to notice

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7 Klaić 1994: 22.
8 Kronsteiner 1978: 137–157.
9 Klaić 1994: 24–25.
10 *Ibid*. 26–27.
11 For more details on the specific characteristics of Nada Klaić's scholarly work, see Budak 2014: 113–131.
12 Klaić 1994: 10.

inevitably how methodologically problematic her interpretation is, since this source, which annuls her thesis of a unique Bosnia where there are no Serbs and Croats, she could not declare a forgery.

Regardless of the significant objections to her interpretation of historical sources, her theses are certainly inspirational due to their comprehensive and interdisciplinary historical, philological and sociological approach to the problem of the early Middle Ages in the territory of the Western Balkans and Pannonia. A number of historians, especially in Croatia, partially introduced elements of her methodology into their works.

Different in character, Sima Ćirković approached this problem level-headed. Believing that it was largely introduced from modern times and not overly important to medieval people, he concentrates on the historical sources themselves. Evaluating them, Ćirković attempts to introduce them into the appropriate relations by analyzing the frames of mind, which set out from the same facts and lead to different conclusions in modern historiography.

Speaking about historical disputes and prejudices, Ćirković says:

> It appears that the most numerous and most stubborn ones originate in old disputes on what is whose. For their overcoming it is not as necessary to question the cognitive tools we use as it is to apply traditional historical critique which was developed in the period of positivist orientation. Refining the chronology only leads to the elimination of anachronisms, to the balanced perception of discontinuity, equally as of continuity, while the broadening of horizons brings into balance the observation of what is inside the borders of 'own' and the part of the world which remains outside that, often imaginary border. Consistent application of such criticality will disperse or reduce to true measure many a dispute.[13]

Insisting on critical methodology, Ćirković emphasizes that it is not to be understood only in the positivist sense of comparing historical sources and verifying their authenticity and credibility. These questions have already been resolved rather successfully by the historical science in these regions. Within the critical approach, one should examine and verify "the general cognitive tools utilized and the framework within which the reconstruction of the past took place." The essence of the critical approach is not so much in problematizing and reevaluating the results of the previous generations of historians as it is in recognizing whether those results were limited by "the general ideas of the time in which these historians created and ideologies which, most often unintentionally, steered their thinking."[14]

Older generations of historians examined individual aspects and partial processes of historical development according to the highest methodological standards of the historical science, but in reconstructing larger wholes, such as, for example, national histories.

> preconception of nations … directed research and did not change or adjust in accordance with the progress of empirical research. This is why, on the basis of the same source materials and carefully determined details, it was possible to reach very different reconstructions of the whole.[15]

Challenging the static notion of ethnic community (tribe, people, nation) whose

[13] Ćirković 2008: 3.
[14] *Ibid*. 2–3.
[15] *Ibid*. 3.

shared identity characteristics are passed down through generations, not only on the subject of Bosnian but also all other medieval topics, Ćirković puts forward the contrary notion that:

> Tribes, peoples, nations, are simply social communities that, like a bond, are held together by the awareness of belonging to the same community. And this awareness springs from various circumstances: ruled by the same authority, sharing the same beliefs and customs, and common symbols, and accompanied by a perception of the differences that separate them from members of other such groups. If such a concept is appropriate, then genealogy plays a minor role. Incomparably greater is the role of changes in social structure and culture, on which the nature of the aforementioned bonds depends, which ensure cohesion in a social group.[16]

Although older generations of researchers felt that there were differences between epochs and generations, they believed that they did not pose a threat to identity and that,

> 'They do not tamper with the essence, which remains the same.' The tacit assumption that Serbs, taken as an example, both in the 9th and 19th centuries, represent parts of the same whole, has far-reaching consequences for historical opinion also because it postulates staticity that makes it impossible to see the magnitude and depth of changes that have occurred over time.[17]

In the example of the most important source for early medieval history of the Western Balkans, *De administrando imperio,* Ćirković points out the problem of interpretation using the instance of the early medieval border between Serbs and Croats. Here, Ćirković stresses, there is an explicitly stated border between them:

> On the Cetina, and circumstantially it can be concluded that it stretched east of the Croatian parishes of Imota, Pliva and Livno. The Serbian tribe settled eastward to the city of Ras (near present-day Novi Pazar), which in the second half of the 9th century was located on the border between what was then Bulgaria and Serbia.[18]

Speaking about how this historical source should be interpreted, Ćirković says:

> It would be natural for the emperor's statements to be interpreted in the context of what preceded and what was contemporary with the events. It so happened, however, that the data from these accounts were often limited to what followed, implying the identity of the tribes over thousands of years, as a result of which boundary stones of the territorial arrangement of the tribes from the 7th to the 10th centuries were sought and found in those that separate the 19th and 20th century national territories, which were fought over and agreed upon. The tacit equating of tribe members from the era of the Slavic migrations with members of the Serbian nation in the 19th century prevents us from seeing and realistically assessing the major changes with far-reaching consequences that have occurred in the same area in the meantime.[19]

Ćirković also interprets the early history of Bosnia in the same context, emphasizing its separate organisation and structure, estate (*sabor*) general and dynasty, as well as a

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16 Ćirković 2008: 3.
17 *Ibid*.
18 *Ibid*.
19 *Ibid*. 4.

specific 'Bosnian Church' with an authentic interpretation of Christianity. He states the necessity to:

> Remind ourselves of the disintegration and collapse of that state and the creation of the administrative units of the Ottoman Empire; a fundamental change in religious relations, a large-scale movement of the population through emigration from that area and immigration to that area. Ignoring the changes and their consequences acted as a message that the people do not change, regardless of everything that happens to them and around them. This belief could not be shaken even by experiences from the real world, in which, not only at the level of families, but also of smaller groups, especially in migrations, ethnicity changes over the course of two to three generations. The consequence of the dogma of immutability was the fact that all state creations of previous periods were tacitly attributed the character of a nation-state, at least in the embryonic stage, even though research revealed that ethnic levelling and homogenization within a vast territory were relatively new phenomena.[20]

Ćirković notes that as the circumstances in the Balkans changed:

> Ethnic groups with new characteristics emerged, often more stable and permanent, but also unfinished ones, open to further changes and adaptations. Just as the tacit use of identity blurred the view and prevented a realistic perception of the dynamics of ethnic development, it also hindered understanding the complexity of these processes, recognizing their main components.[21]

According to Ćirković, it was not until the 13th century that church circumstances, nowadays so important for ethnic identification in the Western Balkans, start to gain importance in defining identity. He quite clearly notices that:

> From the point of view of ethnic development, the differences between churches in the basic points of their teachings are not so important, but what is important is the cultural differences that accompanied the confessions. The tacit acceptance of the idea that nation is a natural creation that does not change in essence prevented the processes of merging and separation inevitable in the development of an ethnic community from being noticed and evaluated in accordance with their significance.[22]

Speaking about how important the religious component has become since then in the process of assimilation and apostasy, Ćirković indicates that the purpose of the research is not to make a balance sheet of national profit and loss:

> But instead to demonstrate how unrealistic it is to tacitly operate with ethnic unity and purity, preserved through the centuries. The deeply rooted belief in the folk spirit, inherited from Romanticism and maintained through heritage and transmission through folk culture, prevented the question of the bonds and cohesive forces that hold an ethnic group together from being raised and discussed. First of all, the question arises as to whether it is possible for these bonds to be equal in the Middle Ages and the 19th century, in such significantly different socio-economic conditions and cultures?[23]

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[20] Ćirković 2008: 4.
[21] *Ibid*.
[22] *Ibid*. 7.
[23] *Ibid*. 7.

Commenting on the events that largely influenced the identity fractures of more lasting significance, Ćirković lists several important events mostly related to Christianization but also to the development of certain state institutions, assemblies (*sabor*) and the sacral legitimization of ruling dynasties.

> In the Serbian case, several turning points can be distinguished. One is certainly the adoption of Christianity, when the Serbs, like other Christianized peoples, had to fundamentally change their attitude toward pagan deities and the ties of the earthly hierarchy to them.[24]
> These differences, which remained permanent and gradually became deeper, overcame and nullified the differences between the tribes that participated in the migrations. Along with the characteristics acquired on the Balkan Peninsula under the auspices of the Roman Empire and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, life in Christianity and its increasingly complete acceptance and development created the conditions for the emergence of unique traits specific only to Serbs. They appear relatively late, only from the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, and in connection with the dynastic ideology of the ruling house that was then consolidating its power. The source of these ideas was to be found in the opposition to the universalism of the Byzantine emperors by emphasizing immediacy in the relationship with God.[25]
> 'By creating a special Serbian tradition as an extension of the general Orthodox tradition, the area of the autocephalous archbishopric acquired an ethnic identity which it would preserve in later centuries, when there was no state, no powerful protectors, and no support from the authorities. During the Ottoman period, this ideology could not be developed or supplemented, but its essence was preserved and transmitted in an impoverished form–as part of regular church life. In this way, a part of history remained permanently in consciousness as an important element of Serbian identity.[26]

According to Ćirković, specifics of the emergence of the identity foundations on which the nations of the Western Balkans would be created in the 18th and 19th centuries will lead to:

> Being trapped in the shell of one's own nation and isolated from others resulted not only in the application of double standards, which was already opposed by positivism in 19th-century historiography, but also in an unrealistic view of relations with neighbours and other nations.[27]
> In the case of Serbs and Croats, the repertoire of such topics was particularly enriched by the mutual effort to demarcate the boundaries, which started after they became familiar with each other. Clarifying the relations between the two peoples is more susceptible to exploitation for political purposes than to the reconstruction of the whole. In our case, this is best reflected in the long oscillation between assumed unity and fundamental division. Historically, the arguments of those who advocate either of the opposing views have played an equally significant role. The perception of relations between nations has always been influenced by numerous popular representations of the past, partial, fragmentary, located in the most diverse 'places of memory'. What they all have in common is a disregard for accuracy, chronology, discontinuity, and a lack of concern for historical context. Anachronism is their essential characteristic–everything is viewed from the perspective of the present; the ideas that were current at the time of the emergence of such collective ideas about history are transferred to all epochs. A significant part of the aforementioned disputes originates from a kind of overriding of history, the conscious or

[24] Ćirković 2008: 7.
[25] *Ibid*. 8.
[26] *Ibid*. 9.
[27] *Ibid*.

> unconscious erasure of the differences between the time in which one is speaking and the time about which one is speaking.[28]

Consciously trying to avoid the traps of projecting modern national determinants into the far past, Ćirković steers clear of hypothesising. In principle, what Ćirković presents on the early history of Bosnia is only what the sources offer and what they are in agreement on. He states facts brought to us by the three main sources: Serbs live in Bosnia:

> Exercitus de Italia propter Liudewiticum bellum conficiendum in Pannoniams missus est, ad cuius ad ventum Liudewitus Sisciau civitate relicta ad Sorabos, quae natio magnam Dalmatiae partem optinere dicitur, fugiendo se contulit et uno ex ducibus eorum, a quo receptus est, pei dolum interfecto civitatem eius in suam redegit dicionem (*Annales regni Francorum*).[29]
> Croatia borders Serbia on the Cetina and Livno (Constantine Porphyrogenitus).[30]
> Serbia, however, which is also called Zagorje, he divided into two provinces, one of which stretches from the great Drina River westward to the mountains of Pina; this one he also named Bosnia, and the other encompasses the territory from the aforementioned Drina River eastward to Lupia and Lake Skadar; this one he named Raška (*Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*).[31]

This is where all stories of the beginning of Bosnia end. In Ćirković's still unsurpassed work *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (in English *History of the Medieval Bosnian State*), six pages are dedicated to this early period, as opposed to the work of Nada Klaić, who dedicates twenty-four pages of her monograph to this subject.[32] With no desire to deal with the questions that are certainly interesting but cannot be answered outside pure hypothesising, Ćirković is only interested in subsequent events, among others, also in the question of the new individuality of Bosnia, which he places in the period between the 12th and mid-14th century. Remaining contemplative in the face of this problem, Ćirković points out that:

> Some things are very difficult to clarify due to the scarcity of sources. Among the obscurities is the question of the influence of the Bosnian state framework, the nobility estate, the idea of the crown and the kingdom on the formation of the awareness of individuality manifested in the name Bosniaks, 'good Bosniaks' for the subjects of the Bosnian rulers, regardless of the region they came from.[33]

Speaking of the influence of the Bogomil church and specific religious circumstances on the broader acceptance of Islam in the early Ottoman period, Ćirković notes that this influence could have been only circumstantial…[34]

These attitudes of Sima Ćirković were in collision with the widespread belief of the Serbian public about the ethnically Serbian Bosnia, which was partially Islamized with the arrival of the Ottomans.[35] Although Serbian medieval historiography today no longer has

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28 Ćirković 2008: 9–10.
29 *Annales regni Francorum* 1895: 158.
30 Maksimović 1959: 35.
31 *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 1959: 59.
32 Ćirković 1964: 37–43.
33 Ćirković 2020: 79 and 219.
34 Ćirković 1997: 239.
35 Compare Ekmečić 2021: 146, who states that Muslims became a majority in Bosnia after the Great Turkish

any dilemma on the different paths that Raška and Bosnia departed on since the end of the 12th century, as soon as one leaves that narrow scientific circle, the concept of the Islamization of Serbian Bosnia during the Ottoman period as the main cause of present-day national divisions becomes dominant.

In the course of his work, Sima Ćirković has also had to face obstacles primarily related to the mythical notions of the Ottoman period, which blurred many a thing related to the medieval period, among others also the early and late period of Bosnian history. In the territory of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 20th century, Serbs constituted almost half of the population. The Serbian public was not ready to accept any interpretation of the past of that area outside the Serbian framework and partial Islamization of that population. Any other opinion, even if it had not been contested, was pushed out to the margins of public discourse.

Since it was impossible then, just as it is impossible now, to enter into a corroborated discussion with the stances of Sima Ćirković, due to the widespread unscientific notions of medieval Bosnia, only a narrow circle of specialist historians is familiar with them today, while they remain unknown to the broader public.[36]

Similar problems also arise from the historical contribution of Nada Klaić. Although she is today acknowledged for her role in re-examining older historical sources and dispelling many myths related to the political use of Croatian historiography, some historians notice that her book on medieval Bosnia has become a 'breviary' of Bosniak political unitarianism, regardless of that not being her intention.[37]

The views of these two scholars have influenced medievalist historians significantly, but they have not been received in the broader public, chiefly due to the mythical historicism as the essential part of national ideologies in these areas, but also due to the lack of understanding of the dynamics in the development of ethnic communities.

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War, referring to the book by Pejanović 1955, which makes no such claims.

[36] Theses proposed by Sima Ćirković have been explained recently in detail by Isailović 2019: 33–58; 2018: 261–282.

[37] Lovrenović 2014: 336.

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НЕНАД ЛЕМАЈИЋ
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НАДА КЛАИЋ И СИМА ЋИРКОВИЋ О РАНОСРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОЈ БОСНИ – ДВА ПРИМЕРА ПРИСТУПА ПИТАЊИМА РАНЕ ИСТОРИЈЕ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ БОСНЕ

Резиме

Питање етничког карактера Босне у средњовековном периоду почело је да привлачи пажњу историчара и других научника тек у новије време у периоду стварања модерних нација. У раду се износе размишљања двоје угледних историчара Наде Клаић и Симе Ћирковића о овом питању. Њихови ставови мада у много чему међусобно супротстављени представљају продор у проучавању историје Босне али и историје средњег века на Балкану. У много чему супротсављени концептима о овој теми који су се развили током XIX и почетком XX века њихови ставови тешко су налазили пут не само до љубитеља прошлости већ и дела стручњака. Приступ Симе Ћирковића је аналитичан и опрезан, акрибичан, писан са жељом да подстакне на друкчије размишљање пре него да провоцира. Он указује на проблем субјективности истраживача и честе пројекције садашњости у прошла раздобља. Нада Клаић је више полемична и прожета потребом да сруши теорије које су модерно доба пројектовале у прошлост, често у тој борби западајући у грешке које је код других покушавала да исправи. Погледи ових двоје научних радника оставили су значајан утицај у ужим круговима научника медиевалиста али нису имали рецепцију у широј јавности првенствено због митског историцизма као суштинског дела националних идеологија на овим просторима.

Кључне речи: Босна, Нада Клаић, Сима Ћирковић, етноси, средњи век.

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EDUCATIONAL CAPITAL, FAMILY BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL POSITIONING IN MID-19th CENTURY SERBIA

Abstract: This paper explores different pathways to higher education in mid-19th-century Serbia and its role in upward social mobility. It compares representatives of two groups: students from modest backgrounds who earned European university degrees through state scholarships and the sons of prominent figures whose education was funded by family resources. Focusing on Radivoje Milojković and Jevrem Grujić from the first group, and the sons of Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin from the second, the analysis shows that educational capital often outweighed family background as a driver of mobility. It also traces the mid-century shift in societal attitudes toward children's education, reflecting the broader transition from traditional to modern structures.

Keywords: educational capital, family background, family networks, society, students, elites, 19th-century Serbia.

The scarcity of educated citizens was one of the first challenges confronting the Serbian state after gaining autonomy in 1830. Throughout the 19th century, considerable effort was devoted to developing a nationwide school network, expanding the teaching corps, and increasing enrolment. This was a difficult task not only because of the shortage of resources and qualified personnel, but also due to prevailing social conditions–above all, the dominance of extensive agriculture, which required little, if any, formal education. Even when compulsory schooling was finally introduced in 1882, its implementation proved a constant struggle. As one contemporary observed, "elementary education could no longer be left to parental discretion, nor reduced to something resembling military mobilization or compulsory unpaid labor."[1]

According to John Caldwell's wealth flows theory, a central difference between traditional and modern societies lies in the direction of intergenerational transfers: In traditional societies, resources flow from children to parents, whereas in modern ones they

[1] Cited in Ilić Rajković 2021: 53.

flow from parents to children.[2] In agrarian, subsistence-based economies such as 19th-century Serbia, children contributed to the household's livelihood based on their age and abilities, and their labor often outweighed the costs of raising them. This economic pattern encouraged high fertility and left parents with limited motivation to invest in formal schooling. Low social mobility and high child mortality in the pre-transitional demographic phase further discouraged such investment.

In modern societies, the flow is reversed: Parents invest in their children's education rather than relying on their labor. This shift is driven not only by the introduction of compulsory primary education but also by broader economic and social transformations that encourage parents to view schooling as a path to social mobility and economic security. Investing in children's education in modern societies is thus motivated by both obligation and opportunity, as it opens prospects for social advancement and material well-being.[3] Nevertheless, educational capital[4] was neither the sole nor an unconditional driver of advancement; as this paper aims to show, it was closely intertwined with other factors, such as family background and networks.

In the first decades of the 19th century, educational opportunities in Serbia were limited, and parental motivation to educate children was low, not only among the wider population but also within the ruling family. Prince Miloš Obrenović himself was illiterate, as were most members of his entourage. Despite holding the hereditary title of prince since 1817, his sons and heirs to the throne did not receive an education befitting their status. An employee of the government noted in 1837 that the prince's eldest son had mastered only basic reading and writing in Serbian and had received minimal instruction in French, with almost no knowledge of other subjects. Even such limited learning was considered sufficient by the prince at the time.[5] The sons of other high-ranking figures were similarly undereducated. For example, Toma Vučić Perišić's son became an artisan specializing in sheepskin coats, while Mileta Radojković's son worked as a tailor and merchant.[6]

With the establishment of the national state administration, the shortage of highly trained personnel was initially addressed by "importing" educated Serbs from the neighboring Habsburg Monarchy. The attainment of autonomous status within the Ottoman Empire opened the way for organized efforts in education. As the demand for skilled civil servants grew and could not yet be met by domestic schools, the state began sending undergraduates abroad for further study from 1839 onward. According to the needs of the state apparatus, most were directed toward law, political economy, mining, and military sciences. Candidates were selected primarily based on their academic achievements and the modest financial means of their families.[7]

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2 Due to increasingly higher costs of investing in children, the fertility rate decreases in modern societies, see Caldwell 1976: 321–366; 2005: 721–740.

3 *Ibid*.

4 Educational capital can be understood as a specific form of institutionalized cultural capital—officially recognized knowledge and qualifications that legitimize social status and facilitate upward mobility. The term is often linked to Pierre Bourdieu even though he did not use it explicitly, Sullivan 2001: 893–912.

5 Ljušić 1988: 323–324.

6 *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića* XV, 1969: 210–211.

7 Milićević 2002: 32–33; Popović 2017: 60, 66.

Before departing, state scholarship holders completed their education at Serbian institutions, notably the grammar school and, from the early 1840s, the Lyceum. Many had already spent several years in government service, and most took the initiative themselves by petitioning the relevant minister to allow them to study abroad. At the time of departure, they were typically over twenty years old. In an era when state policy on sending students to European universities was still taking shape, such personal initiative by young, ambitious civil servants often played a decisive role in shaping their professional careers.[8]

Completion of the school system in Serbia (primary school, grammar school, and later, the Lyceum) was a prerequisite for obtaining a state scholarship. As primary education was neither compulsory nor widely available, children's schooling largely depended on the will and means of their parents. In many cases, parents hired and paid private teachers. Owing to the high costs of education and the ongoing need for children's labor in the household, most families, if they chose to educate any of their children, sent only one child to school. A paradigmatic example is Radivoje Milojković, one of the most prominent politicians of the second half of the 19th century. Born into a village merchant's family as one of six children (four sons and two daughters), he was the only one his father sent to school. Education enabled him to rise to the highest state offices, while his siblings, denied such an opportunity, were doomed from childhood to remain peasants. A similar case is that of Jevrem Grujić, who recorded the following about his enrolment in school:

> It was said that, since its founding, Darosava [his native village] had not produced a single priest, civil servant, or even a schoolboy. It was therefore remarkable that now [1836] four boys from the village were already attending school at the same time. People began to say that I would be the fifth, as priest Nikola often remarked that it would be good if our family, too, gave a schoolboy.[9]

Scholarship holders typically received their primary education thanks to their parents' initiative, yet parental influence rarely extended to the decision to study abroad. Radivoje Milojković's case is again illustrative. Having completed the Serbian school system, he spent three years in state service before, at the age of 24, petitioning the minister of education to be sent abroad for university studies. After securing the scholarship, he returned to his native village to greet his family and, in keeping with patriarchal custom, to formally seek his mother's opinion and consent (his father having passed away in the meantime). Her reply reveals both the limits of parental involvement and the recognition of individual agency in such decisions: "My son, you are wiser than us. If you believe it will be good for you, then go; if you believe it will not, then don't."[10]

A similar scene unfolded in the family home of Jevrem Grujić. Upon being awarded a state scholarship, he too returned to his village to bid farewell to his family:

> My brothers and father were pleased, but my mother was taken aback. She did not know whether to pity me. Still, she asked if I was being forced to go. When I replied that it had been my request, and that many would gladly be in my place, she seemed neither very sad nor particularly joyful.[11]

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8 Milićević 2002: 32–33; Popović 2017: 60, 66.
9 Pavković 1992: 58–59.
10 Vuletić, Trgovčević 2003: 70.
11 Pavković 1992: 105.

Scholarship recipients were provided with funds covering basic study expenses, while their academic progress and financial expenditures were monitored by designated government officials. Nonetheless, neither the Ministry of Education nor the State Council maintained clearly defined guidelines regarding study programs or required diplomas. The interaction between the state and scholars was intensive, and the scholars showed remarkable initiative, proposing and requesting that the government allow them to choose or change their fields of study as well as the country in which they studied.[12] Some sources note that Jovan Ristić–another recipient of a state scholarship who came from a poor family–was initially expected to study at the Kiev Theological Academy in preparation for a clerical career, but he declined and, in 1849, applied to study in Germany, pointing out that the government had not yet sent anyone to study history and that it was essential for someone to engage systematically with sources for Serbian history. His petition was approved.[13] Most scholarship holders were enrolled at universities in Germany and France, often seeking experience within both academic traditions. For instance, Jevrem Grujić initially studied administrative law at Heidelberg, and two years later, petitioned the Ministry of Education to continue his studies in Paris, stating that the French capital had the best department of administrative law in Europe. Similarly, Jovan Ristić, originally sent to Berlin to study history, later requested transfers to Heidelberg, then Paris, and finally Prague, highlighting the advantages of each university and the benefits that studying in these academic centers would bring. The Ministry granted these requests as well.[14]

In the early 1840s, the Serbian government appointed Vuk Karadžić to oversee the progress of scholarship recipients, a role subsequently assumed by other civil servants in the following years. In his report to the Ministry, Vuk pointed out what he considered their excessive independence of thought: "They think they are not pupils or children who need to be told how to behave, but rather former officials and gentlemen who already know it themselves."[15] One of them, Stojan Jovanović Cukić, emphasized the same attitude in his own correspondence with the Ministry: "I, being already in mature years, know well how to distinguish good from evil and what I ought to do."[16] Aside from their academic progress, which was supervised by state officials, the scholars were largely left to manage their daily lives independently, relying mostly on their fellow students.[17] Their scholarships barely covered a modest standard of living. Reflecting on his student years, Jevrem Grujić recalled that heating was a luxury, and he often had to bundle up in all his clothes or take brisk walks to keep warm.[18] Despite material hardships, their thirst for new experiences remained undiminished. As Grujić wrote, "All the deprivation I suffered did not smother my desire to observe things that are not often seen."[19]

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12 This is particularly evident in the extensive diary notes that Dimitrije Matić left about his student days, as well as about the lives of his Serbian peers at European universities, see Matić 1974.

13 Radović 2023: 58.

14 Pavlović 1986: 191; Radović 2023: 58; Radović 2024: 141. A similar request by Dimitrije Matić was also approved, while that of Stojan Jovanović Cukić was rejected, Matić 1974: 96–97; Popović 2017: 67; Bataković 1997: 73–95.

15 Cited in Popović 2017: 65.

16 *Ibid*., 66.

17 More about this in Matić: 1974.

18 Pavković 1992: 108–109, 122.

19 *Ibid*., 108.

During his studies in Paris, he visited exhibitions at the Louvre, travelled across France to deepen his knowledge of the country, and even managed to spend a week in London on his modest savings.[20] The Serbian government occasionally involved scholars in tasks such as acquiring books for libraries and conducting archival research. Moreover, many scholars took personal initiative in activities they believed would benefit their homeland, such as writing brochures in French and German about Serbia and the Serbian people to introduce them to a wider European audience.[21]

As the first state-funded students were sent abroad, senior civil servants and, soon after, wealthy merchants also began sending their children to European universities. This growing focus on education marked the early stages of a broader shift from traditional to modern societal structures, with social advancement and schooling reinforcing each other: Society needed educated individuals, and education, in turn, fueled further development. This process gradually made education a key driver of social mobility and a central mechanism for both individual advancement and the emergence of a modern elite.

One of the first civil servants to send his son abroad for studies was Jakov Jakšić, the longtime treasurer of Prince Miloš. His son Vladimir later recalled that his father originally steered him toward a career in commerce, which he considered not only more profitable but also less stressful than civil service. The return of the first scholarship holders from Vienna and Paris in autumn 1842, including their relative, Dimitrije Crnobarac, changed his father's mind. Encouraged by their example and their repeated urging, he sent his son to Germany the following autumn to study political economy.[22] This example shows how the first Serbian students themselves played an active role in spreading educational aspirations, inspiring their compatriots to pursue similar paths.[23]

Among the most prominent figures sending their sons abroad to study in the mid-19th century were Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin. Having received only modest formal education themselves, they were all the more aware of the importance of education for their children's professional and social advancement. Both invested not only financial resources but also their hopes and ambitions, making their efforts among the earliest examples of modern parental investment in children's futures in Serbian society.

The families of Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin differed significantly in terms of size. Vuk Karadžić fathered twelve children, the majority of whom died in childhood, with only two surviving their parents. Such high fertility coupled with elevated child mortality was typical of societies in the pre-transitional demographic phase, a category to which Serbia largely fell at the time.[24] Despite generally low incentives to invest heavily in offspring under these conditions, Vuk's approach to his children's education was notably modern. In contrast, Ilija Garašanin's family comprised only two children (both sons), reflecting a family model more characteristic of the emerging modern type,

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20 Pavković 1992: 108–109; *Životopis Jevrema Grujića*, 31.

21 Pavlović 1986: 195–196; Radović 2023: 63.

22 Jakšić went to study in Tübingen, and two years later he continued his studies at the University of Heidelberg, *Svečani sastanak Srpskog učenog društva 1890*: 318–319.

23 There are numerous references in Dimitrije Matić's diary to the efforts made to encourage as many students as possible to pursue studies at foreign universities, Matić: 1974.

24 Jovanović, Vuletić, Samardžić 2017: 222–230.

where smaller family size facilitates greater parental investment–both emotional and material–in each child.

Unlike the parents of most state scholars, who mainly did not intervene in their sons' lives during their studies, Karadžić and Garašanin controlled their sons' education from the start to the end of their university studies. They also played a decisive role in choosing their sons' future professions and countries of study. Karadžić's sons, Sava and Dimitrije, and Garašanin's sons, Svetozar and Milutin, were enrolled in military academies in accordance with their fathers' wishes. Vuk sent his elder son to Russia, leveraging his favorable connections with the administration there. Nearly fifteen years later, he dispatched his younger son to Austria, the homeland of his wife, and a country where the family had long resided. Reflecting his foreign policy orientation, Garašanin had both his sons educated in France. Unlike most state scholars, whose studies abroad typically began in their early or mid-twenties, Karadžić's and Garašanin's sons commenced their education abroad at a much younger age. Given the relatively low quality of education in Serbian schools compared with Western Europe, Garašanin sent his sons abroad immediately after they completed grammar school, around the age of seventeen. Vuk Karadžić's sons left home even earlier: Sava went to Saint Petersburg at age thirteen, while Dimitrije traveled to Trieste at around ten, then to Vienna at thirteen, and later to Bruck. Both Karadžić and Garašanin initially financed their sons' education privately, with their efforts to secure state scholarships being only partially successful.[25]

In contrast to state scholars, who exercised independence and personal initiative in selecting their fields of study, the sons of prominent fathers had limited opportunities to develop their own academic interests and enthusiasm. Sent abroad as teenagers and guided more by parental ambitions than by their own choice, they often exhibited uncertainty about their abilities and, at times, a lack of desire to pursue the disciplines chosen for them. However, their hesitation was tempered by strong parental authority. Ilija Garašanin's stern yet revealing admonition to one of his sons captured this dynamic:

> I chose that discipline for you and that is what I want for you. I don't want anything else, so nothing else will be possible. I'm not strict at all; you know well my feelings and expectations, and it's not my fault that they are such.[26]

Parental ambitions often outweighed the desires and aptitudes of their children. Vuk Karadžić's elder son, Sava, was a youth with a strong interest in art and literature, yet lacked both the inclination and physical predisposition for the military career his father envisioned. The strict regimen of the imperial cadet corps, coupled with the harsh Russian climate, further weakened him, aggravating tuberculosis and ultimately leading to his early death in 1837. Vuk's other son, Dimitrije, was similarly unhappy with the rigid discipline at the

[25] Vuk Karadžić secured a scholarship for his elder son Sava from the Russian rather than the Serbian government, while his younger son Dimitrije, after an excellent first year, was awarded only half the amount granted to other state scholars. Similarly, Ilija Garašanin financed his sons' education himself until his younger son Milutin, in his final years of study, received a state scholarship in recognition of his strong academic performance, Šaulić 1978: 127; Stranjaković 2005: 106–110.

[26] Cited in Vuletić 2006: 343.

military academy in Bruck and, at the start of his studies, asked to be allowed to return home, but his father refused. [27] For both Karadžić and Garašanin, education was not simply a personal pursuit; it was closely tied to family honor and social advancement. They viewed their substantial emotional and financial investment in their sons' schooling as a way to secure their future while also fulfilling parental aspirations and social standing.

Karadžić hoped that the formal education he himself had lacked would secure his son a steadier and more financially rewarding career than his own. By guiding their sons toward clearly defined professional paths, fathers sought to spare them the sense of disappointment and frustration they had once endured. A letter written by Stojan Novaković to his son, near the end of his long career in public service, captures this sentiment with particular clarity:

> It has often been bitter and hard for me to be in the civil service, being in a position that makes me dependent on all kinds of people and events. If you were fortunate enough to develop and prepare yourself so that you can be an independent and autonomous citizen, this would be the most pleasant comfort to me in my old age.[28]

The same sentiment also drove the aforementioned Jakov Jakšić, the treasurer of prince Miloš, initially to steer his son toward a career in commerce.[29]

The sons of dignitaries, accustomed to a standard well above that of ordinary state scholars, often carried with them expectations that exceeded the bare necessities. Dimitrije Karadžić, for example, repeatedly asked his father to indulge him with purchases he openly acknowledged were unnecessary but pleasurable–items such as lacquered shoes, gloves, and a vest to enhance the appearance of his uniform. Others from similar backgrounds voiced similar wishes, requesting funds for elegant "saloon garments" that matched the style of upper social circles.[30] While striving to ensure their children's comfort and proper education, prominent fathers also sought to temper any inclination toward wastefulness. Ilija Garašanin, during his sons' studies in France, entrusted their daily supervision to his French friend Hippolyte Mondain, who not only managed their living arrangements but also strictly controlled their modest weekly allowance throughout the entire period of their education.[31]

Given their fathers' political stature and influence within the state apparatus, the sons of high-ranking dignitaries often assumed that family networks would help them secure prestigious and well-paid positions. Such expectations were openly expressed by Dimitrije Karadžić, who, during his final year of studies, shared with his father his wish for a role close to the court and a rank above the standard entry level for a young officer.[32] At the same

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27 Šaulić 1978: 224; D. Karadžić to V. Karadžić, Bruck, 2 November 1850, *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića*, VIII, 1989, 786; V. Karadžić to D. Karadžić, Vienna, 14 November 1846, *ibid*., VII, 589; D. Karadžić to V. Karadžić, Bruck, 22 December 1850, *ibid*., IX, 37.

28 Cited in Vuletić 2006: 341.

29 *Svečani sastanak Srpskog učenog društva 1890*: 318–319.

30 Cited in Vuletić 2006: 344–345.

31 *Ibid.*

32 D. Karadžić to V. Karadžić, Bruck, October 22, 1854, *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića*, X, 690; D. Karadžić to V. Karadžić, Bruck, 10 March 1855, *ibid.*, XI, 87.

time, his qualifications lent substance to such expectations: Graduating among the top cadets of his class, he undertook initiatives to modernize military infrastructure. After completing the military academy, he received government support for advanced training in Berlin and Antwerp. By twenty-four, he had become a first-class captain, a professor at the Artillery School, and its deputy principal. Yet the interplay between inherited privilege and individual agency proved unstable. Despite his exceptional start, Dimitrije's career soon derailed as heavy drinking and gambling eroded his professional standing. Within a few years, Dimitrije was dismissed from his teaching post, a sharp reversal underscoring the limits of the elite education he had received.[33]

In contrast, Ilija Garašanin's sons demonstrate how parental guidance and educational investment could yield more stable, if not entirely self-directed, professional outcomes. Svetozar Garašanin completed his military education at the prestigious French academy at a time when his father held the highest offices of state, including president of the government and minister of foreign affairs. His subsequent assignment as the Prince's adjutant reflected both his formal qualifications and the durable political capital of the Garašanin family. Nevertheless, family correspondence reveals that Svetozar's personal ambition remained limited; he often preferred ease and avoidance of responsibility over active engagement, indicating that educational attainment and family ties did not lead to initiative or professional excellence.[34] Milutin, the younger son, also received a comprehensive foreign education. Yet his career trajectory was sharply shaped by external political forces: Following his father's fall from power and loss of political favor, opportunities that might have opened naturally through family connections were no longer available. Instead, the family redirected its resources to establish a domestic enterprise, including a steam mill, providing Milutin with a tangible professional grounding. This shift demonstrates that even in higher strata, the interplay of family influence, state structures, and individual capacity was contingent, and success depended not only on educational or inherited capital but also on broader social and political conditions. Milutin Garašanin achieved his most significant advancement in public life only after his father's death, when he began participating in political activities. Nevertheless, even at this stage of his career, his father's influence and reputation continued to shape his position. The family prestige and the well-known Garašanin name provided him with authority and helped him navigate political challenges, but at the same time kept him in the shadow of his father's legacy, limiting his autonomy and initiative.[35]

In the mid-19th century, the first state-funded students educated abroad returned to their homeland, ready to gradually assume the highest positions in the state administration thanks to their advanced education.[36] Unlike the descendants of dignitaries, who possessed both education and family connections, state scholars from lower social strata entered their professional careers with education as their only capital. Lacking family networks in urban settings as well as material resources, they usually compensated by forming marital

[33] Vuletić 2006: 345–346.
[34] I. Garašanin to M. Garašanin, Belgrade, 20 May 1862, ASASA, 14983/68.
[35] Jovanović 1991: 274; Vuletić 2006: 347.
[36] Trgovčević 2003: 233–243.

alliances with members of higher and wealthier social circles, typically senior civil servants and affluent merchants.[37] Senior servants and, in particular, wealthy merchants, readily married their daughters to graduates of European universities, since the educational capital they possessed provided a direct pathway to senior positions within the state administration and, consequently, entry into upper echelons of society.

Jevrem Grujić, for instance, married the daughter of Teodor Herbez, a prominent official from the time of Prince Miloš, whom he had met at a court ball. After a brief period living in a small house in Palilula following the wedding, Grujić and his family moved into his father-in-law's residence in the center of Belgrade. The very name of the street where the house was located–Gospodska [Gentry Street]–aptly reflected his elevated social status. He later recalled that living in the larger, well-appointed house brought a sense of pleasant comfort:

> Truthfully, I preferred that beautiful apartment on Gospodska Street to our small detached house in Palilula… Gradually, I got used to feeling at home there. The comfortable rooms, nicely painted and well-furnished, with long and spacious corridors on the first and second floors, were all clean and at the same time pleasant to stay in… My judicial position, which I increasingly enjoyed, my family, and my economic situation–all this allowed me to feel satisfied with my social standing.[38]

An even more telling example is that of Radivoje Milojković, who married the daughter of Hadži Toma, one of Belgrade's wealthiest merchants. In mid-19th-century Serbia, marriage to an educated state official was considered more prestigious than marriage to the richest merchant, prompting many wealthy traders to seek such alliances for their daughters.[39] The Hadžitomić family illustrates the power of familial and social networks in shaping Serbia's political elite. Several of its members rose to prominence in the late 1860s and throughout the 1870s, largely thanks to Hadži Toma's strategy of marrying his four daughters to university-educated men, all of whom later became ministers. Three of them–Filip Hristić, Jovan Ristić, and Radivoje Milojković–rose from modest backgrounds, while only Antonije Bogićević combined academic credentials with an established family pedigree. Although Bogićević also reached a ministerial post, the other three played a far more significant role in Serbia's political life. Their rise from the lower rungs of society fueled an ambition often stronger than that of peers from privileged backgrounds. Jovan Ristić's life illustrates this trajectory vividly: His extensive biography claims that he began life in the greatest poverty among 19th-century major Serbian politicians, yet by the end of his career, he had become one of Serbia's wealthiest men, his fortune largely derived from the dowry his wife brought into marriage.[40] Marriages linking highly educated men from modest backgrounds with the daughters of the wealthiest families brought together financial resources and educational capital, forming networks that, especially in the 1860s and 1870s, were crucial in shaping the emerging Serbian elite.[41]

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37 Vuletić 2022: 167–185.
38 Pavković 1992: 139; see also *Životopis Jevrema Grujića*, 36–37.
39 *Uspomene i doživljaji Dimitrija Marinkovića 1846–1869*, 1939: 54.
40 Radović 2023: 32, 643.
41 Vuletić 2022: 167–185.

Although based on a small number of cases, this analysis suggests the main patterns and dynamics through which education and family background shaped social mobility in mid-19th-century Serbia, with these examples considered indicative of broader trends. The first holders of educational capital came from the lower strata of society and obtained degrees from European universities through state scholarships. Another group consisted of the descendants of notable families, who acquired university degrees thanks to their parents' ambition and financial resources. Sons of prominent families thus benefited from both forms of capital: education and family background. Yet inheriting a family's status also imposed constraints. While it provided initial authority and opportunities, it often limited autonomy, as careers and personal choices remained closely tied to, and sometimes overshadowed by, the family name. In contrast, scholarship recipients from modest backgrounds relied primarily on their educational attainment to advance socially. Unlike their fellow students from the notable families, they displayed greater personal agency, beginning with their departure for university and continuing throughout their careers. Their achievements demonstrate the transformative potential of educational capital: By excelling academically and forming strategic matrimonial alliances, they were able to compensate for the lack of family pedigree and gain entry into wealthy social circles. In this way, by combining educational and financial capital, they actively contributed to the formation of the elite stratum of Serbian society. Through these efforts, they converted their educational capital into social standing more successfully than many of their peers from established families.

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ОБРАЗОВНИ КАПИТАЛ, ПОРОДИЧНО ПОРЕКЛО И ДРУШТВЕНО ПОЗИЦИОНИРАЊЕ У СРБИЈИ СРЕДИНОМ 19. ВЕКА

Резиме

У раду се испитују обрасци и динамика кроз које су универзитетско образовање и породично порекло обликовали друштвену мобилност у Србији у раној фази друштвене стратификације. Анализом неколико карактеристичних примера високообразовних појединаца откривају се показатељи ширег тренда. Први носиоци диплома европских универзитета у Србији долазили су из нижих друштвених слојева, а дипломе су стицали захваљујући државним стипендијама. Другу групу чинили су потомци истакнутих јавних радника и богатијих трговаца, који су студирали захваљујући амбицијама и финансијским средствима својих родитеља. За разлику од припадника прве групе, они су осим образовног капитала уживали и у предностима породичног порекла и породичних веза. Ипак, такав статус носио је и извесна ограничења. Породично порекло пружало је почетну предност, али је често ограничавало личну аутономију, јер су професионални избори у великој мери били усмеравани родитељским амбицијама. Осим тога, неповољан преокрет друштвеног или политичког положаја родитеља негативно се одражавао и на њихове каријере. Насупрот њима, државни стипендисти ослањали су се првенствено на сопствено образовање како би градили професионалну каријеру и друштвене везе у престоници. Показивали су већу личну иницијативу – често већ при одласку на студије, што је у многим случајевима био плод њиховог личног залагања. Недостатак материјалних ресурса и породичних веза у градској средини често су компензовали склапањем брачних веза са припадницама имућнијих кругова. На тај начин, комбинујући образовни и финансијски капитал, активно су доприносили формирању елитног слоја српског друштва почетком друге половине 19. века. Кроз овакво деловање успешније су користили свој образовни капитал, конвертујући га у виши друштвени положај, него многи њихови вршњаци с породичним „педигреом”.

Кључне речи: образовни капитал, породично порекло, породичне везе, друштво, студенти, елите, Србија у 19. веку.

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ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE VILAYET OF PRIZREN 1870–1874

Abstract: During the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire enforced comprehensive reforms with the objective of strengthening centralization and establishing firmer control over the entire territory. This paper focuses on the territorial borders of the Vilayet of Prizren, as one of the provinces in the Balkans, and analyzes the enforcement of the administrative reforms, as well as their (un)successful effects. The reforms were enforced by the officials sent from the Empire’s capital, and their success depended upon the influence of Muslim groups, but also on the non-Muslim population that had increasing tendencies toward national independence. The reconstruction of the territorial-administrative structure was possible due to the Ottoman state yearbooks (*Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*), and the issues of the provincial *salnames* of the Vilayet of Prizren (*Salname-i Vilayet-i Prizren*).

Keywords: Vilayet of Prizren, reforms, Provincial Reform Law, bureaucracy, vilayet salnames.

1. The Formation of the Vilayet

The main characteristic of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century was a comprehensive modernization. Reforms were necessary due to centralization and control strengthening, particularly in the remote territories, where the state unity was threatened by the newly awakened national awareness of the various peoples. Comprehensive reforms of the administrative structures that covered the territory of the entire Empire began in 1864 by passing the Provincial Reform Law (*İdare-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi*), which limited the borders of the former territorial-administrative units, eyalets, and created new provinces, vilayets. Vilayets were further divided into smaller administrative units whose governors were sent from the Empire’s capital. The reform law defined the authorities of all levels of the vilayet governance, established the jurisdiction of the officials, and precisely stated the participation of non-Muslims in the mixed councils. The application of this law began in the newly formed the Danube Vilayet, and Midhat Pasha was instated as the new *vali*, governor of the province. Before that, he was the

governor of the Eyalet of Niš, where he successfully implemented reforms. As governor, he personally visited Prizren in 1863, which was part of the eyalet. Midhat Pasha remains remembered as one of the most significant Ottoman officials.[1]

The situation in the actual vilayets showed all the advantages and disadvantages of the reform law, as well as the gap between the legal framework and the results achieved in practice. The process of centralization was possible because of the instated officials who adequately enforced the legal principles, as well as due to the cooperation of the hierarchically structured local bureaucracy. However, the provincial Muslim officials strived to keep their privileged positions and continuously denied the rights of the non-Muslim representatives, who, as a result, often complained. Hence, an amendment to the law was introduced, and its final version was issued in 1871 as the General Provincial Reform Law (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi*). This act proclaimed significant changes in the organization of the official apparatus, redefined the bureaucratic hierarchical structure, and established authorities of the mixed councils. Mixed councils consisted of representatives of various ethnic and confessional groups in the provinces, with the objective of ensuring equivalent participation of the Muslims and non-Muslims in official businesses. The reform law also increased the number of central government officials who were permanent members of mixed councils, but it did not increase the number of elected members who came from the lines of various local confessional groups.[2] Other necessary additions were incorporated through various acts. The terms of the Directive of Provincial Public Administration from 1876 (*Nevah-i Nizamnamesi*) were intended to contribute to the equality of council members on ethnic and religious levels in an attempt to show a visible and applicable principle of equality of all the inhabitants of the Empire, and to indirectly deny the existence of national pretensions of various peoples.[3] Enforcing these reforms was limited, partly due to the motivation of the state officials who were direct government executives, and partly because of the socio-economic characteristics of particular vilayets.

After the successful implementation of the project of province organization in the Danube Vilayet, other provinces were formed throughout the Empire, one of them being the Eyalet of Prizren,[4] established in 1865. The newly formed independent administrative unit consisted of only one element, the Sanjak/Liva of Skopje, with its name and territorial range changing in the following years. In the previous issues of the state salname, Prizren was not mentioned, which means it did not have the status of a sanjak but was a part of another one.[5] Two years after establishment, there were new changes in the administrative structure: Skopje received the status of eyalet, and the Sanjak of Prizren became a part of it. The following year, 1868, Skopje became a vilayet, not including the Sanjak of Prizren, which means that this was not only a nominal change, but also a territorial-administrative one. The eyalets' territories were reduced and new vilayets were formed in an attempt to streamline centralization and control strengthening, which was all in accordance with previous

1 Göyünç 1981–1982: 280–283.
2 Gençoğlu 2011: 34–38; Davison 1963: 146– 160; Findley 1989: 179–183; Çetinsaya 2006: 9–10.
3 İhsanoğlu 2004: 375–381.
4 Using the term *eyalet* in the Ottoman state yearbooks indicates that the newly proclaimed legal regulations were not immediately implemented in practice, as this process required more time.
5 SDAO 1865: 65.

government reforms. Prizren was temporarily annexed to the Vilayet of Skadar (*Vilayet-i İşkodra*), and in the summer of 1869, it became a separate territorial-administrative area, acting as the center of the vilayet of the same name (*Vilayet-i Prizren*). Sources offer different dates for the formation of Prizren as a separate province, and they vary in the chronological frame from 1868 to 1871. Hasan Kaleshi and Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf claim that the Sanjak of Prizren was formed in 1868, after the dissolution of the Vilayet of Skopje, but after looking into state salnames, it is established that the Vilayet of Skopje still existed with the inclusion of Prizren or even any mention of it as a separate administrative unit.[6] Yucel Yiğit claims that the Vilayet of Prizren was formed in 1868 by merging the sanjaks of Skopje and Debar, which were excluded from the Bitolj Vilayet, and Niš Sanjak, which was excluded from the Danube Vilayet. By inspecting the state salnames, it is confirmed that Bitolj was not an independent vilayet in 1868, but only a sanjak that belonged to the Vilayet of Thessaloniki (*Vilayet-i Selanik*).[7]

Upon its establishment, it comprised three sanjaks – Prizren, Skopje, and Niš, with Debar being annexed the following year.[8] The Vilayet of Prizren functioned as an independent province until June 1874, when it was dissolved as a result of yet another in the line of frequent administrative changes in the Balkans.[9] The Vilayet of Bitolj (*Vilayet-i Manastir*)[10] was established then, and the change was instigated by the local officials, stating that Bitolj had been a provincial center before, that it was an important military center,[11] and that it had the potential to abandon the Vilayet of Thessaloniki and exist as an independent administrative unit.[12] The government in the capital accepted this suggestion and formed an independent vilayet by rearranging the borders of the surrounding provinces, the vilayets of Prizren and Skadar, thereby, losing their independent status. The Vilayet of Skadar was entirely incorporated into the newly formed province, the Vilayet of Bitolj, and the Sanjak of Niš was separated from the Vilayet of Prizren, only to be included in the Danube Vilayet. Other sanjaks, Prizren, Skopje and Debar, were included with their existing *kaza* structure,[13] most likely because of easier organization.[14]

2. Territorial Structure

The territorial structure of the Vilayet of Prizren can be reconstructed based on the vilayet salnames. Salnames are specific state documents written on an annual level. Vilayet salnames are only one type of these documents that offer evidence of territorial changes,

6 Kaleshi, Kornrumpf 1967: 182.

7 Yiğit 2010: 126; SDAO 1868: 99–100.

8 Ünver 2015: 107–109; Savić 2025: 41; *Prizren*, no. 1, dated 2/14. August 1871; *Dunav*, no. 399, dated 3/15. August 1869; SDAO 1869: 132; SDAO 1870: 139–140.

9 The Bitolj Vilayet had existed before as an independent administrative unit, eyalet, from 1839 to 1844, and from 1853/1854 until 1867/1868, after which it was annexed to the Vilayet of Thessaloniki. Ünlü 1996: 6.

10 Sources offer various dates for the reformation of the Bitolj Vilayet, but the most probable date is June 1874, given that the vali took over his function the following month.

11 The headquarters of the Third Army was in Bitolj. Gostović 2021: 71.

12 Öztunç 2013: 15–19.

13 Every sanjak consisted of smaller administrative units, kazas.

14 MVS 1875: 67–94. Cf. Savić 2025: 40–43.

enable the reconstruction of territorial-military structure, show the demographic structure, economic potential and the development of educational institutions of certain provinces throughout the Empire. Two issues have been recorded for the Vilayet of Prizren. With the Provincial Reform Law, every province in the Ottoman Empire was divided into *sanjaks*/*livas*, and the center of vilayet governance was situated in the capital city of the central sanjak. *Liva* was further divided into *kazas*, and only certain *kazas* contained *nahiyes* consisting of several villages.[15] The Vilayet of Prizren comprised four sanjaks: Prizren (*Prizren*), Skopje (*Üsküb*), Niš (*Niş*), which had up to that time been a part of the Danube Vilayet, and Debar (*Debre*). The central Sanjak of Prizren had eight kazas: Tetovo (*Kalkandelen*), Priština (*Priştine*), Đakovica (*Yakova*), Peć (*İpek*), Gnjilane (*Gilan*), Vučitrn (*Vulçıtrın*), Gusinje (*Gosine*), and Ljuma (*Luma*). The Liva of Skopje had six kazas: Kumanovo (*Kumanova*), Palanka (*Palanka*), Štip (*İştib*), Kočane (*Koçana*), Radovište (*Radovişte*), and Kratovo (*Kratova*). The Sanjak of Niš had six kazas: Pirot (*Şehirkoy*), Vranje (*İvranya*), Leskovac (*Leskofça*), Prokuplje (*Ürgüp*), Kuršumlija (*Kurşumlu*) and Trn/Znepolje (*İznepol*). The Sanjak of Debar initially had three kazas: Elbasan (*Elbasan*), Donji Debar (*Debre-i Zir*) and Mat (*Mat*), with two more added later: Gornja Malesija (*Malsiya-i Bala*) and Donja Malesija (*Malsiya-i Zir*) (Table 1).

	Prizren	Skopje	Niš	Debar
1873	1. Tetovo 2. Priština 3. Đakovica 4. Peć 5. Gnjilane 6. Vučitrn 7. Gusinje 8. Ljuma	1. Kumanovo 2. Palanka 3. Štip 4. Kočane 5. Radovište 6. Kratovo	1. Pirot 2. Vranje 3. Leskovac 4. Prokuplje 5. Kuršumlija 6. Trn/Znepolje	1. Elbasan 2. Donji Debar 3. Mat
1874	1. Tetovo 2. Priština 3. Đakovica 4. Peć 5. Gnjilane 6. Vučitrn 7. Gusinje 8. Ljuma	1. Kumanovo 2. Štip 3. Palanka 4.Radovište 5. Kratovo 6. Kočane	1. Pirot 2. Leskovac 3. Vranje 4. Prokuplje 5. Trn/Znepolje 6. Kuršumlija	1. Elbasan 2. Donji Debar 3. Mat 4. Gornja Malesija 5. Donja Malesija

Table 1. Sanjaks and kazas of the Vilayet of Prizren, according to the salnames of the Vilayet of Prizren.[16]

Within several kazas, there were smaller units, *nahiyes*. According to the salname issued in 1874, on the territory of the Vilayet of Prizren, there were only three nahiyes recorded: Gostivar (*Gostivar*) in the kaza of Tetovo, Kačanik (*Kaçanik*) within the kaza of Kočane, and Palanka (*Palanka*) within the kaza of Pirot. By losing its position of an

[15] Aličić 1962–1963: 221–222.

[16] The kazas are listed according to the order from vilayet salnames. Jastrebov 2018: 99–100; Yiğit 2010: 126; Sezen 2017: 203–798; PVS 1873: 48–99; PVS 1874: 64–163.

independent territorial-administrative unit, Prizren lost the aforementioned nahiyes as they were annexed to other sanjaks: Kočane and Gostivar to the Sanjak of Skopje, and Palanka to the Liva of Niš.[17]

3. Administrative structure

Upon establishing the Eyalet of Prizren in 1865, the role of the governor was given to the official called mutasarrif who held the title of *Rumelian beylerbey*.[18] The first mutasarrif of the Vilayet of Prizren was Nazif Pasha, but he was soon replaced by Haji Ismail Hakki Pasha Shehsuvarzade. The new governor came from a well-known Leskovac family, gained military education and advanced gradually in the service. His first known appointment was the position of *kapijibasha* (head doorkeeper). He was in charge of a variety of offical business in provinces throughout Anatolia, untill 1865 when he returned to the Balkans as vali of Prizren, and later of Skopje. He stayed for three years untill his discharge, then retired to Aksaray where he died in September 1872. His son was Ali Galib Bey, a scribe and a poet.[19] After him, the position of mutasarrif was held by Fehim Pasha and Edib Mustafa Pasha.

Upon forming the vilayet five years later, the governor held the title of the vizier, whereas the highest position belonged to the vali according to the Provincial Reform Law. The first vali of the Vilayet of Prizren was Ismail Rahmi Pasha, originated from a respectable Ioannina family Tepedelenli. He was the son of Veli Pasha and the grandson of the mighty ayan Ali Pasha. Ismail Rahmi received his military education in Istanbul. His first noted appointment was recorded in 1828, kapijibasha. He was sent to the the function of mutasarrif of Tirhale in 1848 and Trabzon soon thereafter, followed by Edrine, and Ioaninna in November 1849. The following year he overtook a two-year term as the governor of Silistria from where he continued to Thessaloniki. Ismail Rahmi Pasha was appointed the vali of Tirhale in 1862, then Kastamonu and Bursa in 1866. When the Vilayet of Prizren was established, he was appointed vali with one-year term. In August 1871, he returned to the capital and became a member of the State Council, then the Reform Committee (*İslahat Komisyonu*). He died in the capital in May 1875.[20]

His successor was Safet Pasha, of Tatar origin. He was born in Anatolia, graduated from military school in the capital and later became a teacher. He was a member of the State Council from 1865, and three years later, he was the headmaster of the military school. In May 1869, he accepted the appointment of the vali of Bosnia with the military rank of marshal. The following year, Safet Pasha left for the Vilayet of Prizren to the vali position and remembered as one of the most talented and educated governors of Prizren. It was through his

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17 PVS 1874: 65, 104, 150. Cf. Kaleshi, Kornrumpf 1967: 183–184; Savić 2025: 42–43.

18 The term *beylerbey* was initially used to denote a high military commander and administrative governor. During the 19th century, it was exclusively used as a title for the province governor. The term *mutasarrif* literally meant *an official who deploys a function, duty and official position,* a possessor. A firman from November 1852 proclaimed the authorities of mutasarrif as the governor of a province (eyalet), and after the Province Reform Law, that term was used for the governor of sanjak/liva. Redhouse 1890: 1704; Pavlović: 2023: 66.

19 Süreyya 1996c: 827.

20 Süreyya 1996d: 837.

initiative that the Prizren print was established, as well as the bilingual newspaper *Prizren*. It was a weekly newspaper, published from August 1871 until 1874, as the official gazette of the province. In addition to the official announcements, the newspaper also contained various articles about domestic and foreign politics written both in Ottoman and Serbian. During his term, the vali insisted on building the sewer lines in the province and invested significant amounts into education. He started building a trade school but never managed to finish it. By the end of 1871, he was transferred to Ioaninna, and the following year to Crete to the highest state position. As a successful vali, he served for a year in Hudavendigar, four years in Adana and Tripoli, three years in Trabzon and for a short time in Hejaz. He was dismissed in 1881, but reinstated later as the vali of Hejaz. He retired after another dismissal.[21]

The next vali was Galib Pasha Sari. After his military education, he earned the rank of colonel and became one of the founders of the Higher Military School in 1861. He gradually advanced in the military hierarchy and with the rank of general, he became the supervisor of military schools in 1869. Galib Pasha Sari accepted a one-year term as vali of the Vilayet of Prizren in November 1871, and then returned to the service of supervisor which he held untill his death in January 1876. He remains remembered as a master of military skills, successful school administrator and a founder of the secondary military school.[22]

Haji Abdurrahman Nurredin Pasha was appointed the vali of Prizren in 1872. He was born in 1836 in Kutahya, the son of Haji Ali-pasha, the governor of Kastamonu. He gained good education and gradually advanced on the administrative ladder. For six years, he governed Shumen, Varna and Niš, and in August 1872, he became a governor of Prizren, holding the title of vizier. The governor tried to secure the printing of the newspaper *Prizren* in the Bulgarian language instead of Serbian, but he failed. In April 1873, he was sent to Ruščik where he took over the function of the governor of the Danube Vilayet. After that, he governed Ankara, Baghdad, Diyarbakir, and then Baghdad again. In May 1882, he took over the duties of the grand vizier, but was dismissed after two months for not agreeing with the sultan regarding his policies toward the Egyptian province. He was sent to Kastamonu, where during his nine-year term, he managed to improve the province, particularly in the domain of education and trade. Later, he served as vali thereafter in Aydin and Edirne until 1895 when he was summoned to the capital to be appointed to a position within the Ministry of Justice, which he performed diligently for the next twelve years. Abdurrahman Nurredin Pasha retired after the proclamation of the Second Constitutionality, died in 1912 in the capital and was buried in the courtyard of the tomb of Sultan Mehmed Fatih. His son, Arif Hikmet Pasha was married to Naila, the daughter of Sultan Abdulhamid II, and he served as a state official. His other two sons were Feyzi Daim and Asim Bey.[23]

The last governor of Prizren was Husein Husnu Pasha, who attempted to ban carrying weapons and he strictly punished the offenders. He spoke Greek, had good relations with the Russian consul Ivan Stepanovich Jastrebov. He allowed the Serbs to rebuild the church of Saint George.[24]

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[21] Derviş 2007: 46–47; Stanković 1893: 309–310; Süreyya 1996e: 1434.
[22] Süreyya 1996b: 543–544.
[23] Stanković 1893: 313–315; Süreyya 1996a: 333.
[24] Kostić 2017: 217; Stanković 1893: 315.

The vali was appointed by the sultan himself and he was in charge of the direct enforcement of the orders sent from the capital, as well as of the control over all civil, financial, police, and political business of the vilayet, including enforcing court rulings.[25] The law specified that the provincial governors dealt exclusively with civil duties, not military, so that no individual would hold too much power. In practice, this was not conscientiously carried out due to the complexities of the political-social situation, particularly in the Balkan provinces. The Vilayet of Prizren is only one example of this (Table 2).

Governors	The date of assuming the function
Nazif Pasha	1865
Ismail Hakki Pasha	November 1865
Fehim Pasha	1867–1868
Edib Mustafa Pasha	1868–1869
Ismail Rahmi Pasha	1870
Safet Pasha	January 1871
Galib Pasha Sari	November 1871
Abdurrahman Nurredin Pasha	August 1872
Mahmed Akif Pasha	April 1873
Husein Husnu Pasha	May 1873

Table 2. The governors of the Eyalet/Vilayet of Prizren, according to the state and provincial salnames.[26]

	Eyalet governor	Chief accountant	Judicial deputy in Prizren	Skopje sanjak governor	Judicial deputy in Skopje
1865	Mutasarrif Nazif Pasha	vacant	Vehbi Efendi	Mehmed Bey	Emin Efendi
1866	Mutasarrif Nazif Pasha	vacant	Ahmed Nazif Efendi	Mehmed Bey	Emin Efendi

Table 3. Members of the Eyalet of Prizren government.[27]

Based on the Ottoman state salnames, it is not possible to reconstruct the entire administrative structure of the Eyalet of Prizren since only the names and functions of governing officials were recorded. The eyalet was governed by a mutasarrif, holding the title of the Rumelian beylerbey. The entire financial oversight was entrusted to one official, the chief accountant (*muhasebeci*), who did not assum the function despite the fact that the province had already been established. Within the eyalet, there was only one sanjak, the Sanjak of Skopje that was governed by the head official (*kaymakam*). The control over the

[25] Aličić 1962–1963: 222.

[26] Kaleshi, Kornrumpf 1967: 195–197; Derviş 2007: 42–49; Yiğit 2009: 86–88; Kostić 2017: 211–212; Kuneralp 1999: 36, 41; SDAO 1865: 65; PVS 1873: 36; PVS 1874, 34.

[27] SDAO 1865: 65; SDAO 1866: 71; SDAO 1870: 139–140.

judicial system was in the hands of special officials, the judicial deputy (*naib*)[28] (Table 3). According to the practices in the Eyalet of Prizren, it is evident that the Provincial Reform Law was not immediately enforced, which was proved by the terminology and the structure of the officials with whom the governor shared his power.

	Officials in the capital	Officials in other sanjaks
1870	Governor Vizier Ismail Pasha Defterdar Celebi Efendi Chief Accountant Ibrahim Efendi Secretary Selim Sari Efendi Investigator Mehmed Muhaldin Efendi	Governor of Niš Kamil Bey Governor of Debar Mirimiran Rashid Pasha Governor of Skopje Reshid Pasha
1871	Governor Mushir Pasha Defterdar Celebi Efendi Secretary Selim Sari Pasha Investigator Omer Fehmi Efendi	Governor of Skopje Mirimiran Reshid Pasha Governor of Niš, Rumelian beylerbey Abdulrahman Pasha Governor of Debar Mirimiran Rashid Pasha Chief Judicial Assistant in Sharia Court in Skopje Ahmed Ferhad Efendi Chief Judicial Assistant in Sharia court in Niš Mehmed Salih Efendi Chief Judicial Assistant in Sharia court in Debar Rashid Efendi
1872	Governor Olub Pasha Defterdar Hakki Pasha Chief Accountant Selim Sari Efendi Secretary Selim Sari Efendi Investigator Omer Fehmi Efendi	Governor of Skoplje Mirimiran Reshid Pasha Governor of Niš, Rumelian beylerbey Abdulrahman Pasha Governor of Debar Mehmed Bey Chief Judicial Assistant in Sharia court in Skopje Mehmed Niazi Efendi Chief Judicial Assistant in Sharia court in Niš Mehmed Tevfik Efendi Chief Judicial Assistant in Sharia court in Debar Mehmed Hilmi Efendi

Table 4. The officials of the Vilayet of Prizren, according to the Ottoman state salnames.[29]

The governor (*vilayet-i azım*) of the Eyalet of Prizren relied on his closest associates, whose titles were changed following the province's establishment in 1870, in accordance with the Provincial Reform Law. For example, the chief accountant of the vilayet was

[28] The term *naib* had various meanings during the 19th century. Initially, it denoted a judicial deputy, but after the Provincial Reform Law, it referred to the vali deputy, mutasarrif and kaymakam. The governor (of vilayet, sanjak or kaza) might be temporarily absent so he would be represented by the deputy during the sessions of the Administrative council. If the governor was dismissed, appointed elsewhere, or had left the province, the deputy would then take over the function of the governor (of vilayet, sanjak or kaza) until the arrival of the new official.

[29] SDAO 1870: 139–140, 147–148; SDAO 1871: 152–153, 163; SDAO 1872: 144–145, 154.

named defterdar instead of the previous title of muhasebeci. Defterdar of the vilayet was in charge of all financial dealings, and for his work, he answered to the vali and the ministry. The head of the finance office (*mal müdürü*) initially handled the finances for the sanjak, and after the Province Reform Law, it referred to the scribe who kept financial records for the kaza. The authority over the sanjak finances was entrusted to the chief accountant (*muhasebeci*). The vilayet chief secretary (*mektubçi*) handled the complete correspondence using the secretariat (*Tahrirat kalemi*). The official position of the provincial secretary of foreign affairs (*hariciye mudiri*) was canceled.[30] Judicial matters were in the authority of the court, with the sharia and civil courts functioning separately. In the center of the province, the work of the civil courts was overseen by the investigator and judicial assistants (*müfettiş hakam ve nüvab),* whereas in the central kazas of other sanjaks, this was managed by the sharia courts (Table 4).

The provincial salnames offer a more detailed insight into the complete administrative structure of the province on all levels of authority. Despite the fact that the Vilayet of Prizren was established in 1870, it was only through insight into provincial yearbooks that we can see how the administrative structure gradually became more complex and the number of officials increased. The members of the government on the vilayet level were the vali, his deputy (*naib*), defterdar, mufti, the vilayet secretary (*mektubçi*), as well as the principal (*reis*) of the Appeal divan (*Divan-i Temyiz*) (Table 5).

	The officials
1873	The vali Vali Deputy Muhamed Said Efendi Vilayet Defterdar Tahsin Efendi Vilayet Mufti Tahir Efendi Principal of the Appeal Council Hilmi Efendi Vilayet Secretary Sheriff Bey
1874	The vali Vali Deputy Muhamed Said Efendi Vilayet Defterdar Tahsin Efendi Vilayet Mufti Tahir Efendi Principal of the Appeal Council Bihaldin Bey Vilayet Secretary Ahmed Sheriff Bey

Table 5. Members of the government, according to the provincial salnames of the Vilayet of Prizren.[31]

The vali presided over the Administrative council (*İdare-i meclis*), which dealt with the entire domestic policy of the province, except the judicial business. The members of government would meet once a year in the provincial capital and would be in session for a maximum of forty days, discussing the matters of safety, construction, economy in the broader sense, as well as answering the pleas of the lower instances. The Administrative

[30] Aličić 1962–1963: 220–221.

[31] PVS 1873: 36; PVS 1874: 34, 64–163.

council consisted of permanent/appointed members (*Aza-i Tabiye*), who dictated all the decision-making and members' election (*Aza-i Müntehabe*), and whose work was mainly advisory in its nature.[32] Among the permanent members was the vali deputy who would step in for the vali in case of his temporary absence or dismissal, or more precisely, until the new vali was instated. Other members included defterdar, mufti from the provincial center, secretary and chief accountant. The elected members were supposed to include an equal number of Muslims and non-Muslims from the local population, but this was frequently abused in practice, in favor of the Muslim representatives. There is no conclusive evidence of the exact religious group that the elected members belonged to as their surnames were not recorded, only their first names.[33] The scribes and registrar (*mukayyid*) were present out of practical reasons: the need for diligent record keeping.[34] (Table 6).

	Permanent member	Elected member	Other members
1873	The presiding vali Vali deputy Financial administration director Mufti Secretary Financial Director Reshid Bey Chief Scribe Nuri Efendi	Zavalfakar Bey Ali Efendi Abdulah Aga Adam Aga Haji Kolo Aga Risto Aga	The Second Scribe Mehmed Yemin Efendi Clerk Ismail Hakki Efendi
1874	The presiding vali Vali deputy Financial administration director Mufti Secretary Financial director Chief Scribe Ziya Efendi	Dervish Bey Hiraldin Aga Zavalfakar Bey Abdulah Aga Haji Kolo Aga Risto Aga	The Second Scribe Yemin Efendi

Table 6. Members of the Vilayet administrative council,
according to the provincial salnames of the Vilayet of Prizren.[35]

The judiciary was not in the scope of the vali's authority. Cadi (*kadi*), judge of Islamic canon law, ruled over Sharia court (*Devair-i Adliye ve Mehakim Mahkeme-i Şeri'yye*), and the Commercial Court (*Ticaret Mahkemesi*) functioned separately. The highest judicial instance in the Vilayet of Prizren was the appeals divan (*Divan-i Temyiz*),

[32] Ortaylı 1985: 67.

[33] The officals' titles (*bey, aga*, *efendi*) may indicate their social status. The term *bey* after the first name denoted an eminent member of the community, a gentleman. The term *aga* after the first name can be translated as gentleman, and it was used both for a local landowner and an older gentleman. The term *efendi* after the first name denoted a gentleman, particularly one who was respectable and literate. In salnames, it always followed the name of a clergyman.

[34] Aličić 1962–1963: 223–226.

[35] PVS 1873: 37; SVP 1874: 36.

where most of the employees were Muslims, with a negligible number of non-Muslims. In the central appeals council (*Meclis-i Temyiz-i Merkez*), non-Muslims had no part whatsoever, whereas in the council dealings with the civil and criminal disputes (*Meclis-i Temyiz Hukuk ve Cinayet Merkezi*), the number of Muslims and non-Muslims was equivalent. Every administrative level had a special appeals council (*Meclis-i de'av*), where Muslims and non-Muslim made joint decisions. Court and council officials also included the jurors (*mumeyiz*), apprentices (*mülazim*), notaries, the chief scribe (*baş katib*) and other scribes (*katib*).[36]

The vilayet also had several offices dealing with various businesses. The notary office (*Mektub-i Kalem*) handled the correspondence, separately from the accounting (*Muhasebe Kalemi*), which was handled by numerous assistants (*muavin*) and associates (*refik*), with only a minority of them being local non-Muslims. A specific official took care of the waqfs, heading a special unit (*Evkaf Muhasebesi*), and the land registry was overseen by a special division of the imperial registry office (*Defter-i Hakani Dairesi*). The population changes were recorded by the officials within the census office (*Nufüs Kalemi*). A special committee (*Tahsilat Komisyonu*) had control over the collecting of all the state revenue, and it was handled by officials in various divisions: tax and customs department (*Rüsumat İdaresi*), duties and fees (*Ma'a Tahrir Vergi İdaresi*), and others.[37] The common ground for every level of government was special offices, municipal councils (*Meclis-i Belediye*), managed by the chief (*reis*). These were not institutionalized councils but rather mixed ones with a consulting nature, where the local population of various confessions could make decisions regarding communal issues.[38] The judicial and administrative system functioned in the same principle in lower units as well, the only difference being that there were fewer officials due to a smaller scale of business, and the variety and extent of offices and committees depended upon the needs of the particular administrative unit.

The vilayet was divided into smaller units, sanjaks, which were managed by mutasarrifs. Each sanjak was further divided into lower administrative units, kazas, which were managed by head officials (*kaymakam*). Some kazas contained nahiyes managed by administrative officials (*müdür*). The titles of the lower administrative units were officially established only when the Provincial Reform Law was passed: mutasarrif, kaymakam and mudur were used instead of the previous head official, mudur and officer (*zabit*).[39] The source data confirms that the nomenclature was in use before, so the reform law only legalized the administrative practice with the objective of unification on a state level. The aforementioned officials reported to the vali and the ministry that appointed them to the province. On the local level, they were subordinate to the vali and were in charge of managing their administrative unit in accordance with the existing laws.

With the exception of the central,[40] all sanjaks had the administrative council of the sanjak/liva (*Meclis-i İdare-i Liva*), whose task was to enforce decisions of the vali and manage the sanjak in accordance with its authorities. Like the Vilayet administrative

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36 Gostović 2021: 55; PVS 1873: 38, 44, 46; PVS 1874: 36–37, 42.

37 Kaleshi, Kornrumpf 1967: 184–190; Ünlü 2014: 50–57; PVS 1873: 37–47; PVS 1874: 36–46.

38 Ortajli 2004: 134–144.

39 Aličić 1962–1963: 220.

40 In the central sanjak, more specifically in the province capital, the Vilayet administrative council presided.

council, the Administrative council of the liva consisted of bureaucrats sent from the Empire capital and the influential locals, both Muslim and non-Muslim. The appointed members included the mutasarrif, his deputy, the chief accountant (*muhasebeci*) and the correspondence clerk (*tahrirat müdürü*), as well as the religious representative–the mufti and the Orthodox archbishop.[41] Elected members included the local Muslim and non-Muslim representatives, who were never equally represented despite the regulations, and always to the disadvantage of the non-Muslims. The remaining members were notaries and their associates (*refik*).

It was not unusual to see deviations in the enforcement of the legal regulations, as noted within the structures of administrative councils in sanjaks throughout the existence of the Vilayet of Prizren. It was largely in reference to the number of elected representatives of the local population: in 1873 in Skopje and Niš the balance was tipped in favor of the non-Muslims (two Muslim and three non-Muslim representatives), whereas in Debar, the situation was reversed (three Muslims and two non-Muslims), and this was repeated in the years to come. The administrative council of the Sanjak of Debar was the only one that never had a religious non-Muslim representative. This led to the confessional inequality. Occasional absence of certain religious representatives should not be seen as officials challenging the law, as it was evident in some situations that the positions were only temporarily vacant, mostly due to replacements. Such an example was recorded in the Sanjak of Niš in 1874, when, at the time of recording data for the yearbook, the mufti position was vacant.[42]

	Permanent members	Elected members
1873	Kaymakam Haji Mustafa Aga Deputy Abdulah Efendi Mufti Husein Hilmi Efendi Chief Accountant Mehmed Effendi Archbishop Naum Efendi	Halil Efendi Mehmed Efendi Dimo Aga Yenkosh Aga
1874	Kaymakam Rejep Fevzi Bey Deputy Nejib Efendi Mufti Hasan Efendi Head of the Finance Office and Correspondence Clerk Haji Sadik Aga	Haji Sadik Aga Mehmed Efendi Peter Aga Yenkosh Aga

Table 7. Members of the Administrative council of the kaza of Tetovo, according to the salnames of the Vilayet of Prizren.[43]

Kazas were presided over by the administrative council of the kaza (*Meclis-i İdare-i Kaza*) with a consulting function and governed by the kaymakam. His deputy, the head of

[41] The Orthodox religious representatives were members of church municipalities–archbishops, bishops, protopresbyters and their deputies (*vekil*). Nušić 1902: 112.

[42] PVS 1873: 64, 81, 94; PVS 1874: 95, 151.

[43] PVS 1873: 38; PVS 1874: 64.

the finance office (*mal müdürü*), the correspondence scribe (*tahrirat katibi*) and the religious representatives of the Muslims and non-Muslims were the council's permanent members. Elected members were the local Muslims and non-Muslims. The enforcement of the Ottoman Empire policies and the inclusion of the representatives of various and often conflicting confessional groups were meant to satisfy the interests of religious representatives in mixed councils and show the central authority's willingness to be consistent in enforcing the equality policies even in remote provinces (Table 7).

Inconsistencies in the numbers of administrative officials and elected members of administrative councils were recorded throughout the Vilayet of Prizren. Data from 1873 indicate that none of the administrative councils in the kazas of the Sanjak of Prizren had correspondence clerks. Religious representatives, the mufti and the archbishop, were also not present in the work of the mixed councils. In the kazas of the Sanjak of Prizren, the archbishop was situated only in Tetovo; Gnjilane, Vučitrn, Gusinje and Ljuma did not have a millet representative. In the kazas of the Sanjak of Skopje, the situation was a bit different: mufti was situated only in Kumanovo, Štip was the only kaza with no religious representatives, whereas in Kočane, a catholic representative presided (*papas*).[44] In the kazas of the Sanjak of Niš, mufti was not present in Leskovac, there was no archbishop in Vranje, and in Kuršumlija, there were no religious representatives at all. In the kazas of the Sanjak of Debar, there were no non-Muslim representatives anywhere, and the mufti was a board member only in Elbasan. The imbalance of elected representatives was also present throughout the vilayet. Muslims dominated in the majority of kazas in the Sanjak of Prizren: Đakovica, Peć, Gnjilane, Gusinje (three Muslims and one non-Muslim), whereas in Ljuma, they completely pushed out the non-Muslims (four Muslims). The only exception in the entire Sanjak of Skopje was kaza of Radovište where among the elected members there were only two non-Muslims, and in the Sanjak of Niš, only Kuršumlija had four Muslim representatives. In the kazas of Sanjaks Debar, Elbasan and Donji Debar, no non-Muslims were elected (three Muslims), and in the kaza of Mat, a unique example in the entire sanjak, there were no elected members whatsoever, Muslims or non-Muslims. The following year, in 1874, correspondence clerks were included in the work of administrative councils of the Sanjak of Prizren, except in Tetovo, Priština, Đakovica and Gusinje. Religious representatives of the Sanjak of Prizren were occasionally mentioned in records: the confessional balance of permanent members was only confirmed in Đakovica, whereas in the work of administrative councils of kazas Tetovo, Gnjilane, Vučitrn, Gusinje and Ljuma, these representatives were entirely neglected. In the Sanjak of Niš, the mufti was in charge only in Vranje and Prokuplje, and the archbishop in all other kazas except Pirot and Leskovac. In the Sanjak of Skopje, religious representatives were not included in the work of the kaza of Radovište, and a Jewish representative (*haham başı vekili*) operated only in Štip. There were no Muslim representatives in Palanka and Kratovo. Of all the kazas in the Sanjak of Debar, the only recorded religious representative was in Elbasan and as expected, it was a mufti. In 1874, the legal regulation of the equality of elected board members was

[44] The term *papas* in Ottoman documents referred to any clergyman, Catholic or Orthodox. In the salnames of Vilayet of Prizren, it referred exclusively to catholic representatives whereas for the Orthodox priests, the term was the archbishop (*mitropolid*).

violated. In the Sanjak of Prizren, the advantage was on the side of the Muslims in Đakovica, Peć and Gusinje (three Muslims and one non-Muslim), and in Ljuma, the leadership was completely taken over (four Muslims). Gnjilane was special, since the elected member was only one Muslim representative. The balance in the Sanjak of Niš was tipped by a sole example from Kuršumlija where there were four non-Muslims in operation, whereas all the kazas of the Sanjak of Skopje were very consistent in enforcing the legal regulations. The largest number of law violations happened in the Sanjak of Debar: non-Muslims were outnumbered in Elbasan (one non-Muslim and two Muslims), completely neglected in Donji Debar (three Muslims) and Gornja Malesija (four Muslims), whereas the administrative councils in kazas Mat and Donja Malesija operated without elected members.[45]

The administrative council of the nahiye (*Nahiye Meclisi*) was not yet established in the time of the Vilayet of Prizren, but still nahiyes had officials who handled the general affairs. In addition to the mandatory governor, for practical reasons, there was a scribe included, and the governor deputy if needed (Table 8). Office of the general government could be found only in bigger nahiyes.

	Nahiye	Officials
1874	Gostivar	Governor Mustafa Bey Deputy Governor Representative Tahir Efendi Scribe Ismail Efendi
	Palanka	Governor Mehmed Arif Efendi Scribe Mehmed Shekir Efendi
	Kačanik	Governor Husein Hasan Efendi Scribe Rushdi Efendi

Table 8. Nahiye officials, according to the provincial salnames of the Vilayet of Prizren. [46]

In the smallest territorial units, villages, governors were also elected in accordance with the regulations prescribed in the Provincial Reform Law. Villages inhabited by the population of only one confessional group elected one village elder (*muhtar*) from the local population and the head official confirmed the choice. In mixed villages, two elders of different confessions were elected. They were the link between the locals and higher instances of power: they collected tax revenue, organized the village police, and mediated in resolving village disputes. The law regulated the existence of the councils of elders (*İhtiyar meclisi*), which had between three and ten members of the locals, with the most respectable member being the religious elder, but it is not known if and in what way it functioned in practice.[47]

[45] PVS 1873: 48–99; PVS 1874: 64–162.
[46] PVS 1874: 65, 104, 150.
[47] Aličić 1962–1963: 230–231.

4. Conclusion

The 19th century of the Ottoman Empire was marked by a complex reform endeavor initiated by the capital elite and the sultan himself. Constant foreign political pressures and national movements within the state additionally burdened the Ottoman statesmen and demanded efficient solutions. The process of modernization was intensively advanced, starting with the military-administrative structures that demanded stable finances and qualified bureaucratic staff. The reforms were finalized in the form of laws and regulations of universal nature. However, their success depended upon the socio-political relations in the field. By creating vilayets, the smaller territorial-administrative units, the aim was to ensure easier control and necessary centralization. The Vilayet of Prizren was only one of the Balkan provinces that experienced the enforcement of newly proclaimed reforms. Frequent territorial changes, both the outer borders of the Vilayet of Prizren and the inner administrative units, were intended to secure a more efficient centralization and adequate control. Governors of all administrative levels of authority (valis, mutasarrifs, kaymakams) were sent from the capital and approved by the sultan himself. Nevertheless, based on previous experiences, military power and judicial jurisdiction were excluded from the authority of vali in order to prevent the power from concentrating in the hands of one official. These regulations were consistently enforced in the Vilayet of Prizren even though there were exceptions recorded in other Balkan provinces that were justified by the unstable political situation that threatened to escalate due to ethnic and religious tensions. The vali relied on his closest associates to enforce the decisions dictated from the capital's highest instances, and he dealt with all the political, economic, and social matters of the province. The hierarchy system of local government subordinated the officials to the vali, which allowed for a more adequate state centralization. The local administration of the Vilayet of Prizren was constantly increasing through its organizational structure of sanjaks, kazas and nahiyes. This allowed for direct enforcement of the decisions from the highest instances on the lower levels, but, at the same time, it unnecessarily burdened the bureaucratic system that was becoming more and more sluggish. The elected members were included in the work of the provincial offices and councils in order to increase efficiency and ensure equality amongst non-Muslims in an attempt to offer an alternative to their national demands, except in kazas of the Sanjak of Debar, where the work of elected members was disabled. Despite the proclaimed principle of equality, Muslims still dominated the offices of the Vilayet of Prizren and obstructed the enforcement of regulations in order to preserve their privileged positions. However, the established mechanisms of local governance became the foundations of further state development and proof of the role of civil officials in political and bureaucratic affairs. The efficient work of mixed councils did not guarantee social stability, particularly in remote Balkan provinces.

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МИЛЕНА ГОСТОВИЋ
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АДМИНИСТРАТИВНО УРЕЂЕЊЕ ПРИЗРЕНСКОГ ВИЛАЈЕТА 1870–1874.

Резиме

Током 19. века у Османском царству спроведене су свеобухватне реформе с циљем јачања централизације и успостављања чвршће контроле над целокупном територијом. У раду су сагледане територијалне границе Призренског вилајета, једне од провинција на Балкану и анализирано је спровођење административних реформи, као и њихови (не)успешни ефекти. Реформе су спроводили чиновници послати из престонице царства, а њихова успешност зависила је од утицајних муслиманских група, као и немуслиманског становништва, које је све више тежило националној самосталности. Реконструкција територијално-административне структуре била је могућа захваљујући годишњацима османске државе (осм. *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*), и издањима покрајинских салнама Призренског вилајета (осм. *Salname-i Vilayet-i Prizren*).

Кључне речи: Призренски вилајет, реформе, Уредба о управи у вилајетима, бирократија, вилајетске салнаме.

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THE AMERICAN MILITARY MISSION AND ARMENIA: JAMES HARBORD'S REPORT IN THE CONTEXT OF US MANDATE POLICY AND ARMENIAN–AMERICAN RELATIONS (1919–1920)

Abstract: The present study lies at the intersection of history and other humanities, focusing on Armenian history and the US foreign policy–the position of the US in the region at the close of the First World War, the activities it carried out, and the corpus of information it assembled concerning Armenia and the Armenian people during the pivotal years of 1919 and 1920. Particular attention is devoted to President Woodrow Wilson's Armenian policy in the matter of an American mandate in order to investigate and elucidate the aims of the American mission dispatched to Armenia, and the circumstances under which the US undertook the commitment to determine Armenia's borders. Major General James G. Harbord's mission report is used as a seminal primary source for the historiography of Armenian-American relations, the mandate issue, the Armenian Genocide, and the diplomatic history of boundary delimitation.

Keywords: US foreign policy, First World War, James G. Harbord, Armenia, mandate, Woodrow Wilson, Senate.

1. Introduction

The role of the US in contemporary geopolitical relations is both crucial and strategic. Events that took place nearly a century ago testify to America's longstanding ambitions and interests in Asia Minor and the South Caucasus. Unveiling historical truth and analyzing its multiple layers is of great importance for the credibility and international perception of any state. A proper evaluation of historical and political lessons constitutes a vital element in the developmental trajectory of any society.

2. Chronological Scope of the Study

The research covers the period from the end of the First World War in 1918 through the pivotal years of 1919 and 1920. At the conclusion of the war, amid the formation of a new world order, the US sought to assert a more prominent geopolitical role. A vivid display of this ambition was President Woodrow Wilson's "14 Points."[1] These points, aimed at establishing a new international order, set the stage for far-reaching political transformations.

During the Paris Peace Conference, alongside peace negotiations, the issue of mandates (protectorates) was actively discussed. Within this framework, the question of an American mandate for Armenia became particularly significant, promoted by President Woodrow Wilson himself.[2] A key challenge for the US government was to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the mandated territory and to evaluate its geopolitical significance.

Advocating for an assertive foreign policy, President Wilson sought to maximize the benefits of the US participation in the First World War. His "14 Points" and the acceptance of mandate responsibilities opened new strategic opportunities for America. To investigate the mandate territories and assess the feasibility of US administration, Major General James G. Harbord was dispatched to the region.[3]

The cornerstone source for this study is the report prepared by James G. Harbord,[4] which is currently preserved in the Library of Congress.[5] Of particular importance is the contribution of George Van Horn Moseley (1920), a member of the military mission who provided a detailed analysis of the proposed mandate's military aspects.

The topic has also been extensively examined in James B. Gidney's work (1967), which addresses the Armenian Question and the mandate issue within the context of the Paris Peace Conference and the San Remo Conference, considering the dynamics among the great powers.

The research further draws upon a range of other critical studies, including P. M. Brown (1920), R. L. Daniel (1959), and H. Akar (2005).

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1 Woodrow Wilson, *President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points (1918)*, US National Archives.
2 Daniel 1959: 260.
3 Brown 1920: 396.
4 Harbord 1920.
5 Harbord 1920.

3. Methodology

The research is grounded in a set of qualitative historical methods tailored to the rigorous reconstruction and analysis of early 20th-century geopolitical developments. The following methodological approaches were employed throughout the study:

- Historical reconstruction: The study systematically identified and analyzed key events relevant to the period under investigation, focusing on their geopolitical and diplomatic significance.
- Chronological documentation: Events were documented and narrated in strict chronological order, allowing for a coherent and contextualized understanding of the historical trajectory.
- Comparative analysis: Cross-case comparisons were applied to evaluate the United States' engagement in the South Caucasus vis-à-vis its broader foreign policy objectives in the postwar era.
- Source triangulation and factual validation: Emphasis was placed on verifying historical truth by consulting a wide array of primary and secondary sources, including archival documents, government records, and eyewitness accounts.
- Analytical synthesis: Based on the collected evidence, thematic conclusions were drawn regarding the nature and implications of American diplomatic and strategic involvement in the region.

This combination of methodological tools ensured a nuanced and evidence-based reconstruction of the historical context surrounding the US mission in Armenia and the mandate question.

4. The Armenian Question in American Public Opinion and Political Circles during the First World War

American missionaries had been active in the Ottoman Empire and in numerous settlements in Western Armenia since the late 19th century. By the beginning of the First World War, dozens of missionary institutions–including schools, hospitals, and charitable organizations–were already functioning in these areas, many of them serving Armenian communities. These American educational and humanitarian centers played an important role in local life and became hubs of cultural, social and charitable activity. In terms of policy, the American government was guided by the Monroe Doctrine principle of non-interference in European affairs; however, this did not imply indifference to the Armenian Question.

In 1915, American Ambassador Henry Morgenthau Sr. revealed the policy toward Armenians in numerous reports and, through his activities, caused a great public reaction to the Armenian question. In 1917, he toured various US states and gave numerous speeches presenting the disastrous situation in the Ottoman Empire regarding Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians.[6] Henry Morgenthau Sr. was the US ambassador to Turkey from

[6] Payaslian 2005: 104–122; Travis 2006: 327.

1913 to 1916. He was an expert on the Armenian question and acted as a defender of the interests of the Armenian people. As a result of his activities, the public opinion in the US was steered considerably in favor of the Armenian Cause and the protection of the interests of Armenians. Drawing US political attention to the problems of Armenians and ensuring an international response to these problems, Morgenthau's following publications also testify to his humanistic activities and are a significant source for studying the Armenian question: "On the Armenian Massacres" (1918), "Armenia Calls" (1918), "Why the Ottoman Empire Must Be Destroyed" (1918), "Will Armenia Be Destroyed?" (1920)," "The Massacres of the Armenians in 1915" (1922), and other articles on this topic, as well as books, including *The Story of Ambassador Morgenthau* (1918), *The Tragedy of Armenia* (1918),[7] *Secrets of the Bosphorus: 1913–1916* (1918).[8] Despite his heavy workload, the Armenian question remained central to Ambassador Morgenthau.[9] Following the dire situation of Armenia and Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, 1914–1916, and sending numerous reports to the US government, Henry Morgenthau Sr. requested the intervention of the American government.[10] Speaking in 1918, as part of his public awareness work in the US, regarding the massacres of Greeks and Assyrians in the Ottoman Empire, he noted that Greeks and Assyrians were being subjected to the "same methods" of deportation and "wholesale murder" as Armenians, and that two million Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians had already perished. Of course, Henry Morgenthau's proposal for the US government intervention in the above-mentioned problems was legally possible with the approval of a mandate commitment.[11]

Numerous articles were published in the American press about the current situation in Armenia. The *New York Times* alone published a large number of articles about the persecution and extermination of Armenians in 1894–1915 and the following years.[12]

The information about the plight of the Armenians gave rise to a private charity movement in the country. This was accompanied by mass demonstrations, fundraisers, resolutions and other rallies in favor of the Armenians. Many prominent individuals in American society created structures to help the Armenians.[13]

The Americans tried to help the surviving Armenians. Cleveland Dosh and James Barton led the Armenian Relief Committee, which was later reorganized into the American Relief Committee in the Near East. After the Armistice of Mudros in 1918, many prominent American figures supported the idea of creating an independent Armenia, and the US Congress also adopted a resolution calling for the creation of a united Armenian state (from Cilicia to the eastern provinces of Armenia).

As a result of all this, the Armenian question also left its mark on political processes.

Following the conclusion of the First World War, the US took on an active and influential role in international relations. This aspiration led to the deployment of a special

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7 Morgenthau 1918a: 15.
8 Morgenthau 1918b: 275.
9 Balakian 2003: 223.
10 Oren 2007: 333–336.
11 Travis 2006: 327.
12 Oren 2007: 336.
13 Balakian 2003.

mission to the region of Asia Minor and Armenia. At the Paris Peace Conference, one of the critical issues under deliberation was the determination of the borders of defeated Turkey. During the San Remo session of the conference, the question of precisely delineating the borders of Armenia was brought to the fore.

On April 24, 1920, the US recognized Armenia's independence. After that, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers officially appealed to President Woodrow Wilson to assume the mandate over Armenia and adjudicate the issue of the Armenia–Turkey borders.[14] The relevant provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations regarding mandates made this course of action feasible.

The idea of the US assuming the Armenian mandate aligned closely with President Wilson's political interests and global vision. It was a realistic proposal, as Wilson's desire to shape a new international order–articulated in his "14 Points" and his strategic ambition[15] to establish a geopolitical presence in both Asia Minor and the South Caucasus–fit the broader political context.

President Woodrow Wilson was trying to keep the US from entering the First World War.[16] This was evidenced by the negotiations to establish peace with the Germans during 1916 and 1917, and President Wilson's initiatives were embodied in the American position in those negotiations, in the principles of establishing peace, which were first presented to the Senate on January 22, 1917.[17]

The US, becoming one of the victorious powers, participated in the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, where Wilson presented his peace program, "14 Points," the publication and future implementation of which would lead to an increase in the role of the US in world processes.[18] At the Paris Conference, the US representative House undertook to agree on the principles of the "14 Points" within the framework of the conference with the other powers. In particular, these provisions were accepted by Britain, with the exception of the point on freedom of the seas.[19]

Of President Wilson's fourteen points, the twelfth point directly concerned the Armenian people and the future Armenian state. It stated that the non-Turkish nations of the Ottoman Empire, including the Armenians, should live freely and establish autonomy. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities that were, at the time, under Ottoman rule should be provided with an undoubted security of life and an absolutely impervious opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.[20] The president later reaffirmed his ideas on this, as evidenced by his advisor, Colonel House, head of the US delegation to the Paris Conference, who noted in his memoirs that President Wilson stated the above-mentioned circumstance in official

14 Gidney 1967: 77.
15 Manela 2007: 4.
16 Link 1954: 275.
17 Link 1954: 265.
18 Brockway 1968: 71–74.
19 Grigg 2002: 384.
20 Wilson 1924: 470.

comments: “Armenia must be given a port on the Mediterranean, and a protecting power established. France may claim it, but the Armenians would prefer Great Britain.”[21] Later, President Wilson reiterated his claims about the need for Armenia's independence.[22]

Subsequently, the Turkish authorities also acknowledged that Wilson’s fourteen points were the basis for the end of the war and the negotiations.[23] On January 30, 1919, within the framework of the Paris Peace Conference, the leaders of the US, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan adopted the Draft Resolution in Reference to Mandatories, which affirmed that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia were to be severed from the Ottoman Empire and placed under the governance of more advanced nations as mandates assigned by the League of Nations.

Within this framework, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George proposed that the US take Armenia as its mandated territory.[24] Indeed, it would have been inconsistent to propose such a mandate without first deploying a mission to study the region in detail. In accordance with a decision adopted by the Paris Peace Conference on March 20, 1919, the United States government later dispatched a fact-finding mission composed of more than fifty individuals, under the leadership of Major General James G. Harbord.

Notably, the suggestion to send this mission to the region was originally made to President Wilson by Henry Morgenthau-former US Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, a prominent Jewish-American statesman, and a vocal advocate for the Armenian people.[25]

5. The Mission of Major General James G. Harbord and Armenia

Major General James G. Harbord played a decisive role in securing the US its share in the victory of the First World War, because he commanded the American troops and ensured coordination of operations with the Allies during the hostilities and the final stages of the war. Through Harbord’s delegation, the US government aimed to clarify the ethnopolitical character and economic and other capacities of the mandated territory proposed by the Peace Conference. After the war, a delegation led by Harbord was dispatched to Armenia. The report submitted to the Senate was titled “Mandate for Armenia.”[26]

The delegation’s visit and the resulting report became a reliable source for revealing the US policies and goals toward the Near East, Asia Minor, and Armenia, including their numerous nuances. The study of the mandate issue and the documentation of the prevailing conditions in Armenia and its surroundings were closely tied to the US military mission and the professional work and report submitted by its leader, James Harbord.

James Harbord was born on March 21, 1866, in Bloomington, Illinois, US. He studied at Kansas State University,[27] and later at the Military Academy in New York.

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21 Seymour 1928: 199.
22 Wilson 1927: 358–359.
23 Scott 1921: 419.
24 Gidney 1967: 80.
25 Gidney 1967: 171.
26 Harbord 1920.
27 Zabecki, Mastriano 2020: 153.

Beginning his military career in 1889, he advanced through the ranks.[28] During the First World War, when the US entered the war on the side of Britain, France, and Russia, General Pershing, who was appointed commander of the US expeditionary forces, chose James Harbord as his chief of staff.[29]

In May 1918, Harbord was placed in command of American troops at the front lines and coordinated the movement and integration of US forces with the British command.[30] In June and July, Harbord and his forces participated in battles against German troops.[31] During this time, due to complications in the supply lines, Pershing entrusted Harbord with resolving logistical issues, which he handled with great success.[32] James Harbord received the permanent rank of major general and was, respectively, awarded medals by both the Army and the Navy for "distinguished service."[33] The distinguished officer passed away in August 1947 in New York and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Because of his high reputation and trustworthiness, President Woodrow Wilson, after the war, in August 1919, assigned him to lead a mission to Armenia to study the proposed mandated territory. The high-ranking officer fulfilled this task with great responsibility and presented the corresponding report.

The archival documents, dated October 16, 1919, addressed to the US Secretary of State,[34] include the itinerary of the mission. The delegation traveled aboard the *Martha Washington* military ship to Constantinople, from where they reached Mediterranean Adana by the Baghdad railway, then continued to other Cilician cities–Tarsus, Ayas, and Mersin. From there, the delegation traveled by rail to Aleppo and Mardin, then by motor vehicle to Diyarbakir, Harput, Malatya, Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, Yerevan, Tiflis, and then by train to Baku and Batumi.

Being in Asia Minor, Armenia, and the South Caucasus, James Harbord's mission prepared an extensive report titled "Conditions in the Near East: Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia," which included the following content: a transmittal letter to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, the history and current condition of the Armenian population, the political situation and proposals for reconstruction, the conditions and challenges of the mandate in Turkey and the Transcaucasia, military issues, population and resources, and conclusions.[35]

The report included five-year estimates of the financial costs of the mandate and supplementary materials: a brief memorandum concerning the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia was signed by Mustafa Kemal, Harbord's response letter to him, the declaration of the Sivas Congress, the petition sent to the US President on behalf of that congress, and statistical tables related to the region.[36]

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28 Davis 1998: 159.
29 Venzon 2013: 273.
30 Harbord 1936: 257–263.
31 Zabecki, 2020: 161.
32 Lacey 2008: 121.
33 Havel 1996: 255.
34 Gidney 1967: 189.
35 Harbord 1920: 2.
36 *Ibid*.

The work of the mission also included sectoral studies provided in the appendices.[37]

The American military mission's report, in its entirety, is a crucial source for studying the international and military-political context of the region during that period.

At the beginning of the report, the itinerary is outlined, noting that the mission traveled to Constantinople, and from early September[38] continued to Batumi, various Armenian settlements, the Russian Transcaucasus, and Syria. A request was made for the Secretary of State to review the report and consider the political, military, geographic, administrative, economic, and other interests of the US in the region and report on them.

The report notes that the mission members traveled the full length of Asia Minor and across the Transcaucasus from north to south and east to west. In Armenia, the mission met with the spiritual leader of the Armenian Church, Catholicos Gevorg V, in the ancient seat of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Etchmiadzin, founded in AD 301.

The mission spent thirty days on this journey, meeting with representatives from various communities and conducting research throughout the region, providing an objective picture of the situation. The core of the mission's report concerned Armenia and an in-depth examination of the circumstances under which the US might assume the country's mandate. Naturally, before taking on the mandate of Armenia, it was logical and reasonable to understand the country's geographic and political position, civilizational heritage, and ethnic structure.

The report referred to Armenia as composed of Caucasian Armenia, which had separated from the Russian Empire and on which the Republic of Armenia had been formed, and Asia Minor or Western Armenia. At times, the eastern part under the Russian Empire was called Russian Armenia, and the western part under Ottoman rule was referred to as Turkish Armenia.[39]

Naturally, Turkish researchers and various figures are trying to present the issue in a different way,[40] avoiding acknowledgment of Armenia's historical and cultural presence in the area, but that does not alter the political and other aspects reflected in the report. For the US mission, there clearly existed a historically rooted Armenian civilization in Asia Minor (confirmed not only by James Harbord himself but by all co-authors of the report),[41] which was regarded as the homeland of the Armenian people, corroborated by ancient Persian, Greco-Roman, and other authors.[42]

This fact is also detailed in the work of James B. Gidney, one of the authors who studied the history of the mandate,[43] where the history of the Armenian people is presented, including the fact that in the six vilayets of Western Armenia under Ottoman rule, Armenians were the majority population as of 1912.[44]

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37 Moseley 1920; Harbord 1920: 2.
38 Gidney 1967: 172.
39 Bournoutian 1994: 44–45.
40 Akar 2005: 188.
41 Gidney 1967: 175.
42 Chahin 2001: 177; Yamauchi 2003: 36; Clackson 2008: 124; Tyler-Smith 2016: 931–936; Lang 1980: 85–111.
43 Gidney 1967: 2.
44 *Ibid*. 22.

6. The History and Homeland of the Armenian People in the Harbord Report

When presenting the history and homeland of the Armenian people, Harbord affirms that the Armenians are one of the most ancient peoples in the world: "Although Armenians were scattered more or less throughout the whole of Transcaucasia and Asia Minor, Armenia was an organized nation 1,000 years before there was one in Europe, except Greece and Rome."[45]

According to the author, following the adoption of Christianity, the Armenian people experienced a cultural golden age that lasted two centuries. Harbord notes that sixteen Byzantine emperors were of Armenian origin. After a long historical rise in statehood, Armenian civilization became a victim of the Turkic peoples who arrived from Central Asia.[46]

Harbord adds that the insufficient efforts by European states to protect Armenians from suffering and exploitation led to the development of an image of Imperial Russia as the Armenians' sole protector.[47] In his view, Russia's protection of the Armenians following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was effectively neutralized by the unfavorable Treaty of Berlin, a result of Anglo-Russian rivalries, through which Britain gained the island of Cyprus in exchange for concessions to Turkey. The report also outlines how the Armenian Question was exploited within the sphere of great power relations.

Harbord's report also addresses the organized deportation and destruction of the Armenians under the Young Turks regime. It details numerous tragic aspects of the policy of neutralization and annihilation of the Armenian population, ultimately describing the current condition of the people as follows:

> Such are conditions to-day in the regions where the remnant of the Armenian people exist; roads and lands almost back to the wild; starvation only kept off by American relief; villages and towns in ruins; brigandage rampant in the Transcaucasus; lack of medicines and warm clothing; winter coming on in a treeless land without coal.[48]

From the standpoint of the mandated territory's examination, the Young Turks policy toward it is described as directly targeting the Armenian population, as noted by Brigadier General George Van Horn Moseley, who authored the military section of Harbord's report. He writes:

> But let us try to find this country which the powers would have us govern. Does the Armenian problem now exist, or did the Young Turks actually accomplish their purpose "to rid themselves of the Armenian problem by ridding themselves of the Armenians"?[49]

Thus, in summing up the material presented in the first section of the mission's report, it must be affirmed that the opening part of Harbord's report, alongside General Moseley's contribution, offers a portrayal of Armenia's history, its civilizational legacy, historical

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45 Harbord 1920: 5.
46 *Ibid*.
47 *Ibid*.
48 Harbord 1920: 7–11.
49 Moseley 1920: 7.

upheavals, the Armenian Question, the great powers' positions regarding Armenian issues, the policy of extermination carried out by the Turks, and the deeply complex political and socioeconomic situation Armenia faced following the First World War.

Hence, by examining the first part of James Harbord's mission report, the following conclusions and inferences can be drawn: The Paris Peace Conference, which concluded the end of the First World War, established a system of superpower patronage or mandates. The mandate of Armenia, which participated in the war on the side of the Allies and suffered heavy losses, was offered by Great Britain to the US At the behest of President Woodrow Wilson, a military mission led by General James Harbord was sent to the region to study the mandated territory. Starting in the Middle East and ending in Asia Minor and Transcaucasia, Harbord's fifty-person committee presented a report containing answers to more than a thousand questions regarding mandate issues to the US Secretary of State and the Senate in October 1919. From an analytical perspective, the report of Harbord and other mission members is a thorough and reliable source for studying the history of Armenia, the Armenian Question, and the situation created in the Middle East, Asia Minor, and Transcaucasia after the First World War.

The war brought enormous human losses to various peoples, including the Armenian population that was subjected to genocide in the Ottoman Empire. The victory of the Allied countries awakened hopes among Armenians for independence from the rule of the Ottoman Empire and the restoration of justice. Two Armenian delegations participated in the Paris Conference: Republic of Armenia, formed after the collapse of the Russian Empire, and Western Armenians, who wanted to be liberated from Turkish rule. Both pursued the same goal: the unification of the two parts of Armenians into an independent Armenia. In this regard, it was clear that the Armenian people, who had come out of the war with heavy losses, could not establish their independent statehood without external assistance, and the offer of a mandate to the US was a significant signal of support for Armenians at that time.

7. The Political Situation and Reconstruction Proposals

The second section of General Harbord's report, entitled *"*The Political Situation; Reconstruction Proposals," analyzes the politico-military conditions in the mandated territory. It describes the destructive nature of Turkish domination over the peoples and civilizations under its control, referencing the content of a formal reply presented to the Turkish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

The Republic of Armenia sought, through the establishment of the mandate, to secure international recognition of the country by uniting the six vilayets of Turkey (Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Harput, Sivas, and Erzerum) and Cilicia with Armenia.[50] Any expression of independence or autonomy by Armenians, Greeks, or other nationalities under Turkish rule was met with opposition from every Turk. According to George Van Horn Moseley's section, "Military Conditions in Turkey," this was the situation regarding Turkish nationalist attitudes toward Armenians and Greeks, and also reflects the danger posed by Mustafa Kemal's rise to power.[51]

[50] Harbord 1920: 11–12.
[51] Moseley 1920: 11–12.

Importantly, the analysis of the politico-military context demonstrates that the Armenian people–despite their considerable contribution to the victory in the First World War–found themselves in a disastrous situation, facing the Turkish threat alone. The withdrawal of British forces from Transcaucasia in August 1919, especially after the Russian withdrawal following the events of 1917, left Turkish-Muslim forces unsupervised.

Even within the Allied command, there was clear awareness that the withdrawal of Western forces would lead to the final destruction of the Armenians.[52] Nonetheless, British troops were withdrawn, and the Armenians were left defenseless against Turkish aggression.

Harbord, analyzing the political and ethnic landscape of the region, concludes that the mandate cannot be sufficient for Armenia and the Transcaucasus alone if Constantinople and Asia Minor, "with their significant strategic value," are excluded from the mandated territory. He notes that even the city's strategic location could become a source of competition among the powers.[53]

Even if Armenia were restored it remained troubling that Turks would form a minority in those territories. Of particular importance here is the documented fact that the Ottoman Empire pursued a policy of annihilation against the Armenians.[54]

Upon examining the political, civilizational, and strategic challenges, Major General Harbord draws the following objective conclusions as possible solutions: One great power must exercise control over Armenia and the Transcaucasia, and the Armenian Question cannot be resolved without answering two key problems–what should be done with Turkey and what Russia's response would be.

> The mission believes that, for reasons set forth, the power which takes a mandate for Armenia should also exercise a mandate for Anatolia, Roumelia, Constantinople, and Transcaucasia; the boundaries of the Turkish vilayets of Armenia and Anatolia and the interior boundaries.[55]

These questions are essential for understanding the issue effectively and provide a general framework for comprehending the broader realities of the time.

8. The Conditions and Problems Involved in a Mandate for Turkey and Transcaucasia

The section titled "The Conditions and Problems Involved in a Mandate for Turkey and Transcaucasia" addresses issues surrounding the credibility of the US and presents the sectoral studies associated with the mandate's research. The list of these appendices is found in the report's contents. It must be noted that these appendices are of significant academic importance, particularly for the study of the region's history and civilizational foundations. Examining these mission reports is both timely and essential for shaping of current US policy.

The subsequent section of General Harbord's report is entitled "The Military Problem," which examines the security challenges within the mandated territory.[56] This

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52 Gidney 1967: 170.
53 Harbord 1920: 16.
54 *Ibid*, 18.
55 *Ibid*, 19.
56 Harbord 1920: 21.

issue is explored in more depth in the appendix authored by Brigadier General George Van Horn Moseley.[57] His report includes detailed information on the military situation in Turkey, including the composition of the Turkish army, descriptions of the Armenian-Turkish border,[58] the military condition of Armenia and data on the Armenian army,[59] the military situation and army of Georgia,[60] and the military state and army of Azerbaijan.[61] Additional appendices with supplementary data are also included.[62] This portion of the report holds independent research value.

Returning to Harbord's discussion of the military problem, it is stated that the number of armed forces necessary for securing the mandated territory would range between 25.000 and 200.000,[63] subject to adjustment based on situational needs. The delegation recommended that an initial force of approximately 59.000 troops be considered. Support for military forces was to include four to six warships. For the first year of mandate administration, the financial expenditure was estimated at $88.500.000, a figure projected to be reduced by nearly half by the third year. The total estimated cost for a five-year mandate was $756.014.000, which encompassed expenses for government operations, communications, humanitarian aid and education, military and naval operations, healthcare, and other related functions. Significantly, James Gidney concludes:

> It should be borne in mind that this was written on the assumption of a mandate for all of Asia Minor. If the mandate was accepted for Armenia only, it is unlikely that the mission, aware of the attitudes and growing strength of Kemal's Nationalist movement, would have ruled out the possibility of defending the country from external attack.[64]

Following this section, the Harbord Report presents a set of final conclusions. These conclusions reflect the level of responsibility associated with accepting the mandate, the specific conditions that would apply to the US, and the broader scope of international obligations involved.

It is of particular importance that the final section of the report contains assessments both in favor of and against assuming the mandate, organized in a format prepared by Stanley K. Hornbeck.[65] Before analyzing these positions, it should be noted that Harbord requested written responses from individual members of the delegation regarding their personal stance. While most did not provide clear answers or definitive positions, a majority leaned in favor of the mandate. The only unambiguous objection came from Eliot Grinnell Mears, who argued that assuming the mandate would contradict the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, which had long guided US foreign policy.[66]

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57 Moseley 1920: 7.
58 *Ibid*, 8–17.
59 *Ibid*, 17–20.
60 *Ibid*, 20–22.
61 *Ibid*, 20-24.
62 Harbord 1920: 8–43.
63 *Ibid*, 23.
64 Gidney 1967: 185.
65 *Ibid*, 187.
66 Gidney 1967: 186.

In maintaining objectivity throughout his report, Harbord listed fourteen arguments in favor of assuming the mandate and thirteen arguments against. Among the supportive points, one of the most significant is point six:

> America is the only hope of the Armenians. They consider but one other nation, Great Britain, which they fear would sacrifice their interests to Moslem public opinion as long as she controls hundreds of millions of that faith. Others fear Britain's imperialistic policy and her habit of staying where she hoists her flag. For a mandatory America is not only the first choice of all the peoples of the Near East, but of each of the great powers, after itself. American power is adequate; its record clean; its motives above suspicion.[67]

Equally vital from the standpoint of addressing the Armenian Question is point nine: "It would definitely stop further massacres of Armenians and other Christians, give justice to the Turks, Kurds, Greeks, and other peoples."[68]

Key concerns raised in opposition to assuming the mandate included the great powers' competition and geopolitical ambitions in the region (point two), the high financial costs involved (point seven), and the region's geographical distance from the US (point ten).[69]

Taken together, these conclusions encapsulate the findings of the American military mission and contain valuable information regarding the US potential policies in the region, its guiding principles and objectives, the geopolitical landscape of the Near East in the early 20th century, the complexities of the Armenian Question, and the feasibility of the US assuming the mandate over Armenia.

9. Results

The study reveals the geopolitical aims of the US in the region following the end of the First World War, with particular focus on the year 1919. Specifically, the US pursued, through its mandate policy, the resolution of numerous political and socio-economic issues in the Near East, Asia Minor, and Armenia, while simultaneously enhancing its strategic role in global affairs. This was among the central objectives of President Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy agenda. The report of the military mission dispatched for this purpose outlines the situation in the region across the Near East, Asia Minor, and Armenia from the standpoint of the consequences of the First World War and the prevailing geopolitical conditions. The war brought immense devastation to the peoples under Ottoman rule, particularly Christians, and most acutely the Armenians. These realities are documented in the report of Major General James Harbord's mission. The presentation of the Armenian people's civilizational heritage and historical trajectory through Harbord's report is a key component of this study. The political future of Armenia and the hope for the rebirth of the Armenian people were linked to the possibility of the US accepting the mandate, and to President Woodrow Wilson's commitment to determine Armenia's borders as an independent and impartial arbiter.

On May 24, 1920, President Woodrow Wilson formally requested authorization from

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[67] Harbord 1920: 26.
[68] *Ibid*, 27.
[69] *Ibid*.

the US Congress to establish an American mandate for Armenia. However, the Senate–first in its Committee on Foreign Relations, and then in full session on June 1, 1920–rejected the request by a vote of 52 against and 23 in favor.[70]

Not assuming the Armenian mandate led to even more disastrous consequences for Armenia and the Armenians. Kemalist Turkey had decided to annihilate Armenia physically and politically. It regained control of the western part of Armenia, which had been recognized as independent by the Treaty of Sèvres, and attacked the First Republic of Armenia in September 1920. Left without the assistance of its former First World War allies, the Republic of Armenia suffered a painful defeat and was destroyed.

10. Discussion

Why was the Armenian mandate ultimately not accepted by the US? This question is still important today from the perspective of correctly assessing and understanding that event of the past. Two main reasons can be suggested. The Democratic Party did not have a sufficient majority in the Senate, while the Republicans opposed active international engagement and an interventionist US foreign policy. President Wilson's position within the US had weakened significantly due to his health. On October 2, 1919, he suffered a stroke that rendered him largely incapacitated.[71] This condition was kept secret[72] for a significant period, but by 1920, serious doubts had emerged about his ability to fulfill presidential duties.[73] His declining health profoundly affected his political influence. The rejection of the mandate coincided with this critical period.

To understand the issue under study, it is necessary to explore a number of interpretive questions in light of US and Armenian national interests.

Did the US genuinely intend to assume the League of Nations mandate over Armenia?

In terms of assessing the nuances of this issue, it is important to reflect on Erez Manela's comments on the Wilsonian principles proclaimed and the aspirations of the peoples who pinned their hopes on the activities of the Paris Conference. At the heart of these peoples' aspirations for self-determination, Woodrow Wilson was perceived as the main advocate for their cause and a dominant global figure. These peoples included the Chinese and Koreans, Arabs and Jews, Armenians and Kurds.[74]

President Woodrow Wilson and several members of his administration such as Major General James Harbord were inclined to accept the mandate. Harbord himself believed that it was a noble undertaking, stating: "…this is a man's job, and, as the world says, no nation could do it better than America."[75]

Henry Morgenthau Sr., who first proposed the mission and was a staunch advocate for Armenian rights, co-founded the Committee on Armenian Atrocities (later renamed Near

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70 No American Mandate for Armenia: Text of the President's Request and Record of the Vote. Current History (1916–1940), 12(4), 1920, 710–713.

71 Ober 1983: 410–414.

72 Berg 2013: 659–661, 668–669.

73 Cooper 2009: 535.

74 Manela 2007: 4.

75 Harbord 1920: 26.

East Relief) along with other devoted figures. His position is well-documented in articles published in the *New York Times* issues from this period[76] and in his memoir.[77] Within the framework of the Paris Conference, the King-Crane Commission was formed in 1919, whose main goals were to study mandate issues in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. Henry King and Charles Crane were appointed to the commission by US President Woodrow Wilson.[78] The commission was to carry out its work under the joint leadership of representatives of the US, France, Great Britain, and Italy. However, in practice, the work was carried out only by representatives of the US,[79] the problem was that, in accordance with the principles defined by President Wilson, a number of territories of the Ottoman Empire–Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Armenia–were to receive mandated territory status and acquire sovereignty. However, Great Britain and France were actually striving to carry out the colonial division of these Middle Eastern territories, which they later did.[80] When the commission toured the territories of Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, and, after conducting its studies, presented its report to the Peace Conference in August 1919, the fate of these territories had already been determined[81] by the Sykes-Picot Agreement. The activities of the King-Crane Commission were mainly aimed at studying the mandated territories of the Middle East, while the target of James Harbord's mission was mainly Armenia. However, it should be noted that the King-Crane report also addressed the problems of Armenians. The Commission concluded that the creation of an Armenian state was necessary and rejected the idea that Turkey would respect the rights of the Armenian population, citing the extreme suffering inflicted upon them during the war. They referenced James Bryce's description of the Armenian Genocide as one of the darkest crimes in human history.[82] According to the commission's findings:

> In creating a separate Armenia, it was not proposed to... establish the rule of a minority of Armenians over a majority of other peoples... But such a separated state should furnish a definite area into which Armenians could go with the complete assurance that they would never be put under the rule of the Turks.[83]

The results of the King-Crane Commission's work also did not receive sufficient attention, the president's illness being one of the key reasons.[84]

However, in contrast to many Democrats, Republicans were not enthusiastic about collective US engagement in international governance. Their rejection of the League of Nations and of the mandate system reflected that stance, further exacerbated by Wilson's deteriorating health.[85]

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76 Oren 2007: 336.
77 Morgenthau 1918c: 1–407.
78 Gelvin, Lesch 1999: 13–14.
79 Harms 2008: 73.
80 Howard 1963: 1.
81 Fromkin 1989: 396–397.
82 Report of the American Section of the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey, U.S. Department of State.
83 Gidney 1967: 157.
84 Allen 2020: 31–37.
85 Thompson 2015: 98.

Did the United States have an active presence in the region, and was it engaged in social and missionary work?

The answer is unequivocally yes. During those difficult years, the US supported Armenia and the Armenian people. This is explicitly affirmed in the third paragraph of House Resolution 296, passed by the 116th US Congress on October 29, 2019:

> Whereas President Woodrow Wilson encouraged the formation of the Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which raised $116,000,000 (over $2.5 billion in 2019 dollars) between 1915 and 1930, and the Senate adopted resolutions condemning these massacres.[86]

The role of American humanitarian organizations is further acknowledged in the 12th clause of House Resolution 106 from the 110th Congress, which reads:

> President Woodrow Wilson concurred and also encouraged the formation of the organization known as Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which contributed some $116,000,000 from 1915 to 1930 to aid Armenian Genocide survivors, including 132,000 orphans who became foster children of the American people.[87]

On August 10, 1920, between Turkey on the one hand and the Entente and its allied countries on the other. According to Article 89 of the Treaty of Sèvres, Turkey recognized Armenia as a free and independent state. Turkey and Armenia agreed to submit to the arbitration of US President Woodrow Wilson regarding the borders of the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzurum, and Trebizond and to accept his terms regarding Armenia's access to the Black Sea. Article 230 of the treaty required the Ottoman government to hand over individuals responsible for the massacres committed during the state of war. On April 26, 1920, at the San Remo Conference, the Council of Allied Powers proposed that the determination of the borders of Armenia and Turkey, which were to be separated from the Ottoman Empire and recognized as independent, be carried out by President Woodrow Wilson, as an independent arbiter. President Wilson gave his consent to fulfill this obligation on May 17, 1920, and on November 22, 1920, he presented to the Council of Allied Powers a package for determining the borders of Armenia and Turkey,[88] in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres. [89]

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86 H. Res. 296 – Affirming the United States record on the Armenian Genocide.

87 H. Res. 106.

88 Karabekir 1960: 901.

89 Decision of President Wilson respecting the Frontier between Turkey and Armenia, Access for Armenia to the Sea, and the Demilitarization of Turkish Territory adjacent to the Armenian Frontier.

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АМЕРИЧКА ВОЈНА МИСИЈА И ЈЕРМЕНИЈА: ЏЕЈМС ХАРБОРДОВ ИЗВЕШТАЈ У КОНТЕКСТУ МАНДАТНЕ ПОЛИТИКЕ САД-А И ЈЕРМЕНСКО-АМЕРИЧКИХ ОДНОСА (1919–1920)

Резиме

Ова студија се налази на раскршћу историје и хуманистичких наука, са фокусом на јерменску историју и спољну политику Сједињених Америчких Држава током кључних година 1919–1920. Основни циљ истраживања јесте да се испитају и расветле намере америчке мисије упућене урегион након завршетка Првог светског рата, активности које је та мисија спровела, као и корпус информација који је прикупила о Јерменији и јерменском народу. Посебна пажња посвећена је политици председника Вудроа Вилсона према Јерменији, питању америчких циљева над Јерменијом и околностима под којима су се Сједињене Државе обавезале да одреде њене границе. Извештај мисије генерала Џејмса Г. Харборда користи се као кључни примарни извор за историографију јерменско-америчких односа, питање мандата, јерменски геноцид и дипломатску историју разграничења.

Кључне речи: Спољна политика САД, Први светски рат, Џејмс Г. Харборд, Јерменија, мандат, Вудро Вилсон, Сенат.

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THE USE OF FILM FOR TOURISM PROPAGANDA IN THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA*

Abstract: This paper explores the phenomenon of film as a propaganda tool for promoting tourism in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It primarily deals with the production of documentary films, both domestic and foreign, that showcase the country's natural beauty and tourism offerings. In addition to relevant literature, the paper is based on materials stored in the Archives of Yugoslavia, primarily in the Central Press Bureau of the Presidency of the Ministerial Council of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Keywords: Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Central Press Bureau of the Presidency of the Ministerial Council of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, tourism, film, propaganda.

Tourism in Yugoslavia dates back to the early 1920s, when the first travel agencies were opened, primarily focusing on ticket sales for travel.[1] In the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, tourism began to receive more serious consideration in 1919 with the founding of the first travel agency, a branch international company Wagons-Lits Cook, which sold tickets for both international and domestic transport, as well as tickets for the Orient Express. The first domestic travel agency, Putnik, was founded in 1923 as a joint-stock company, with the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Ministry of Transport as its main shareholders.[2]

However, tourism as a profitable economic sector in Yugoslavia did not start expanding until the 1930s, although the concepts of its importance and potential were still not fully understood, especially among the broader citizen population. The significance of tourism was emphasized in the context of the economic crisis and the decline in the population's purchasing

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1 Krajić, Čerović, Milićević 2017: 59; Demirović-Bajrami 2020; Stojanović 2016.

2 Demirović-Bajrami 2020; Blažević 1987: 9–22; Lazarević 2016: 10–12; Lazić 2017: 9–12.

power as a way to alleviate that crisis. This was reflected in the revenue generated by this economic sector, which had a positive effect on the country's finances.[3]

Italy and Austria were good examples with their profits from tourism during the economic crisis. In Yugoslavia, tourist attractions mainly included the Adriatic coast, the Julian Alps, lakes, spas, and oriental-style towns that would attract both foreign and domestic visitors. The goal was not only to bring about an influx of foreign tourists (as compared to a blood transfusion in medicine) but also to encourage domestic travel, which would stimulate the so-called "internal money circulation."[4] In addition, the development of tourism would make the recovery of convalescents easier, while the benefit of bringing together people from different parts of multinational Yugoslavia should not be overlooked either.[5]

Tourism statistics in Yugoslavia can be tracked in detail for the period from 1930 to 1939. Based on these data, the number of visitors, especially foreigners, fluctuated in relation to the economic crisis, as can be seen in the following table:

Year	Number of tourists	
	Domestic	Foreign
1930	295.512	256.147
1931	339.236	209.797
1932	364.999	147.356
1933	667.729	216.654
1934	711.421	234.959
1935	767.514	242.214
1936	691.792	258.994
1937	634.038	273.897
1938	719.610	287.391
1939	663.395	275.831

Table 1: Number of foreign and domestic tourists per year.[6]

A decline in the number of foreign visitors is noticeable at the height of the crisis, followed by an increase in 1933. As for domestic tourists, the numbers show a steady rise, nearly doubling after the year 1933. A striking detail is the doubling of tourist numbers in 1933, compared to the previous year. Given that this occurred during the economic crisis, such a sharp increase is difficult to understand. Statistics often deals with explaining of such anomalies. It is assumed that the statistical model was changed, or that from that point on, tourist registration was conducted more thoroughly.

Specific measures for tourism regulation were the establishment of Tourism Councils in *banovinas* (administrative regions). Among other duties, these councils

[3] Velojić 2023: 264.

[4] "Naš turizam u vezi sa hotelijerstvom," *Službeni list Moravske banovine* 20 June 1931: 1.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] SGKJ 1933: 250; SGKJ 1934–1935: 238; SGKJ 1936: 288; SGKJ 1937: 238; SGKJ 1938–1939: 324; SGKJ 1940: 306.

proposed tourist sites within their respective territories, which were then officially recognized by the Ministry of Trade and Industry in 1937, through a Decree on Designation of Tourist Locations. This Decree defined tourist sites in a narrower sense, encompassing attractive destinations for visitors–such as main regional centers or culturally and historically significant places (e.g., Kotor, Dubrovnik, Perast, Topola, Golubac, Kajmakčalan, Jajce, Bihać, Prilep-Markov Grad, monasteries, etc.). In addition, places with a specific climate (mountain or coastal) and spa resorts were also classified as tourist destinations.[7]

Introducing the job of a tourist guide helped to define tourism as a commercial sector.[8] Tourist guides were individuals who led groups of tourists and visitors through specific tourist locations. This profession had already existed in Europe for decades,[9] but it was not officially regulated in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia until 1939. The Regulation on Tourist Guides recognized guides both as individuals and as legal entities that could employ experts in this field.[10] Guides were required to attend specialized training courses followed by an exam. A candidate had to demonstrate the knowledge of general history and geography of the tourist area where they would work, its tourist, historical, artistic, and archaeological landmarks, as well as its flora and fauna.[11]

The press was primarily responsible for promoting tourist destinations in Yugoslavia. Given the large number of print media, especially at the local level, it is clear that the press had an indispensable role as a propaganda tool in everyday life. During the dictatorship period, the press–as well as other forms of media–was controlled by the Central Press Bureau**,** which acted as a general information service.[12] The Bureau published news summaries from domestic and international sources twice a week.[13] Since it controlled the national and foreign press, films, and theater, the Bureau effectively took on the role of the Ministry of Propaganda.[14] While tourism-related topics were not considered a priority in the press as opposed to daily political news, toward the end of the 1930s, the promotion of this commercial sector became increasingly noticeable. Most local newspapers, as part of their editorial policy, regularly published articles on the natural beauty of certain places, and there was also an increasing number of advertisements for tourist offers. The launch of specialized magazines also contributed to the promotion of tourism. One of the more notable publications was *Banje i turizam u Jugoslaviji* (*Spas and Tourism in Yugoslavia*)**,** a monthly magazine with a circulation of 2.000 copies (special editions were printed in 3.000 copies). The magazine published articles about spas and resorts, often accompanied by numerous photographs. The magazine publisher was a local company from Vrnjačka Banja called

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7 "Rešenje o proglašenju turističkih mesta," *Službeni list Moravske banovine* 23 January 1937: 2.

8 Velojić 2023: 267.

9 Refers to tourist regions of the Alps in the mid-19th century, where local people were employed as guides. The term *tourist guide* was first introduced by Thomas Cook in 1840. See more: Ćuruvija, Ćuruvija 2017: 18; Štetić 2003: 19.

10 "Uredba o turističkim vodičima," *Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 29 April 1939: 2.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Simić 2007: 79–81.

13 Avramovski 1986–1996: 620.

14 Dobrivojević 2005: 55.

Goč–Society for Travel of Foreigners and Tourists. Magazine contributors were mostly representatives of tourist organizations and spa doctors.[15]

In addition to the press, film began to play a significant role in 1930s propaganda. The film industry improved with time, so both sound documentaries and feature films got more and more sophisticated.[16] The popularity of cinema in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is perhaps best illustrated by the growth of the number of cinematographs (devices for showing films) during the period from 1932 to 1939:

Year	Sound cinematographs	Silent cinematographs	Total
1932	184	154	338
1933	174	145	319
1934	244	78	322
1935	262	33	295
1936	301	17	318
1937	330	13	343
1938	357	13	370
1939	405	8	413

Table 2: Number of cinematographs.[17]

When we compare the data on the annual presence of foreign films, those from the United States of America were the most numerous, followed by Germany**,** France**,** and England**.** For example, in 1933**,** Yugoslavia screened 301 US films, 184 German films, eighteen French films, eight Czech films, four Polish films, three USSR films, three English films, two Austrian films, three Danish films, and one from Italy.[18] In 1938, 582 American, 207 German, eight French, fourteen British, thirteen Czech, fifteen Hungarian, five Italian, four Swiss, three Swedish films and one Russian film were screened.[19]

American film companies dominated in comparison with those from other countries. For instance, in 1939**,** out of a total of 557 films shown in Yugoslavia (including entertainment, cultural, and commercial films), the breakdown was as follows: Fox Film had 158, Metro-Goldwyn Mayer 122, Paramount Film sixsty-six, Warner Bros twenty-seven, United Artists eight, First National twelve, Vitaphone thirteen, Universal Pictures twenty-eight, R.K.O. thirty-three, while U.F.A. from Berlin had twenty-two, Terra Film Kunst seven*,* Tobis Sascha from Vienna six, and six films of Hungarian Office for Foreign Trade.[20]

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15 Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Fond 14: Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (abbreviated AY, F.14), fasc. 78–297, *Izveštaji o štampi*. See also: *Banje i turizam u Jugoslaviji*.

16 More in: Novaković 1962, Volk 1986.

17 SGKJ 1933: 346; SGKJ 1934–1935: 332; SGKJ 1936: 394; SGKJ 1937: 306; SGKJ 1938–1939: 396; SGKJ 1940: 376.

18 SGKJ 1933: 346.

19 SGKJ 1938–1939: 396.

20 SGKJ 376.

Domestic cinematography lagged consiredably behind the global scene, and when we consider the number of Yugoslav films shown per year, a consiradible decline can be seen:

Year	Entertainment films	Journal films	Cultural films	Advertising films/ commercials	Total
1932	8	75	106	93	282
1933	2	29	77	80	188
1934	-	5	34	68	107
1935	-	3	49	48	100
1936	-	2	43	39	84
1937	-	-	40	21	61
1938	-	-	31	32	68
1939	1	-	33	16	50

Table 3: Number and types of films shown between 1932–1939.[21]

Additionally, it can be noticed that commercials and cultural films outnumbered the entertainment ones. This could be attributed to the poor financial state of Yugoslav cinematography, but also to the potential of using advertisements and cultural content to spread desired propaganda. The Law on Regulation of Film Distribution from 1931, further supported this, and it called for the establishment of the state film central office with the following task: "to regulate and oversee the import, production, and distribution of films; to promote domestic film production; and to support education and useful propaganda through film."[22] In March 1934**,** a decree amending the composition of the state film central office was issued. According to the new provision, the Council of the State Film Central Office, which had previously functioned as an independent body operating within the boundaries of the film regulation law, was now turned into an advisory body**.** The Council convened only at the invitation of the Minister of Trade and Industry and gave opinions and recommendations on specific matters. Its decisions were subject to the minister's approval. Additionally, the president of the State Film Central Office was relieved of the power to make decisions independently, particularly in urgent matters. The Decree also reorganized the Central Office's staff, placing them under the authority of the Minister of Trade.[23]

Film censorship was mainly carried out by the Ministry of Education, although the censorship committee also included representatives from the Ministries of the Army and Navy**,** Internal Affairs**,** Social Policy and Public Health**,** and Trade**.**[24] The 1932 Film Censorship Rulebook established two committees in Belgrade–a lower and a higher one–and a sub-committee in Zagreb was also formed. The lower committee consisted of twelve members and their deputies: three from the Ministry of Education, one from the Ministry of

[21] SGKJ 1940: 378.

[22] "Zakon o uređenju prometa filmova," *Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije* 5 December 1931: 1913.

[23] Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Fond 38: Press Bureau of the Presidency of the Ministerial Council of 1929-1941 (1903-1914) (abbreviated AY, F. 38), fasc. 115–254, *Pregled i kritike najnovije Uredbe o filmu*.

[24] Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Fond 66: Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (abbreviated AY, F. 66), fasc. 383, *Pravilnik o cenzuri filmova*.

the Army and Navy, two from the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, two from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and one member from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Finance, the Public Prosecutor's Office, and the Central Press Bureau (within which a department for film and tourism had been established) respectively. The higher committee consisted of seven members: two from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, respectively, and one from the Ministry of the Army and Navy, the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, and the Ministry of Finance, respectively.[25]

The censorship procedure stipulated that, after signing a contract to purchase a film from the producer, the film rental company received a transcript of the film's spoken text and intertitles. Once translated, this transcript was submitted to the Belgrade central office**,** which performed film registration. Simultaneously, a committee within the Ministry of Education reviewed the text's language quality. Once approved, the translated transcript was returned to the producer, who would then create the subtitles and intertitles in Serbian**.** When the Serbian subtitles and intertitles were finalized, the entire film was submitted to the censorship committee.[26] Film, especially during Milan Stojadinović's government**,** became a key tool for propaganda**.** To this end, the Yugoslav Radical Union even established its own film club**,** which played an active role in filming election campaigns.[27]

Yugoslav Educational Film (YEF) was founded in October 1930 as a cooperative with limited liability, composed of twenty-nine members. Having recognized the importance of film and aiming to use it for propaganda, the Central Press Bureau (CPB) signed a contract with YEF, whereby YEF undertook to prepare the filming of locations across Yugoslavia according to a pre-established program. The signed contract determined that filming and site selection would follow the instructions of the Central Press Bureau and use the best equipment available. To finance these films, a loan of 200.000 dinars was approved by the President of the Ministerial Council**.** Additionally, certain *banovina* administrations provided financial assistance, while CPB itself covered the cost of supplies from its budget, provided that this amount be later deducted from the total earnings of YEF. In 1932**,** YEF made a large number of silent documentary films, grouped into ten thematic categories, most of which promoted the natural beauty of Yugoslavia. In addition to locations in Serbia and Bosnia, the Adriatic coast was mainly featured, highlighting its role as the country's main tourist attraction.[28] Out of 25.965 meters of film shot, the CPB committee approved 21.199 meters. The total amount paid to YEF was 529.975 dinars.

Additionally, YEF committed to producing 6.030 meters of documentary film titled *Yugoslavia*, for a fee of 36.180 dinars.[29] Distribution of these films was considered successful, as they were shown in Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.[30] The film *Yugoslavia* was also

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25 AY, F. 38, fasc. 115–254, *Pregled i kritike najnovije Uredbe o filmu*.

26 *Ibid. Dopisnik Centralnog presbiroa šefu radio odeljenja pov. br. 26 od 10. januara 1935. Izveštaj o radu filmske cenzurne komisije*.

27 Simić 2007: 161–164.

28 AY, F. 38, fasc. 115–254, *Osnivanje i zadaci Jugoslovenskog prosvetnog filma*. "Prvi Jugoslovenski prosvetni film," *Politika*, 9 September1931.

29 AY, F. 38, fasc. 115–254, *Osnivanje i zadaci Jugoslovenskog prosvetnog filma*.

30 "Jugoslovenski prosvetni film novo preduzeće, organizovano na solidnoj osnovi, snima već nekoliko filmova," *Vreme*, 10 September 1931.

screened in Belgium, and on that occasion, the Yugoslav consul in Brussels gave a lecture at the Belgian Agency for International Cooperation and Documentation.[31] A French version of the film was sent to Paris via the editor of newspaper *La Yugoslavie*.[32] As for the English language version, the Yugoslav Embassy in London intended to screen it during a lecture on Yugoslavia. However, due to the film's length, only some extracts were shown. Upon learning about the film, the Orient Line steamship company requested from the Yugoslav Embassy parts of the film related to Dalmatia and the coastal region, with the intention of adapting them for their own lectures to be held in England, Ireland, and Scotland.[33]

Tourism was also promoted through the Cooperative for Economy-Focused Films, founded in 1933 as a steering committee for producing economy-focused propaganda films. The task of the Cooperative was "to procure and produce films for propaganda purposes both nationally and abroad."[34] The founders of the Cooperative included the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Forests and Mines, the Central Press Bureau, travel agencies Avala and Putnik, the Central Industrial Corporation Office, and others.[35] In addition to economic films, the Cooperative also produced a tourist film titled *Through Yugoslavia* during that year. The following year, a film about spas and seasonal bathing resorts was made, supported by agency Putnik and the Tourism Department of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. The filmed material was over 2.500 meters long and, in addition to showcasing spas, it also featured footage from the Adriatic coast and Slovenia. Out of this filmed material, the Cooperative intended to create a larger project, which would be subtitled in French and presented at the exhibition in Brussels.[36]

However, the contribution of national companies was modest compared to the involvement of foreign producers. Foreign production ensured higher quality and more reliable promotion in Europe and the US. For instance, an American company Paramount expressed interest in filming in Yugoslavia. At the end of 1929, its branch from Rome intended to send a technically-equipped film caravan to Yugoslavia to shoot several documentary films with the aim of promoting the country's natural beauty and cultural customs.[37] The Central Press Bureau intervened with the Ministry of Finance to facilitate the entry of this caravan across the border.

The Ministry's reply stated that an order had been issued:

> ...to the customs offices in Sušak, Rakek, Jesenice, Maribor, Dravograd-Mreža, and Gornja Radgona, outlining how to proceed with the clearance of the Paramount film company's caravan. The Customs Department is pleased to emphasize that, in this case, Paramount has been granted every possible privilege, receiving the maximum concessions available for such expeditions.[38]

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31 AY, F. 38, fasc. 115–254, *Konzulat u Briselu Centralnom presbirou ministarskog saveta br. 207 od 8. aprila 1932*.

32 *Ibid. Jugoslovenski prosvetni film Centralnom presbirou Ministarskog saveta od 16. juna 1932*.

33 *Ibid. Poslanstvo Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Londonu Predsedništvu ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije pov. br. 353 od 4. jula 1933.*

34 "Osnivanje Zadruge za privredni Film," *Jugoslovenski dnevnik*, 18 September 1931.

35 AY, F. 38, fasc. 593–764. *Reorganizacija Zadruge za privredni film*.

36 AY, F. 38, fasc. 115–254. *Izveštaj upravnog odbora o radu Zadruge za privredni film za 1934. godinu*.

37 *Ibid*. *Paramount Sound News to his Excellency the Minister of Yugoslavia, Oct 28th 1929*.

38 AJ, F38 115-254. *Ministarstvo finansija Odeljenje carina Centralnom presbirou Ministarskog saveta pov. br. 164 od 14. marta 1930*.

However, a problem arose considering the permission of the General Staff, since a foreign company could not be granted unrestricted and free filming rights:

> Regarding the matter in question, the General Staff is of the opinion that the film company *Paramount* should, in principle, be allowed to shoot films, as it would serve as propaganda for our tourism. If the company were to present a specific proposal regarding what and where they intend to film, then the General Staff could give a definitive opinion, as there are areas and state facilities on our territory that cannot be filmed.[39]

In the end, the company was granted permission to enter and film the Sokol celebrations, as well as certain aspects of everyday life in Yugoslavia. The next film about Yugoslavia by Paramount was shot in 1934, when the visits of Bulgarian and Romanian monarchs to Belgrade were also documented.[40]

The Fox Film Corporation from New York also expressed interest in filming in Yugoslavia. This company was considered one of the largest and most reputable film producers in the world. In the 1920s this company founded a European branch in Paris for producing sound newsreels, from where it sent professional cameramen to all European countries. A significant budget was approved from this branch for filming in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1930**.** Considering that a filming in the vicinity of Zagreb and Sarajevo had been carried out a year earlier and that it was well received by European audiences, the Central Press Bureau obtained permission from the Ministry of the Interior for free passage and unrestricted work, as well as for cooperation of certain state institutions.[41] Four years later, Magic Carpet of Movietone, a special division of Fox Film Corporation for producing travel documentaries, requested permission from CPB to film in Yugoslavia. The Central Press Bureau granted permission and arranged for exemption from customs duty for the import of trucks with equipment, and provided hotel discounts and an interpreter. The Magic Carpet of Movietone crew arrived in Yugoslavia in 1934, straight from a shoot in Palestine, and produced a film in the style of a so-called *travelogue* (a narrated travel film). [42]

In addition to American film companies, British Gaumont also filmed in Yugoslavia for propaganda purposes. In 1930, the Central Press Bureau applied for funding for making a film about Yugoslavia, which Gaumont produced in segments. The intention of this British company was to show the segments in its cinemas, and then gradually deliver them to Yugoslav audiences. The Yugoslav agency Express, based in London, also showed interest in this film, with the aim of using it for promotional purposes.[43]

In 1930, travel agency Putnik brought a team of zoologists from Berlin to Yugoslavia to film the local flora and fauna and produce a movie titled *The Unknown Beauties of Yugoslavia*. The group was led by zoologist Dr. Hermann Steinmetz, accompanied by Margarete Walter, who was in charge of filming and distribution. According to reports from Central Press Bureau correspondents and the agency Putnik, it was clear that Walter played

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39 AJ, F38 115-254. *Ministarstvo finansija Odeljenje carina predsedniku Ministarkog saveta pov. br. 137 od 10. marta 1930*.

40 *Ibid. Paramount Sound News to Chief of Press Dept. of Presidency of the Ministerial Council*, 16 November 1933.

41 *Ibid. Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Centralnom presbirou Ministarskog saveta br. 10305 od 25. aprila 1930*.

42 *Ibid. Centralni presbiro Državnoj filmskoj centrali od 12. maja 1934*.

43 *Ibid. Dopisnik Centralnog presbiroa Ministarskog saveta iz Londona centrali od 11. jula 1930*.

a key role in filming and distribution of the movie, while Steinmetz was responsible for scientific aspects. In a letter from Putnik to the Central Press Bureau, it was emphasized that Walter was engaged in film reportage, sending films to major film companies in Germany for promotional purposes.[44] According to a CPB correspondent:

> Walter is able to circulate her films because there are numerous business bureaus for distribution in Berlin. In that regard, the practice there is entirely business-oriented. She will certainly, like many others, offer the material she has gathered to various bureaus. The more interest she sparks with companies in her work, the sooner she will put the material on the market. It cannot be ruled out that Walter may already have some kind of contract with these companies. If that is the case, it simplifies the matter. However, even without that, I believe her work here has a chance of success– considering both the material and the connections she has. Putnik would not be wrong to include her companion, Dr. Steinmetz, in this arrangement, as this expertise would certainly serve as a recommendation–provided, of course, that Putnik is interested in the material for which Walter is coming to our country. We believe that Putnik should ensure that its contract with Walter is drafted in such a way that it becomes binding only when distribution of her films has been secured[45]

The purpose of tourist films was to promote Yugoslavia abroad. In addition to the previously mentioned countries, the renowned Belgian Cinematographic University was also interested in high-quality Yugoslav films. The Yugoslav embassy in Belgium forwarded a letter from the university to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, requesting Yugoslav promotional films to be shown in several Belgian cities. According to existing data, the films were to be screened before an audience of about 50.000 university members.[46] In 1935, a promotional film reel 600–700 meters long was sent to Zurich to present the "beauties of Yugoslavia" to the Swiss public. The responsibility of the Swiss partner was to manage promotional activities and submit regular reports (every six weeks) on the screenings of the film.[47]

As a relatively new medium, in the 1930s, film was widely used for propaganda purposes–whether political, national, economic, or tourism-related. The development of tourism as a sector of economy required intensive promotion of the country's natural beauty and tourist destinations, both to domestic and foreign audiences. The Central Press Bureau of the Ministerial Council, which was primarily responsible for the supervision of media, took on the role of tourism promoter. By engaging the Yugoslav Educational Film and the Cooperative for Economy-Focused Film, several documentary films were produced, promoting tourist offerings of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. A significant contribution also came from cooperation with renowned film companies such as Paramount, Fox Film Corporation, and Gaumont, which enabled the international distribution of the filmed material.

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44 *Ibid*. *Dopis agencije "Putnik" Centralnom presbirou Ministarskog saveta br. 8778 od 2. avgusta 1930*.

45 AJ, F38 115-254. *Dopisnik Centralnog presbiroa Ministarskog saveta iz Berlina centrali od 9. avgusta 1930*.

46 *Ibid. Ministarstvo inostranih poslova Centralnom presbirou Ministarskog saveta pov. br. 3704 od 16. aprila 1930*.

47 *Ibid. Jugoslovenski prosvetni film Centralnom presbirou Ministarskog saveta odsek za film i turizam od 16. decembra 1935.*

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СНИМАЊЕ ФИЛМОВА У СВРХУ ТУРИСТИЧКЕ ПРОПАГАНДЕ У КРАЉЕВИНИ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈИ

Резиме

У Краљевини Југославији филм је представљао, поред забаве, и средство пропаганде. Било да је реч о политичкој или привредној пропаганди, тридесетих година повело се рачуна о промовисању земље. У смислу туристичке пропаганде документарни филмови промовисали су природне лепоте земље и примамљиве дестинације, што је било нарочито од важности у иностранству. Филмском пропагандом бавио се Централни пресбиро Министарског савета, у склопу којег је образован Одсек за филм и туризам. Ради боље промоције туризма остварена је сарадња са реномираним светским филмским компанијама, што је био сигуран знак да ће филмови наићи на добар пријем код иностране публике.

Кључне речи: Краљевина Југославија, Централни пресбиро Министарског савета, туризам, филм, пропаганда.

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THE HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN NOVI SAD BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS*

Abstract: Between the two world wars, Novi Sad had numerous communities engaged in humanitarian work, to which the members of the Jewish community made a substantial contribution. Guided by traditional values, they provided aid to impoverished fellow citizens, orphaned children, and the elderly. Among these organizations, the society called Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care (Kora hleba i Dečje obdanište), founded in 1925, stands out for the scope of its activities. In addition to various forms of support and aid, the association also organized fundraising events that enriched the town's cultural and artistic life. Based on relevant historical sources and literature, the paper examines the humanitarian activities of the Jewish community in Novi Sad and its contribution to the town's social and cultural development.

Keywords: Kingdom of Yugoslavia, interwar period, Novi Sad, humanitarian societies, Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care, Jewish community, Jelena Kon, concerts.

1. The Tradition of Humanitarianism in the Jewish Community of Novi Sad

In all the regions they inhabited during the first half of the twentieth century, members of the Jewish community sought both to adapt to their surroundings and to preserve their own identity. Alongside religion, language, and culture as its fundamental elements, certain individual and collective traits of the members of the Jewish community played an important role in sustaining that identity. Reflecting philosophically on Jewish people, General Mihajlo Trifunović, King Alexander's aide-de-camp, identified the following personality traits in his unpublished book called *Zakon solidarnosti* (Law of Solidarity):

* The paper has been written within the project called *The Identity of Jewish People in Vojvodina in the Past and Present*, funded by the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research.

spiritual and physical resilience, adaptability to the environment, solidarity, and a talent for effective organization.[1] These traits found their fullest expression in humanitarian work, an area in which Jewish people frequently took the lead within the societies in which they lived.

In earlier periods of its history, the Jewish community was isolated from the rest of society. Since the budgets of Jewish communities were modest and donations were often the sole source of funding, the community's survival depended on voluntary work. Over time, this evolved into a fundamental principle guiding their functioning and organization. It was carried out through committees for culture, education, social and health issues, as well as those for youth and women. Even today, the work within Jewish communities remains predominantly voluntary, although the number of committees has been significantly reduced since the Second World War.[2]

In the 19th century, with the acquisition of civil rights, the Jewish community became more actively involved in the societies in which they lived. This was most often achieved through the activities of various associations. According to Nebojša Popović's research, members of the Jewish community were among the first to establish societies and organizations for providing humanitarian aid to impoverished compatriots, social institutions aimed at improving public health, and establishments dedicated to the cultural and social enlightenment of the population.[3] These became a defining feature of social life, particularly in larger communities such as the Jewish community of Novi Sad in the interwar period.

During this period, Novi Sad was home to a large number of organizations engaged in humanitarian work.[4] Almost every association, in addition to its primary field of activity (educational, health, cultural, or sporting), also took part in humanitarian activities, and many new ones were founded as well. For the Jewish community, humanitarian work was rooted in its religious obligation. In Judaism, the worship of God is inseparable from the practice of charity.[5] Jewish sacred texts, such as the Torah, instruct believers to show compassion and aid the poor, presenting this as the highest form of goodness. Even at times when strict observance of religious rules had diminished, providing aid to the poor remained a fundamental value for many members of the Jewish community.[6]

The Jewish community of Novi Sad had a long tradition of charitable work. As in all larger cities, there was a Chevra Kadisha Association, founded in the 18th century with prominent religious characteristics, predating the official recognition of the Jewish community in Novi Sad.[7] This association was the predecessor of all later Jewish humanitarian societies. Among the oldest of these in Novi Sad was the Jewish Shelter for the Elderly and Orphans Society. It originated as a separate committee within the Chevra

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1 Popović 1997: 155.

2 *Ibid*. 47; Aleksić 2006: 93–94.

3 Popović 1997: 47.

4 According to the data for 1933, there were 31 organizations engaged in humanitarian work. Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Municipal Government of Novi Sad 1918–1941, Fond 150, Box 846, no. 13698/34, Data on humanitarian aid and health societies. (abbreviated: HACNS, MGNS).

5 Learning (and education) also constitutes a religious obligation. Marinković 2022: 38.

6 *Ibid*. 38, 41.

7 Šosberger 1998: 59.

Kadisha Association, and its main task was to establish a home for the elderly as early as the 19th century, though it was not formally constituted as an independent society until 1930. Isaac Alcalay, Chief Rabbi of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was named the honorary president, while a merchant from Novi Sad and civic activist Josif (Julije) Kon served as the president of the Society, and the Society's founder, Julije Hajós, was appointed as the executive president. The Society faced numerous challenges, particularly the lack of adequate facilities to accommodate the most vulnerable. These obstacles were eventually overcome, and by the mid-1930s, the Society had acquired a new building,[8] while a special orphanage wing was added in 1939. The home could accommodate approximately sixty elderly residents and the same number of children. Its work was governed by specific regulations and an activity plan. The Society was active until 1944, but its activities were not resumed after the war.[9] It is worth emphasizing the importance of prominent individuals in humanitarian work, as illustrated by the example of Josif Kon. This wealthy Jew from Novi Sad, drawing on the authority of his positions in both municipal and provincial government, did not confine his efforts to the Society he chaired but also provided generous support to other charitable societies in town.[10]

Scholarly research has confirmed that women played an especially active role in the work of humanitarian societies.[11] This was certainly the case in Novi Sad, where, as early as 1876, the Jewish Women's Charitable Society (*Frauenverein*) was founded, as a branch of the Chevra Kadisha Association. It was among the oldest Jewish women's societies not only in Serbia but also in Yugoslavia.[12] For Jewish women, humanitarian activity carried multiple layers of significance: It contributed not only to strengthening the ties between the Jewish community and the broader social environment in which it lived, but also to the process of women's emancipation. One of the first scholars to recognize this, nearly seventy years ago, was Edita Vajs, who described the patterns by which this process unfolded.[13] The earliest entry of Jewish women into the public sphere took place through societies dedicated to humanitarian work. Since the aims of these societies were built upon long-established traditions of charity, such engagement enjoyed strong communal support. As education became more accessible to women and the number of women intellectuals and those active in public life grew, the membership and activities of women's organizations expanded into the cultural and educational spheres.[14]

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8 Today, the building on Maksima Gorkog Street houses the offices of Radio-Television of Vojvodina. Petruševski 2018.

9 Šosberger 2001: 88, 104–109; Id. 1998: 103–105.

10 Josif-Julije (Žil) Kon (Mako, 1868–Novi Sad, 1942) was the owner of the shop called *Kod plavog konja* and a councillor of the Danube Banovina. For his merits, he was awarded the Order of the Yugoslav Crown, the Third Class. He was one of the founders and a member of the board of directors of the Crust of Bread Humanitarian Society, which was led by his wife, Jelena Kon. Both were killed in the Novi Sad Raid in 1942. *Znameniti Jevreji Srbije: biografski leksikon* 2011: 119.

11 Šosberger 2001: 112; Ivanković 2017: 9; Vidosavljević 2021: passim; Veselinović 1998: 489; Filipović, Vučina Simović: 2013.

12 The work of the Society continued after the Second World War within the framework of the women's section of the Jewish community. Šosberger 2001: 87–88; *Id*. 1998: 59–60.

13 Vajs 1957–1958.

14 *Ibid*. 149.

2. The Founding of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society in the 1920s

Building on the foundations of civil equality achieved in the preceding period, the Jewish community in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia experienced prosperity. The research done by Milan Koljanin has shown that the state authorities maintained a benevolent attitude toward them: Both individual and collective rights were guaranteed, government bodies refrained from intervening in the internal affairs of the Jewish community, and the work of Jewish organizations was conducted with complete autonomy.[15] Under such conditions, the community's ties with the broader social environment became increasingly stronger, primarily through business activities but also through other social factors. Whereas in earlier periods members of the Jewish community had lived in separate town districts, during the interwar years they began to settle in other parts of the town as well, which fostered their wider social integration. In lifestyle, behavior, clothing, and habits, most members of the Jewish community did not differ from people around them. While the Jewish communities retained their religious character, they also assumed new social and cultural responsibilities during this period.[16]

Researchers agree that the interwar period marked the peak of development for the Jewish community in Novi Sad.[17] This was evident, among other things, in their cultural and humanitarian contributions.[18] The First World War had left long-lasting consequences in the form of economic crises and widespread poverty. In Serbian and Yugoslav society, many families had lost their members, which gave rise to a heightened need for humanitarian action. On this subject, writer and publicist Dušan S. Nikolajević noted in his preface to *Almanah humanih društava* (in English *Humanitarian Societies' Almanac*):

> Humanity is a force capable of preserving the values of civilizations and of paving the way toward a new and more humane future. /.../ People should be devoted to the nobility of spirit in order to eradicate brutality. And to beauty, in order to eliminate all that is ugly. The strong should serve the weak.

In the same text, he particularly emphasized that humanitarian work must be organized.[19]

In this context, on the initiative of the philanthropist Jelena Kon,[20] the Bread for the Poor Society was founded in Novi Sad on May 21, 1925, with the aim of providing aid to

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15 Koljanin 2008: 70–71, 74.

16 *Ibid*. 88.

17 Aleksić 2006: 95; Šosberger 2001: *passim*.

18 In the interwar period, humanitarian activities were organized, systematic, and extensive. They were connected with cultural activities, as the societies' revenues from donations were most often raised through cultural events. Cultural associations also organized fundraising events. In 1928, the Union of Cultural Societies (Serbian *Savez kulturnih društava*) was established in Novi Sad as an umbrella organization that coordinated the activities of associations across various fields of work. Kostović 2014: 170.

19 Nikolajević 1940: 8.

20 Jelena Kon (Eisenstadt, 1882–Novi Sad, 1942) was born in Austria into the Jewish merchant family Spitzer. After marrying merchant Josif Kon, she moved to Novi Sad. Egeljić 2020.

impoverished fellow citizens, primarily the elderly and workers, who had been most severely affected by the economic crisis of the mid-1920s.[21] Unlike other associations, which often bore ethnic or religious markers, this society retained a strictly humanitarian character. Its guiding principle throughout its existence was the provision of aid "regardless of religion or nationality."[22] Under the motto "he who gives quickly, gives twice,"[23] efforts were made to ensure that the provided aid reached those in need by the shortest and most efficient route. This aligned with the prevailing view that private initiative was more effective in the humanitarian field than the actions of state authorities, since, as was often explained, "the true goal is often missed due to bureaucratic regulations."[24] The establishment of the Bread for the Poor Society was welcomed by the Novi Sad public. Newspaper *Zastava* reported that "Novi Sad has acquired a new institution of which it may rightly be proud," founded "through the efforts of a noble soul from our Novi Sad."[25] The Society distributed aid "without making a distinction of religion or nationality" and, on the same principle, selected its membership, which was:

> … bound together with a strong bond of brotherly love into a noble and beautiful whole. /.../ To help the poor in these difficult and self-centered times, and to do so collectively, is the only phenomenon that can, to some extent, reconcile us with many other unpleasant aspects of our political and social life.[26]

The Bread for the Poor Society was an example of a well-organized institution. It had its own statute and program of activities adapted to the actual needs of the social environment. Its organizational structure further contributed to its efficiency. The highest governing body was the assembly, which met once a year, no later than the end of June. The board of directors was responsible for implementing the program of activities endorsed by the assembly and was required to convene at least once every two months. Every three years, the members elected a president, two vice-presidents, and one secretary and treasurer. The supervisory board, comprising five members, was tasked with overseeing the financial affairs.[27]

It is particularly important to emphasize the role of Jelena Kon, who served as the Society's long-term president and, as was often the case with humanitarian associations, left a distinctly personal mark on its work. According to the Society's statute, her official duty

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[21] Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, The Royal Court of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918–1948, Fond 74, 250-376, Brief Report on the Previous Work of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society. (abbreviated: AY, RCKY); Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Municipal Administration of the Free Royal City of Novi Sad 1941–1944, Fond 259, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Under the High Patronage of H.M. Queen Marija: Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society in Novi Sad: Founded in 1925*. Novi Sad: Printing and Publishing Joint-Stock Company, n.d. Hereafter referred to as: HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*.

[22] HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 8.

[23] HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, The Speech of Jelena Kon at the 10th Jubilee Annual Assembly of the Society; *Pravda*, 6 May 1938, 12.

[24] HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 8.

[25] *Zastava*, 119, 28. 5. 1925, 2.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] AY, RCKY, 250–376, Copy of the Statute of the Bread for the Poor Society; HACNS, MANS, Box 201, 34808/1941, *Societal Rules*, 1937, 5–7.

was to represent the organization before the public and in dealings with state authorities.[28] She presided over meetings of both the assembly and the board of directors and initiated all of the Society's activities. In addition to her primary responsibilities, she also oversaw the finances. Drawing on her reputation and extensive contacts, she successfully secured stable sources of income, which necessitated regular communication with municipal and later provincial authorities. She assiduously ensured that every contribution was used in the most effective way.[29] Furthermore, she established cooperation with institutions abroad in order to transfer best practices to the Society's work.[30] Personally engaged in all humanitarian activities and in the daily care of the most vulnerable citizens, she also organized numerous events that enriched the cultural and social life of Novi Sad in the interwar period.

In accordance with its program of activities, the Society's primary and most fundamental task was the distribution of bread to the poor, as its very name indicates.[31] During the first few months of its existence, reports on the donations collected and aid distributed regularly appeared in the Novi Sad press.[32] Once a week, usually on Saturdays, bread was distributed–1 kilogram per adult and 0.5 kilograms per child. Although this was far from sufficient, there was a deliberate effort to sustain the action, at least as an expression of empathy and solidarity. The women members of the Society personally oversaw the quality of the bread, organizing tastings and selecting from among the offers of local bakeries. There were also auditing committees that visited the poorest families once a week to determine who among the ones that applied for aid to Jelena Kon needed it the most. In the beginning, this humanitarian action was modest, with around 30 kilograms of bread distributed, but later donations increased to 200 kilograms per week.[33] In her address at the Ceremonial Assembly marking the Society's 10th anniversary, President Jelena Kon reported that in the previous year, 11,337 kilograms of bread had been distributed to around 217 families.[34] At the same time, the Society also organized the distribution of staples, particularly before major religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter.

During the Society's first year of work, the need to broaden the scope of humanitarian activities became evident. Guided by the intention to direct aid where it was most needed, Jelena Kon initiated new areas of engagement–providing protection for children and support for mothers. Accordingly, at the assembly's regular annual meeting held on November 7, 1926, the Statute was amended and the Society adopted a new name, the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care (Kora hleba i Dečje obdanište).[35] A program

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28 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Copy of the Statute of the Bread for the Poor Society; HACNS, MANS, Box 201, 34808/1941, *Societal Rules*, 1937, 7.

29 She wrote petitions requesting exemption from fees for organizing cultural and social events at which funds were raised for charitable purposes. HACNS, MGNS, Box 774, 35878/1926.

30 *Zastava*, 182, 12 August 1925, 2; *Dan*, 137, 5. November 1937, 3.

31 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Copy of the Statute of the Bread for the Poor Society; *Novi Sad*, 5, 1925, 2.

32 *Zastava*, 182, 12 August 1925, 2; 122, 29. September 1925, 2; 160, 17 July 1925, 2.

33 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Brief Report on the Previous Work of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society; HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 6; *Zastava*, 120, 31 May 1925, 3.

34 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, The Speech of Jelena Kon at the 10th Jubilee Annual Assembly of the Society.

35 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 3.

of child protection was devised, modeled on social welfare practices in Western European countries. In line with the plan for further expansion of the Society's activities, the following institutions were to be established: a children's day care, a school cafeteria, a milk kitchen, a nursery for infants, as well as medical and legal counselling services for mothers.[36] Insight into the Society's work, based on preserved archival materials and reports in the contemporary press, reveals that these objectives were achieved within a relatively short period.

Observing that many children in Novi Sad were living in poor conditions, inadequately fed and clothed, and that a large number of single mothers were unable to care for their children while working, the assembly decided to establish a day care facility within the Society, which was ceremonially opened as early as 1927.[37] The Ministry of Health provided premises, which the Society's members furnished in accordance with contemporary hygienic standards and with the most modern equipment.[38] The day care admitted children between the ages of one and six for full-day care while their parents were at work, with priority given to the children of single mothers. According to the president of the Society, the day care would serve as "a substitute for maternal love and paternal care." A nurse was employed to care for children aged 0–3, while a teacher worked with those aged 3–6. The children were cared for, dressed in clean clothing, and provided with three meals–breakfast, lunch, and an afternoon snack. A physician examined them daily. The educational program was based on the English Model, which, in the president's view, had proven to be the most effective. The children acquired basic hygienic habits and patterns of behavior and were expected to apply these habits and patterns in their broader social environment. The overarching aim was to raise them to become good individuals and responsible citizens. On major holidays, celebrations and performances were organized, during which clothing, footwear, and sweets were distributed to children.[39] According to a report on its activities in 1926, the day care cared for about twenty children daily; by the mid-1930s, when the Society acquired its own building, this number had increased to as many as seventy.[40]

The expansion of the Society's work continued with the opening of a school cafeteria in 1928. In the cafeteria, during the school year, around 250 pupils received lunch on a daily basis. Teachers who worked in Novi Sad schools sent children to the cafeteria if they had noticed that their pupils were "frail."[41] The most remarkable achievement of this humanitarian initiative was that, on an annual basis, approximately 55.680 meals were provided for around 200 children.[42]

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36 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 3.

37 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Brief Report on the Previous Work of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society; *Vreme*, 15 September 1927, 3. In 1925, a significant number of cases occurred in which the police authorities brought abandoned and impoverished children to Jelena Kon, requesting that she provided care for them. HACNS, MGNS, Box 776, 7790/1927, 21 February 1927.

38 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Brief Report on the Previous Work of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society.

39 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 6–7.

40 HACNS, MGNS, Box 776, 7790/1927, 21 February 1927.

41 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 7.

42 *Ibid.* The Speech of Jelena Kon at the 10th Jubilee Annual Assembly of the Society.

Another noteworthy achievement of Jelena Kon and her associates was the establishment of a milk kitchen in 1930.[43] It prepared sterilized milk and milk formulas prescribed by a physician following a child's medical examination. Initially, the work was overseen by Ilija Arsenović, a pediatric specialist.[44] The milk kitchen was furnished in a modern way, with advanced milk sterilization equipment produced by the Lautenschläger Company, for which, according to one report, as much as 100.000 dinars was spent. Milk was distributed free of charge to impoverished parents, while those in somewhat better financial circumstances paid a symbolic fee.[45] Available records indicate that, by the mid-1930s, when the Society's activities reached their peak, 150 bottles of milk were distributed daily, amounting to 46,240 milk formulas annually. Due to the high mortality rate among young children, this initiative was regarded as a significant contribution to improving children's health.[46]

Given the breadth of its humanitarian activities, the Society required substantial financial resources. A significant share of its overall income came from the contributions of founding members (who initially paid an amount of 5.000 dinars), benefactors (who first contributed with 2.000 dinars), and bequests.[47] Reports on donations regularly appeared in the Novi Sad press, especially when the annual assemblies were organized.[48] The Society's work was also supported by the municipal authorities and later by the authorities of the Danube Banovina. The Town of Novi Sad consistently allocated 3.000 dinars per month to the Crust of Bread Society, in addition to occasional subsidies for the furnishing of new buildings and the maintenance of its departments.[49] The Society's president, Jelena Kon, also participated in various funding competitions organized by the Royal Court for the allocation of state funds to humanitarian institutions.[50]

A significant source of funding was voluntary contributions collected during social and cultural events. Charity events, dances, soirées, and tea parties were organized and attended by prominent ladies of Novi Sad. The members of the Society also organized events during the ball season, from December 25 to February 12. They showed particular dedication in preparing performances featuring the children in the Society's care. For them, costume balls were organized, along with recitals, musical performances, dances, and charity bazaars.[51]

The artistic evenings organized by the Crust of Bread Society not only served as a means of collecting donations but also made a substantial contribution to the enrichment of the cultural life of Novi Sad during the interwar period. The town thus became a stage for world-renowned names in both music and drama, who appeared there during their

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43 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 7.

44 Đura Jovanović and Ofner have also been mentioned.

45 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 7.

46 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Brief Report on the Previous Work of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society; HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, The Speech of Jelena Kon at the 10th Jubilee Annual Assembly of the Society.

47 HACNS, MANS, Box 201, 34808/1941, *Societal Rules*, 1937, 3–4.

48 *Zastava*, 120, 31 May 1925, 3.

49 HACNS, MGNS, Box 811, 28663/30. The municipal authorities allocated up to 20.000 dinars for the maintenance of the kindergarten. HACNS, MGNS, Box 795, 29303/29.

50 AY, RCKY, 250–376; HACNS, MGNS, Box 776, 7790/1927.

51 *Zastava*, 250, 31 October 1925, 2; 293, 23 December 1925, 2; 118, 5, 7 January 1926, 2; 28 May 1926, 3.

European and American tours. Through her personal contacts in the first place, Society's president Jelena Kon was able to arrange a series of classical music concerts in the hall of the Hotel Sloboda. Documentation has been preserved only for the most eminent performers–many of them of Jewish origin–whose artistry had already been favorably received by the demanding critics in Vienna. In 1925, two pianists, Professor Paul Weingarten and fourteen-year-old Robert Goldsand,[52] gave recitals, followed by performances from violinists Bohuslav Martinů and Vaša Příhoda.[53] In 1927, the Novi Sad public was given the opportunity to hear distinguished Polish composer and violin virtuoso Moriz Rosenthal, while later that same year, they witnessed a performance by the leading performers of the Vienna Ballet, Grete Wiesenthal and Toni Birkmeyer.[54] The following year brought performances by the pianist and founder of the Polish Philharmonic, Bronisław Huberman, and violinist Alexander Uninsky.[55] Particularly notable was the year 1929, when Novi Sad hosted a concert by the King's Guard, which performed with its full orchestra accompanied by solo artist Vika Čaletova, the prima donna of the Ljubljana Opera. The public was particularly interested in the concerts of the Don Cossack Choir and the Belgrade Academic Singing Society Obilić. The literature emphasizes that the concerts given by violinist and composer Paul Hindemith and pianist Arthur Rubinstein were of utmost importance.[56] According to certain reports, Novi Sad also welcomed celebrated Russian performer Dela Lipinskaja.[57] These events were consistently covered by the local press, and owing to the enthusiastic response of the audience, many of the artists soon returned to perform again in Novi Sad.

3. Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society in the 1930s

In the 1930s, a new chapter began in the work of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society in Novi Sad, symbolically marked by the opening of the Society's new building in 1933.[58] As recorded in a brief history of the Society, "this marks the end of the formative period of the Society, characterized by many struggles for its very survival." In the years that followed, progress was evident on many fronts: in the growing membership, the widening scope of activities, the Society's cooperation with other humanitarian societies, and the existence of highly ambitious plans for further development.[59]

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52 HACNS, MGNS, Box 776, 7790/1927, 21 February 1927; *Zastava*, 263, 17 January 1925, 2; *Novi Sad*, 7, 1926, 3.

53 HACNS, MGNS, Box 776, 7790/1927, 21 February 1927.

54 *Zastava*, 234, 15 October 1927, 3; 283, 11 December 1927, 3; HACNS, MGNS, 49905/1926.

55 *Vreme*, 23 November 1930, 9.

56 *Zastava*, 22, 30 January 1929, 2; *Vreme*, 19 January 1929, 1; 16 December 1929, 3.

57 *Dan*, 210, 19 September 1937, 5; *Vreme*, 3 February 1931, 7.

58 The Society operated in the premises of the Public Health Institute, which had been made available to them by the Ministry of Health. In 1931, the building was needed for other purposes, and the Society moved to a private apartment. At the 1930 annual assembly, a decision was made to construct a new building that would house all the departments, allowing for the expansion of activities. Thanks to donations, a functional and modern building was erected, designed by Đorđe Tabaković. AJ, RCKY, 250–376, Royal Court Marshal's Office, no. 427, 19 March 1932; HACNS, MGNS, Box 819, 27 March 1931; HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 4, 5, 8.

59 HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 5.

At that time, Jewish women received public recognition for their humanitarian work. In the late 1920s, *Jevrejski almanah* published an article on women's emancipation, which, in addition to highlighting the achievements of female scholars, writers, artists, and other cultural workers, emphasized the significance of humanitarian work in this process:

> … particularly in the field of charitable work done by Jewish women /…/ and our charitable women's societies carry out invaluable humanitarian and social work without much pomp or publicity.[60]

Shortly thereafter, at the Congress of the Union of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia in Belgrade in 1933, the issue of Jewish women's equality in municipal work appeared on the agenda for the first time, since they "shoulder a considerable portion of charitable, humanitarian, and, more recently, cultural and national work." Accordingly, it was concluded that Jewish women could be of great value in the work of the committees of Jewish communities.[61]

There is no doubt that such public approval further encouraged participation in the work of humanitarian societies. For example, the Crust of Bread Society membership reached its peak during this period. Although it began its work with only fifty members, by the mid-1930s the number had grown to 450–500, and appeals for new members continued unabated.[62] Due to the scope of the article, it is impossible to list, let alone describe, the contributions of all members who supported humanitarian work within the Society. Distinguished members were acknowledged during formal events, at the opening of the Society's assemblies, and in the Society's patronal celebration of Emperor Constantine and Empress Helena on June 3.[63] Among them was Queen Marija Karađorđević, under whose patronage the Society had been placed since 1930.[64]

One record book from the board of directors's meetings and regular annual assemblies has been preserved about the Society's activities from 1935 to 1941. While reports on the assemblies can be found in the press, at the request of the Society's

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60 Urbach 1927: 69–70.

61 Alkalaj 1933: 115. The Congress Resolution stated that Jewish women were to be granted the right to vote and participate in the administration of the community, while the implementation of these rights was left to individual communities. (*Rezolucije primljene na Kongresu 1933*: 155–156.) According to the 1936 Statute of the Novi Sad Jewish Community, participation in the work of the administration was made possible for the president of the Women's Charitable Association. *Pravila novosadske jevrejske veroispovedne opštine* 1936: 4.

62 AY, RCKY, 250–374; HACNS, MANS, Box 263, 37280/1944, *Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society*, 3.

63 The Society's patronal celebration was held for the first time in 1938. Invitations to the celebration were sent to Queen Marija Karađorđević and President of the Council of Ministers Milan Stojadinović. AY, RCKY, 138–205, Office of Her Royal Highness Queen Marija, no. 881, 14 October 1938; Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Milan Stojadinović Collection, 68–410. (abbreviated: AY, MS); *Dan*, 122, 29 May 1938, 8.

64 AY, RCKY, 250–376, Royal Court Marshal's Office, no. 1336, 10 September 1930. Among the prominent members mentioned are Bishop of Bačka Irinej Ćirić, who also served as honorary president, and Court Lady Teodora Dunđerski. The Society received significant support in 1939 when the wife of the Ban of the Danube Banovina joined and became a member of the board of directors. Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Crust of Bread Humanitarian Society – Novi Sad, Fond 212, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 27 March 1939. (abbreviated: HACNS, CBHS).

president, Jelena Kon, members of the Society did not inform the public about board meetings, because "by recounting the facts they get distorted, and then the ladies and the Society face unpleasant reproaches."[65] It is clear that the Society's activities had expanded, which was confirmed by the new *Societal Rules* (*Društvena pravila*) adopted in 1937.[66] There were further plans to expand the Society's scope of work, but financial support from the municipal authorities was not granted.[67]

Based on the available primary sources, it can be concluded that the distribution of aid during this phase of the Society's work had expanded considerably. Traditionally, winter aid in the form of food, clothing, and footwear was provided. Each year, on the eve of major religious holidays such as Christmas, Easter, and Palm Sunday, festive events were organized in which the Society's beneficiaries participated and were given aid, as well as gifts and sweets.[68] The various departments of the Crust of Bread Society are said to have been operating at full capacity. It was recorded that the school kitchen continued to work even during holidays, and regular meetings with mothers were held in the presence of a physician and members of the board of directors. In 1937, the Society further expanded its activities with the opening of a new department–a nursery for infants–for which a special fund was established at the 12th Annual Assembly with an initial sum of 100.000 dinars.[69]

In order to make humanitarian work more organized, the 1930s saw increased collaboration among charitable organizations. While they continued to carry out their core activities, they increasingly participated in initiatives organized by other societies. Members of the Crust of Bread Society responded to requests from numerous bodies, including the Red Cross, and collaborated with the Association of Mothers (*Materinsko udruženje*) in Belgrade, the Circle of Serbian Sisters (*Kolo srpskih sestara*), and the Save the Children Union (*Unija za zaštitu dece*).[70] The Society was also a member of the Association of Cultural Societies in Novi Sad (*Savez kulturnih društava u Novom Sadu*). Humanitarian work connected various types of associations–cultural, educational, charitable, sports, and women's organizations–and this umbrella institution was intended to contribute to better coordination and broader outreach through joint activities.[71] The central event of this collaboration was the Annual Collection Day (*Sabirni dan*), held each May, during which

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65 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 3 February 1936.

66 *Ibid*. 12 September 1936.

67 Jelena Kon wrote a petition requesting that one of the members be sent to Rome for a five-month course in child education according to the famous Maria Montessori method, who was also the instructor at the course. HACNS, MGNS, Box 819, 13721/1931. The School Board of the Danube Banovina and the Local School Board in Novi Sad rejected the construction of four rooms that would have housed a primary school. HACNS, MGNS, Box 825, 34436/31.

68 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 6 June 1936.

69 *Ibid.* 10 September 1937; HACNS, CBHS, 12th Regular Assembly: Record; AY, RCKY, 138–205, May 1938.

70 HACNS, CBHS, Record from the 13th Regular Assembly of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 19 June 1938; Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 23 May 1938.

71 HACNS, MGNS, Box 846, 8938/34.

voluntary contributions were gathered on the streets of Novi Sad.[72]

The 10th anniversary of the Society's work, celebrated in 1935, attracted considerable public attention and was attended by numerous officials and representatives of both municipal and provincial authorities. On this occasion, it was noted that significant achievements had been realized in the field of humanitarian work and that the Society had gained the reputation of an influential institution of its kind, not only in Novi Sad but throughout the country.[73] Another important event for the Crust of Bread Society was the visit of Queen Marija, who expressed great satisfaction with the Society's work and, on that occasion, donated 10.000 dinars.[74]

During this period, the Crust of Bread Society continued to participate in organizing cultural events. The year 1936 began with a ballet performance and a staging of *The Marriage of Figaro* by the Belgrade Opera. This was followed by a guest performance of the Royal Guard Orchestra, conducted by Ivo Tijardović. They presented the operetta *Little Floramye*. That same year, the Novi Sad audience had the opportunity to attend a production of *The Cabinet Minister's Wife* (*Gospođa Ministarka*) in German, performed by the ensemble of the renowned theatre from Vienna.[75] The Belgrade Opera continued its guest performances in Novi Sad throughout 1937, when the Don Cossacks returned with another concert, and Viennese theatre productions were once again hosted. The winter season featured a rich musical program, including a Philharmonic concert and, in November, a performance by the Vienna Boys' Choir.[76] The year 1938 was marked by performances of major figures from the international artistic scene. It began with a recital by American pianist of Ukrainian-Jewish origin Alexander Uninsky, followed by a performance of the Theater in der Josefstadt from Vienna, a concert by Croatian violinist Zlatko Baloković, and operetta productions by the Sofia Theatre. The winter season brought a performance by violin virtuoso Nathan Milstein.[77] In 1939, the cultural program opened with ballet and children's theatre performances, but in the autumn, it was decided to suspend concerts and entertainments due to the global situation.[78] Later that year, however, a concert was given by American violinist Erick Friedman, and preparations for more artistic evenings continued.[79]

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72 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 8 April 1940.

73 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 8 April 1940.

74 AY, RCKY, 138–205, no. 269, 30 May 1937; HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 23 June 1937.

75 *Ibid*. 6 June 1936. Prior to that, in 1931, a concert was held by the Belgrade String Quartet. Manuscript Department of Matica srpska, Collection of Manuscripts, Invitation to the Belgrade Quartet Concert, 1931. (abbreviated: MDMS, CM).

76 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 6 December 1937; 19 March 1937; 2 February 1937.

77 *Ibid*. Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society in Novi Sad made on November 10, 1938; Record of the board of directors' meeting, 2 May 1938; 21 March 1938; 7 February 1938.

78 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 26 September 1939.

79 *Ibid*. 27 November 1939.

In addition to the artistic programme, the festivities organized by the Society generated significant revenue. Weekly tea parties were held, bringing together members of humanitarian organizations of Novi Sad.[80] Public attention was drawn to the garden party at the Queen Marija Hotel, as well as to the performance of André Birabeau's comedy *My Son the Minister* by the Burgtheater Troupe from Vienna, led by well-known stage and film comedian Hans Moser.[81] Special programmes were organized for children, including matinées, performances by comedians and acrobats, as well as shows featuring the wards of the home and pupils from Novi Sad elementary schools Đorđe Natošević and Queen Marija.[82]

In the late 1930s, the Society's work was accompanied by numerous difficulties. Its field of humanitarian activity had been considerably expanded, yet reports from meetings of the board of directors indicate a noticeable decline in members' engagement: weak turnout for shifts at the Society's Home, less consistent daily supervision, and even a lack of personnel to take care of purchasing food. Irregularities were also observed in keeping records of the Society's income from membership fees.[83] The problems culminated in 1937 with the resignation of the long-standing president, Jelena Kon, which was not accepted. Ultimately re-elected, Jelena Kon appealed to those present to continue working conscientiously and to devote their free time to their "humanitarian movement."[84]

The end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940 brought new hardships. The winter was harsh, and coal shortages prevailed. Because of the extremely low temperatures, mothers refrained from bringing infants, while the school cafeteria recorded reduced activity compared to the previous period, as other institutions, such as the Red Cross, were also distributing free lunches to pupils. According to one report, many children fell ill that winter.[85] In the spring of 1940, flooding forced the closure of the school cafeteria. Nevertheless, the Society responded to the Red Cross's call to take in 40 infants and provide meals for around 200 children, while also organizing fundraising in Vojvođanska and Sremska streets for the most vulnerable.[86] In May, the Society was to mark its fifteenth anniversary, but the celebration was postponed "until circumstances in the world improve." Jelena Kon was elected president of the Society for the last time, with a three-year mandate.[87]

The situation was further complicated by numerous financial problems, which at certain points could have led to the closure of the Society. Expenses were steadily increasing, while support from the municipal and provincial authorities was increasingly absent. Even the salaries for the day care teachers, which were supposed to be dealt with by

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80 *Ibid*. 19 October 1936.

81 *Dan*, 89, 10 September 1935, 12; 243, 18 October 1936, 10.

82 *Dan*, 82, 11 April 1937, 10.

83 HACNS, CBHS, Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 23 June 1937.

84 *Ibid*. Record of the first meeting held after the General Assembly in Novi Sad on September 19, 1937.

85 *Ibid*. Record of the board of directors' meeting of the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society, 27 March 1939; 8 April 1940.

86 *Ibid*. 20 June 1940; 8 April 1940.

87 *Ibid*. 20 June 1940.

the school administration, were not being paid.[88] Dissatisfaction was expressed at a meeting of the board of directors:

> Indeed, the authorities should accommodate us much more, because after all, we take on the care that they would otherwise have to provide for the poor. In Belgrade, charitable societies have it easier, as the authorities support them generously. We manage on our own somehow, but that brings far more worries, and alongside these worries, it is harder to work and even harder to achieve success.[89]

The weaker financial situation also made it more difficult to collect and distribute aid, which was already strained by rising prices due to the war-induced crisis in Europe. The high cost of staples, especially flour (1 kilogram costing 640 dinars), threatened to halt humanitarian activities. This caused concern among the members, as any interruption of the Society's work would be a serious "blow to the poor." In the autumn of 1940, the milk kitchen was not operational because its doctor was called up for military exercises, and there was consideration of not opening the school cafeteria, which Jelena Kon firmly opposed.[90]

At the beginning of 1941, the Society's work became significantly more difficult. The record from the last board of directors' meeting notes that Jelena Kon was distributing bread on her own and personally holding meetings with mothers.[91] Material support from the provincial authorities was again absent, and donations from benefactors and local industrialists were far from sufficient.[92] A notable achievement under these circumstances was that not a single child in their care fell ill during the influenza epidemic. Despite all difficulties, they managed to ensure that elderly citizens received bread and tea during the cold period.[93]

Following the establishment of Hungarian occupation and the implementation of numerous anti-Semitic measures, Jelena Kon was forced to step down. In 1942, she and her husband were killed in the Novi Sad Raid. In October 1941, the municipal administration issued a temporary decree permitting the Crust of Bread and Children's Day Care Society to continue operating, but on the condition that a new board of directors be elected. Archival records from the Second World War show the activities of the Magdolna Charitable Society, which carried on the work of the Crust of Bread Society.[94] According to preserved sources,

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88 *Ibid*. 29 January 1940.

89 *Ibid*.

90 *Ibid*. 10. December 1940; 23 September 1940.

91 *Ibid*. 5 February 1941.

92 *Ibid*.

93 *Ibid*.

94 HACNS, MANS, Box 201, 34808/1941, Határozat, 23 October 1941. As the president of the Society, the wife of Zoltánné Szalantay is mentioned. HACNS, MANS, Box 205, 11/1942; *Ibid*. Box 230, 7638/1943. The decision was evidently made by referring to the Society's Rules of Procedure from 1937, which stipulated the cessation of the Society's activities: when it no longer had members or resources to carry out its tasks. The decision on the liquidation of the Society was to be made by the general assembly upon the board of directors' proposal, provided that two-thirds of the members were present. The property was to be handed over to the town and could be used solely for the purpose of establishing similar societies. HACNS, MANS, Box 201, 34808/1941, *Societal Rules*, 1937, 8.

from May to October 1943, the home accommodated 62 children.[95] There is also evidence that, in cooperation with the Social Services Department of the Danube Banovina and other related institutions, such as the Children's Home in Subotica, the Society facilitated the care of abandoned children.[96] After the war, the Society's work was not resumed.

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ДЕЛАТНОСТ ХУМАНИТАРНИХ ДРУШТАВА НОВОСАДСКИХ ЈЕВРЕЈА ИЗМЕЂУ ДВА СВЕТСКА РАТА

Резиме

У свим областима које су насељавали у првој половини XX века, Јевреји су тежили да се прилагоде средини у којој живе и истовремено очувају свој идентитет. То је најчешће остваривано кроз деловање различитих удружења, пре свега хуманитарних. Она су постала главна карактеристика друштвеног живота, посебно у већим заједницама попут јеврејске општине у Новом Саду између два светска рата. Хуманитарно деловање Јевреја се заснивало на верској обавези. Чак и у време када су престали да се строго придржавају верских правила, пружање помоћи сиромашнима је за многе остала темељна вредност. Новосадска јеврејска општина је баштинила дугу традицију добротворног рада. Као једно од најстаријих удружења у Новом Саду на том пољу радило је друштво „Јеврејско уточиште за старе и сирочад", које је било активно од XIX века, а конституисано тек 1930. године. Разлог је у томе што у међуратном периоду хуманитарно деловање постаје организовано, систематично и широко постављено, а оснива се и велики број нових друштава како би се ублажиле последице сиромаштва и економских криза. У том контексту, на иницијативу добротворке Јелене Кон, у Новом Саду је 1925. основано друштво „Кора хлеба и Дечје обданиште". За разлику од других удружења која су неретко имала етничко или верско обележје, оно је задржало свој чисто хуманитарни карактер. Први задатак удружења био је дељење помоћи у хлебу и основним животним намирницама, да би временом проширило своју делатност оснивањем дечјег обданишта (1927), ђачке трпезе (1928), млечне кухиње (1930), саветовалишта за мајке и дома за одојчад (1937). Друштво је имало велику подршку новосадске јавности и од 1930. било под покровитељством краљице Марије Карађорђевић. Тридесетих година почиње наредна фаза у његовом раду, која је на симболичан начин обележена отварањем нове зграде 1933. године. У овом периоду друштво достиже највеће домете по броју чланова и ширини деловања, а повезује се са другим сродним установама. Уметничке вечери у организацији друштва „Кора хлеба" не само да су служиле сакупљању донација, него су и у великој мери обогатиле културни живот града између два светска рата.

Кључне речи: Краљевина Југославија, међуратни период, Нови Сад, хуманитарна друштва, Кора хлеба и Дечје обданиште, Јевреји, Јелена Кон, концерти.

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ROMANIAN ALTERNATIVE PATH TO SOCIALISM: FROM INCEPTION TO CEAUȘESCU’S ASCENDANCY

Abstract: The article examines the historical and political development of the Romanian Communist/Workers’ Party, detailing its trajectory up to Nicolae Ceaușescu’s rise to power in 1965. Even before the rise of Ceaușescu, Romanian communists had managed to develop their own unique socialist model. By the standards commonly accepted among the European Marxists at the time, this fact would be enough to count Romanian communists among the pioneers of the search for the so-called “third path” toward socialism. A notion that each communist or socialist party should develop its own ideology in accordance with the unique characteristics of its own social, economic and cultural circumstances became a cause for numerous splits on the European far left of the 1960s and 1970s. Development of the Yugoslav socialist model, Czechoslovakian reformism, Eurocommunism, and other alternative paths to socialism were all influenced by the idea of abandoning the practice of appropriating principles of the Bolshevik socialist model in the policy-making process. However, there are multiple factors that excluded the unique evolution of the new ideology created by the Romanian Communist Party from the substantial number of historical studies devoted to researching alternative paths to socialism. The aim of this paper is to contribute to further understanding of the historical circumstances that separated the development of the ideology created by the Romanian communists from both their Eastern and their Western counterparts.

Keywords: Romanian Communist/Workers' Party, Communist Party of Yugoslavia, membership, transformation, communism, ideological indoctrination, Soviet Union, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

1. Communism in Romania before and during the Second World War - Bolshevization of the Romanian Communist Party

What stopped the Romanian communists from joining the international family of those parties that completely refused to define their policies in accordance with the dominant attitudes in the Soviet party remains one of the most commonly proposed debate subjects regarding the historical evolution of the Romanian socialist model. Certainly, Romanian governments had a clear interest in preserving at least tolerable relations with administrations of other Eastern Bloc countries, and were thus discouraged from pursuing expansion of their reformist agenda to the extent that the Czechoslovakian government did before the military intervention in 1968.[1] However, this prompts the question: To what extent was the reformist enthusiasm of the late 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s in the Romanian party even comparable with the one showcased by the Czechoslovakian reformists, and by their Yugoslav and later, Eurocommunist supporters? In order to at least partially answer this question, the development of the Romanian socialist model should be analyzed from the first formative years of the Romanian Communist Party, up to the time when the reformist fraction, then led by Nicolae Ceaușescu, took power within the party.[2]

Although there are many similarities in the emergence and early development of communism in Romania and its closest country that went through the period of socialist reformism, Yugoslavia, their trajectories did not follow a uniform pattern. Since its inception, the Communist Party of Romania has faced numerous unique challenges and crises. It is important to note that the ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Karl Kautsky were present in Romania at the beginning of the 20th century. However, scholars estimate that the influence of the early Marxist ideas on the general population was minimal at that time. The public began to pay more attention when members of the Socialist Party leaned toward a more radical approach to defining political programs.[3] The tendency toward appropriating ideas and principles of the Bolshevik socialist model gained traction after the success of the 1917 Russian Revolution, and became especially popular after the successful industrialization and introduction of new social policies in the Soviet Union during the 1920s.[4]

After the bombing of the Senate on December 8, 1920, the Romanian government started implementing harsh policies of surveillance and arrest against those who were suspected of being associated with communist or anarchist organizations.[5] In turn, these policies influenced further radicalization of the Socialist Party, which suffered a major split on a Congress held in May of 1921.[6] Majority of the gathered Romanian communists voted to rename the party into Romanian Communist Party (PCR), and to become a section of the Communist International. New party leadership, gathered around the newly elected General Secretary, Gheorghe Cristescu, was arrested in the immediate aftermath of the Congress,

1 Chirot 1980: 363–381.
2 Stanciu 2013: 1063–1085.
3 Foculescu 2006: 415–420, Balcescu 2020: 68–95
4 Ellman 2004: 841–847.
5 Adevărul 1922: 2, Tănase 2003: 5–8.
6 Constantiniu 1995: 229.

and subsequently, the party had to wait until the 1922 Congress of Ploiesti to define the new party ideology. This new ideology aimed to drastically sever ties with the more moderate, social-democratic ideas that were popular among the leftists of the Balkans and Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century. After the congress of Ploiesti, creating new party policies in a manner that would try to imitate the Soviet socialist model became an official doctrine of the Romanian Communist Party.[7]

Despite some similarities that can be noticed in the way the expansion of repressive policies against the far-left wing groups influenced further ideological radicalization of the same groups, there are still some crucial differences to be noted when comparing the interwar history of the Yugoslav and Romanian communist parties. Scholars are pointing out that "Bolshevization" of the Yugoslav Communist Party (CPY) was a gradual process that took place over nearly two decades. This process was certainly influenced by events such as the publishing of *Obznana (Proclamation)*, the governmental order that banned communists from institutionalized politics, or the series of arrests that followed the assassination of the interior minister, Milorad Drašković, in 1921. However, unique political, social and cultural circumstances of Yugoslavia allowed neither for such a determined reaction of the government, nor for such a swift bolshevization of the communist party, as was the case in Romania during the 1920s and 1930s.[8] On the other hand, much clearer similarities can be established when comparing the Bolshevization of the early Romanian communists and their Mediterranean counterparts, who became ideologically radicalized in the historical period marked by the strong presence of the far-right wing movements on the political spectrum of their countries. However, unlike those who would create the first Eurocommunist ideologies some decades later, Romanian communists never seemed to develop the notion that the Soviet Union is too far away to aid them in the potentially violent fight against their far-right rivals.[9]

Numerous factors distinguished the Romanian interwar political crisis and subsequent development of the communist organizations from those in contemporary Yugoslavia or in the Western Europe. Some of those factors should be searched for in the still unresolved economic disparity between the urban and rural regions, as well as developed agricultural villages, which held manufacturing traditions from the Early Modern History, and those villages which still upheld a herding way of life. While inequality between Romanian social classes was remarkable even for the historical period, cultural and ethnic differences between different regions within the country were so deep that it inspired some contemporary authors to state that communist party leaders themselves often came from different worlds.[10]

Another potential factor is a rather extraordinary influence of the Romanian Orthodox Church over most groups that comprised the complex Romanian society at the time, as well as the political influence of the traditional aristocracy, which held a marginal importance in the political life of most Balkan countries.[11] Finally, Romanian interwar

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7 Balcescu 2020: 68–95, Dologa 2011: 1–2.
8 Filipović 2023: 109–147.
9 King 1980, 37–38.
10 Chirot 1980: 363–381.
11 Pečikan 2015: 517.

political debates were marked by constant disagreements over the question of achieving national goals, which themselves constantly remained somewhat vague, both due to the complexity of Romania's geopolitical position and the complexity of its still unfinished national ideology.[12] For example, it is interesting to note that after Gheorghe Cristescu, mostly foreigners or Romanian communists from ethnic minorities were elected as the general secretaries of PCR. Some scholars argue that the influence of far-right parties and ethnic tensions caused numerous foreigners and ethnic minorities to accept communist ideology from fear of and resentment toward those who discriminated against them within other political parties and movements.[13]

During the political turmoil of the early 1930s in Romania, the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, which served as a legitimate façade for the illegal communist party, achieved notable success in 1931, securing five parliamentary seats in alliance with the Social Democratic Party. However, the ruling party subsequently manipulated the election results to strip them of their seats. Following the railway workers' uprising in Grivița in 1933, the Bloc was banned. A newly founded Workers' League was short-lived, and from 1934 onward, all political activities by the communists ceased.[14] Unlike in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Italy or France, where communist popularity grew exponentially during the times of economic depression and far-right insurgencies, Romanian communists started to lose much of their previously held public support after getting stranded among the numerous competitive parties on the growingly marginalized far-left. Massive arrests and persecution of the communists further disorganized the party and made its position even weaker, up to the point at which, out of approximately 5,000 members in the late 1920s, just months before the beginning of the Second World War, only around 300 remained active.[15]

Over the course of the Second World War, Romanian communists were not able to forge a massive communist resistance movement, as was the case with their Yugoslav, Italian or French counterparts. Forced to take a backseat while the country was going through major historical events that marked the wartime history of Romania, the communist party had to rely on compromises with both other leftist groups and with right-wing resistance organizations in order to survive in the complex network of political and military maneuvering.

Popularity of the communists did, however, achieve a new historical peak on the wave of widespread resistance against the far-right regime of Marshal Ion Antonescu. But when the turbulent climate of Romanian politics shifted yet again, and when the country switched sides in order to join the Allies, the brief capture of popular support was lost for the communists. Romanian communists now had to deal with the accusations that their resistance movement is only a satellite of the Red Army, whose ever-increasing presence in the country, as of 1944, sparked numerous animosities both toward the Soviet government and toward the Romanian Communist Party. And it was, to a certain degree, through financial and military aid provided by the Soviets that the Romanian communists were able to transform their resistance movement into a military significant force in the country, which

[12] Boia 2016, 13–17.
[13] Cioroianu 2021:1-3.
[14] King 1980, 19–20, Chiper 1998, 25–44.
[15] Soica 2009: 321–322.

in turn provided the communist party with the much desired political leverage over the liberal and nationalist parties close to the royal court, which helped the king to overthrow the military junta of Antonescu.

Unlike the Yugoslav and Italian communists, their Romanian counterparts did not emerge from the chaos of the Second World War with an aura of liberators, further reinforced by the crucial military successes of the communist resistance. Some scholars believe that this fact deeply influenced the party's perception of itself, and thus further reinforced the already existing insecurities of PCR leadership about the strength of their position within the country they found themselves governing.[16] This may have had a profound influence on the development of reformist ideas among the leading Romanian communists. When the notion about creating an alternative socialist model was formally recognized, many years after the war, Romanian communists were more inclined to emphasize those ideas that were assessed as having the potential to increase their popular support and legitimacy within the country, rather than those ideas that were used to define more abstract concepts like internal democratization or decentralization of the party institutions.[17]

2. Imperatives of Membership and Popular Support - The Dynamics of Numbers and the Crucial Role of Indoctrination

The Romanian party encountered significant challenges in the early years following the Second World War. Lacking a revolutionary tradition and having a small membership, it quickly transformed into a mass organization that was essentially under the control of the Kremlin.[18] The Soviet Union pressured the PCR to quickly become the central political force in Romania, which resulted in a surge of uncontrolled membership. After the unification of the PCR with the Social Democratic Party in 1948 and the creation of the Romanian Workers' Party (RWP), the number of members increased to over one million and fifty thousand members. This dramatic rise in numbers within a few years implied that the entry criteria were very low, and most people joined for opportunistic reasons.[19]

At that moment, the party's foremost ambition was to draw in as many sympathizers as possible, aiming to broaden its influence and forge deeper connections with the people. In pursuit of this mass appeal, the PCR transitioned from a rigorous membership selection process–one that demanded members to demonstrate their unwavering commitment through actions and a thorough understanding of the ideology–to a more inviting system of filling out questionnaires. This shift transformed the previously exclusive membership, once reserved for the most dedicated and loyal communists during the interwar period, into an inclusive approach that became attractive to opportunists. However, this strategy also bore certain consequences.[20]

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16 Hodos 1987: 93–102, Chiper, Băncilă and Georgescu 2015: 21.

17 Tismăneanu 2005: 220–223.

18 Dobre 2004: 21–22.

19 Diplomatic Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia (DAMFARS), Political Archive of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs (PA), year 1960, Romania, in further text: DAMFARS, PA, 1960, Romania, f. 111, doc. 10, Report on the III Congress of the RWP, confidential document no. 418399, 17.

20 Cioroianu 2021: 15–30.

A significant issue arose from the fact that only a small number of people understood the basic principles of Marxist ideology and were motivated to actively participate in party activities. Internal conflicts within the party during the 1950s raised questions about the criteria for membership and the rationale behind such a large number of passive members. The first mass purge of the party occurred between 1948 and 1949, resulting in the expulsion of around 200,000 members.[21] Following this, the process of accepting new members became longer and more complex. Over the subsequent years, several more purges took place. By the time of the Second Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party in 1955, membership had been reduced by half to 538,815 people. New members were required to undergo a series of courses to be introduced to the party's ideology. Despite these measures, the quality of the remaining membership remained low. There was a persistent lack of knowledge about Marxism, along with a general apathy and disinterest in gaining a deeper understanding of the ideological and theoretical issues within the party. Moreover, many middle and lower-ranking members displayed a noticeable lack of initiative.[22]

Since the events in Hungary in 1956, the RWP has focused heavily on the ideological and political education of its party members and workers. The party aimed to train as many individuals as possible for outreach and propaganda roles, ensuring that every enterprise and community had several trained individuals who had completed a party school, course, or seminar. The most significant educational institution for the party was High Party School "Ștefan Gheorghiu," established in 1945 as the Workers' University of the Romanian Communist Party. Initially, the education lasted six months, but this increased to three years in the 1960s. The school's purpose was to prepare cadres for the needs of the party's central organs, as well as for the press and publishing sectors. It also played a crucial role in indoctrinating lower-level members through various courses.[23] As Gheorghiu-Dej believed, "the purpose of party education is to instill a spirit of dedication to people's democracy and socialism, as well as a resolute opposition to warmongers and their tools, exploiters, and all those who aim to hinder the establishment of socialism in our country."[24] For the communist leadership, party schools served not only as specialized educational and political institutions but also as training grounds for the party's cadres and elite members. Additionally, they acted as tools for totalitarian control, political mobilization, the creation of a hierarchical system, and the reinforcement of discipline among party members. Their popularity among the public was largely due to the favorable employment opportunities available to graduates. Those who completed this education gained an advantage across various fields, as the state believed they would contribute more effectively to the construction of the socialist system than those who had acquired their education in other ways. Until the early 1960s, the primary reading material for party education consisted of translations of the classics of Marxism-Leninism (Marx,

[21] Cioroianu 2018: 299–300.

[22] AY, Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, 117, f. 363, doc. 562, Workers' Party, formation and development, 32–34.

[23] AY, A CC LCY, IX, 107/I–36, Note from a conversation conducted by comrade Vlajko Begović, member of the CC LCY, with the leadership of "Ștefan Gheorghiu" High Party School in Bucharest, at the end of July 1964, 27 August 1964, 1–3.

[24] Ionescu-Gură 2005: 249.

Engels, Lenin, and Stalin). Afterward, the emphasis shifted toward "scientific socialism," which includes works that interpret these foundational texts.[25]

Party organizations required all members to attend some form of party school, seminar, or course, while the general population was also expected to undergo similar indoctrination. To accomplish this, groups of party activists were established to lead various forms of ideological and political education among the masses. Believing that courses and lectures are essential for enhancing the ideological understanding of party members, the party placed special emphasis on the selection and education of future lecturers. These individuals were chosen among party and state cadres who demonstrated a "high ideological and political level."[26] Their training involved a comprehensive and diverse curriculum. For example, in 1959, the Regional Committee of the RWP in Bucharest trained 536 lecturers in various subjects, including an evening course for first and second-year students, a course on the history of the Romanian Workers' Party, as well as of the CPSU, political economy, the statutes of the RWP, the basics of Marxism-Leninism and the historical and dialectical materialism. The training program lasted about a month and included eleven joint lectures and several specialized sessions for each course. Additionally, all lecturers received training in public speaking, engaging with people, and leading discussions. The primary focus was on equipping lecturers to connect theoretical concepts with the practical construction of socialism in Romania. Accordingly, topics such as socialist industrialization–essential for developing the national economy and improving living standards–and the leading role of the RWP in socialist construction were prioritized. This approach indicates that the goal of these lectures was to strengthen the party's influence across all areas of social activity and to motivate members for further industrialization and socialist transformation of the state. The seriousness of the party's commitment to these courses is evident in the data showing that in the Pitesti region during 1958, approximately 95 percent of the party's members and over 14,000 sympathizers attended the courses.[27]

According to data from 1960, Romania had approximately 10,000 lecturers who taught about a million members through different courses and party schools. While attendance at lectures for the general population was not compulsory, there was an implied expectation that all would exhibit genuine interest. At the outset, the party showcased its commitment to engaging key segments of society that it deemed vital to its mission. The stratum of the population where this kind of indoctrination was most necessary were the intellectuals and students, because they showed the greatest tendencies toward liberalization, either from socialist or bourgeois-democratic positions.[28]

It should be emphasized that the youth played a significant role in the party's goals. The party aimed to rejuvenate its leadership by fostering a new generation of leaders with stronger ties to Romania rather than to the Soviet Union. As a result, the party paid special

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[25] Abraham 2014: 9–28.

[26] DAMFARS, PA, 1957, Romania, f. 87, doc. 10, Practical activities of party organizations in the period June–October 1957, confidential no. 422653, 11–12.

[27] DAMFARS, PA, 1959, Romania, f. 105, doc. 10, Preparation of personnel for the new season of party courses, 12 September, 1959, confidential no. 424597, 1–3.

[28] Archive of *Borba* news agency, f. Europe, Romania 1947–1965, socio-political organizations, "Romanian press on party propaganda," TANJUG, 13. 2. 1960, 17.

attention to organizing courses for members of the Romanian Youth Union (UTM) and youth in general. One of the major challenges in this area was engaging the youth and keeping their interest alive during the courses. In contrast to the courses offered to party members and sympathizers, the youth participated in much smaller numbers and were less actively involved in this type of activity.[29]

However, the lectures organized by the party were the hardest for highly educated individuals, such as engineers and professors. They suffered great humiliation at these lectures, which was expressed, if not in other ways, by the very fact that they were forced to listen to semi-literate party apparatchiks, who only knew how to repeat learned phrases and dogmas. As the party had the fewest members from the intelligentsia and the social sciences sector, the idea arose to establish the Institute of Social Sciences. This institute aimed to foster a closer alignment between humanities scholars and Marxist ideology, as well as the Romanian Workers' Party, under the party's guidance and control.[30]

In addition to ideological and political education measures, the party also applied other methods. These included restricting the admission of students from bourgeois backgrounds and prioritizing those from working-class and peasant families. This preference was further supported by a directive requiring each enterprise and people's council to allocate specific funds for scholarships for the children of workers. The only condition for receiving a scholarship was that the students would agree to work at the enterprise or institution that provided the scholarship upon graduation.[31]

In the second half of the 1950s, the party focused on changing its membership structure and strengthening local organizations. By 1957, the new membership of the RWP was predominantly composed of workers, who made up 80 to 90 percent of most regional and county committees. Engineers, technicians, and peasants from collectives were also represented, but workers exceeded 50 percent of the total membership. This met the requirement set by the Second Congress that over half of the membership should consist of workers. In 1955, workers accounted for 42.6 percent of the membership, and by 1960, this figure had risen to about 51 percent. The emphasis on this membership structure was driven not only by the ideological goals of the leadership but also by practical considerations, as the leadership enjoyed the most significant support from the working class.[32]

In addition to the increase in membership, the end of the 1950s saw an increase in the number of basic party organizations. By establishing them in production units and institutions, their number increased by 5,600, so that in 1960 the party had over 35,000 basic party cells. This increase corresponded to the leadership's intention to better root the party among the people so that, with their support, it could begin a courageous defense of Romanian interests against Moscow. However, the quality of these basic party cells was found to be unsatisfactory. In his report to the Third Congress held in 1960, Gheorghiu-Dej

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29 DAMFARS, PA, 1959, Romania, f. 105, doc. 10, Preparation of personnel for the new season of party courses, 12 September, 1959, confidential no. 424597, 1–3.

30 *Ibid*. 14–15.

31 DAMFARS, PA, 1957, Romania, f. 87, doc. 10, Practical activities of party organizations in the period June–October 1957, confidential no. 422653, 11–12.

32 Archive of the *Borba* news agency, f. Europe, Romania 1947–1965, socio-political organizations, "Romanian press on party propaganda," TANJUG, 13. 2. 1960, 17.

outlined several shortcomings. He noted that the party bodies and organizations were unable to effectively analyze specific situations, and their methods and styles were noticeably outdated. Additionally, a bureaucratic attitude and the arbitrary exclusion of members from the party, rather than focusing on the ongoing education of candidates and members, were identified as significant problems. Despite these issues, it is important to acknowledge that the Romanian Workers' Party made considerable progress in the second half of the 1950s. The party strengthened and expanded its ranks through purges aimed at removing "opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements", which ultimately reinforced unity at the highest levels. The RWP adopted an extreme emphasis on unity, primarily through the promotion of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's significance. This emphasis was particularly evident during the Third Congress and its associated activities. Throughout the city, decorations for the Congress prominently featured only Gheorghiu-Dej's portraits, while other Romanian leaders, as well as the leaders of other parties, were not highlighted. Gheorghiu-Dej's portraits were displayed alongside those of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. During this period, the emphasis on the party's leadership role in the state and its significant influence on key historical events, such as the August 23 uprising, was also evident.[33]

The cautious and deliberate nature of Romanian leadership was particularly evident within the party sphere. The RWP was slow to embrace new positions, ideas, or attitudes. A clear example of this is its response to revisionism, the key pillar of the new anti-Yugoslav campaign that the Socialist camp launched after the Seventh Congress of the CPY in 1958. Romania's stance and participation in this campaign lagged behind that of other members of the bloc. Furthermore, the RWP engaged in the campaign only to the degree that Khrushchev required of them. The fight against Yugoslavia was not a priority for the RWP during this period. As Gheorghiu-Dej emphasized in his report presented at the Third Congress, one of the party's main objectives was to maintain a steady course in socialist construction and to counteract the influence of bourgeois culture on the people's consciousness.[34]

Between 1955 and 1960, that is, during the period between two Romanian congresses, the ideological development of the RWP was noticeably lagging behind that of other parties in terms of theory. This was primarily because the RWP prioritized the development of the material foundation of socialism, resulting in a neglect of theoretical thought or relegating it to a subordinate role. During the new anti-Yugoslav campaign, high-ranking Romanian officials often avoided engaging in discussions about contemporary revisionism or any other theoretical issues. Additionally, theoretical journals such as *Luptă de clasă, Probleme economice, Cercetări filozofice, and Viața Românească* did not advance beyond the already established and repeatedly stated theses from other countries within the communist camp.[35]

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[33] DAMFARS, PA, 1960, Romania, f. 111, doc. 10, Report on the III Congress of the RWP, confidential no. 418399, 17.

[34] Gheorghiu-Dej 1960: 86–90.

[35] Some of the articles published in theoretical journals were: "Contemporary Revisionism–the Main Danger in the Workers' Movement," "On the Unity of the Working Class and Its Marxist-Leninist Party," and "Old and New Revisionism." The first article focuses on the necessity of class struggle in the transition from capitalism to socialism. The second emphasizes the leading role of the party, while the third highlights the unity of the

In the early 1960s, the Romanian Workers' Party experienced a significant increase in membership and quality. By 1962, the party had over 900,000 members and candidates, with 59 percent of them being under the age of forty and 25 percent between the ages of eighteen and thirty. This rejuvenation aimed to establish a new leadership that, unlike the old one, was not burdened with ideological and other ties to the Soviet Union. Thus, the rejuvenated membership was characterized by a stronger sense of national belonging. During the Ceaușescu era, a unified ideological trend known as national communism emerged. It is important to note that the significant growth in membership began after 1959; before that, the increase had been almost imperceptible. From 1955 to 1959, only about 5,000 new members were admitted.[36]

To implement the new political line, it was essential to have a large and high-quality membership. In the early 1960s, intensive efforts were made to strengthen the party from within. Training and ideological indoctrination were significantly enhanced. According to data from 1964, the RWP had approximately 1,250,000 members, of which around 250,000 were candidates. These members were organized into 48,138 basic units. In terms of social composition, the membership mainly remains comprised of workers and peasants. A distinctive feature of the RWP was that it did not have a formal program; instead, it was guided by decisions made at congresses, plenums, and by the Secretariat and Politburo. The need for an independent path necessitated a strong party with clear rules and objectives. Consequently, the Statute was adopted at the Third Congress in June 1960 and was modified to some extent at the Central Committee Plenum in May 1962.[37]

The statute prescribed the rights and obligations of members, among which the most prominent were: leadership at work, respect for the party and state discipline, keeping the party and state secrets, and propagating revolutionary principles. The Central Committee of the RWP also decided to improve and increase the system's flexibility for accepting new members into the party. Amendments to the statute from 1962 reduced the number of categories into which candidates and members were divided. To become a member, one needed to first be accepted as a candidate. The first category required a recommendation from two members with at least three years of service. This category included workers, collective farm peasants, engineers, technicians, scientists, and researchers from fields related to the economy. The candidate's service period for this group lasted one year, although it could be extended by one additional year or shortened by a maximum of six months. The second category consisted of associated peasants, who were part of smaller cooperative forms, along with individual peasants, intellectuals, civil servants, and members of craft production cooperatives. For candidates in this category, three recommendations from members with at least four years of membership were needed, and their candidate service lasted a year and a half. However, there were exceptions to these rules. The

camp and the Soviet Union's leading position within the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party (DAMFARS, PA, 1958, Romania, f. 105, doc. 29, Anti-Yugoslav campaign in the RPR and the state of bilateral relations, confidential no. 426086, 8).

[36] DAMFARS, PA, 1962, Romania, f. 116, doc. 7, Decision of the plenum of the Central Committee of the RWP regarding the admission of new members from the session of 23–25. April 1962, confidential no. 420670, 8.

[37] According to the statute, only Congress can make modifications, so the changes made at the May plenum were, in fact, a violation of the statute (*Statutul PMR* 1960: 21).

centralized party system required that the admission decision be confirmed by the regional committee, and in some cases, approval came from the Central Committee itself. This setup allowed higher authorities to exert significant influence over lower ones. Consequently, the leadership adopted a more flexible approach, particularly after the end of collectivization in 1962. During this time, prominent experts and peasants from collective farms, where there were no party members, were admitted directly to the party to help establish party cells. Special attention was given to enhancing the representation of minority groups. This measure aimed to strengthen the party's presence within minority communities. Additionally, it aimed to secure broad support, helping the party become more independent from Moscow. Preparations were also underway to transition the state from a people's republic to a socialist republic, aligned with these objectives.[38]

Alongside their obligations for political and ideological work, a primary responsibility of party members was to address production tasks. This involvement meant that the party played a crucial role in the organizational and technological challenges faced in production. Such engagement established the party as a leading force in society. Members received support in this work from over 700,000 activists, as well as from numerous Union of Working Youth.[39]

The 1950s were a critical period for the RWP in its "class struggle". During this time, the dictatorship of the proletariat was expected to gain full momentum, leading to the consolidation of a Soviet socio-economic model. This meant that it was essential to solidify the communist system within both the state and society. The goal was to ensure complete party control over all aspects of human activity and to transition to a planned economy and collectivized agriculture fully. However, this plan faced significant challenges due to a lack of popular support. Many Romanians, particularly peasants, strongly opposed the collectivization of agriculture. Accustomed to a traditional, individualistic lifestyle, they found it difficult to accept losing ownership of their land and joining cooperatives or participating in other forms of collective farming.[40] The guarantor of the measures aimed at the socialist transformation of Romanian society until 1958 was the advisory and military presence of the Soviet Union. This fact is crucial for understanding the total subordination of the Romanian leadership during the first fifteen years following the Second World War. Although the state and party leadership sought to distance themselves from Soviet influence, they were equally fearful that, without it, the party would lose control of the country. The initial joy that the people experienced after the withdrawal of Soviet troops was soon overshadowed by repression by the party. Believing that fear was the most effective way to ensure public obedience, Gheorghiu-Dej approved the immediate implementation of strict internal security measures.[41] The party established a robust system for mass surveillance and control. With this repressive framework in place, the party could shift its focus to defining its ideology in contrast to that of the Soviet Union. This ideological distinction was

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38 DAMFARS, PA, 1962, Romania, f. 118, doc. 6, Memorandum of conversation between Luka Soldić, Counselor of the Embassy of the FPRY in Bucharest, and Tutu Georgescu, Scientific Secretary of the Institute for the History of the RPR, May 17, 1962, confidential no. 447170, 3–4.

39 Gheorghiu-Dej 1960: 92.

40 Micu 2010: 63–76.

41 Deletant and Ionescu, 2004: 218.

crucial for achieving the second goal of a totalitarian state: the development of a comprehensive ideology that dictates all aspects of human existence.[42]

The use of repressive measures created a significant level of mistrust between the party and the people. To build a robust party that was deeply rooted in society, it was essential to continue efforts in ideological indoctrination. After 1960, up to 95 percent of party members participated in ideological and political training sessions and lectures. In those years, the propaganda and ideological efforts of the RWP mainly centered around strengthening the socialist patriotism of the people, followed by promoting the economic development of the country and the education of the workforce. These initiatives, which were initially supported by efforts to de-Stalinize and move toward the West, eventually led to the process of de-Sovietization. Symbolically, it was made official by restoring the traditional name of the state *România*, since the Russified version *Romînia* had been used until 1964.[43]

3. Romania Forges Its Unique Path While Anchored in the Eastern Bloc's Borders

A few years after the Third Congress, patriotism was at a high level in Romania. When the country expressed its disagreement with Soviet plans within the framework of COMECON, the ruling party enjoyed strong public support. This was particularly evident after the adoption of the so-called Declaration of Independence in April 1964, in which the RWP outlined its key foreign policy principles. In the declaration, the Romanian leadership asserted that it would base its relations with other states on principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for national interests, and full cooperation with all countries, regardless of their systems or ideologies. The document also conveyed Romania's stance on important international issues. Notably, it criticized the Soviet Union's ambition to coordinate the economic development of other socialist countries through COMECON. Moreover, it identified military blocs as the primary threat to world peace. The Romanian party advocated for a future policy that would see the simultaneous abolition of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. While the foreign policy framework emphasized peaceful coexistence and cooperation on equal terms, it did not suggest a departure from the socialist path. The continued struggle against imperialism and the expansion of the international communist movement remained a core imperative.[44]

The publication of new foreign policy views marked the official announcement of the birth of national communism, which refers to the adaptation of Marxist-Leninist theory to Romanian interests and specific circumstances. It is important to note that the fusion of communist and nationalist ideology was not unique to Romania; Yugoslavia followed a similar path in 1948. Milovan Đilas devoted considerable attention to this concept in his writings. For instance, in his book *The New Class*, published in 1957, he argues that, fundamentally, there is no form of communism other than national communism. He maintained that communism could survive in a country only if it adapted and took on specific characteristics, thereby developing into a national form unique to each nation. Nevertheless,

[42] Friedrich and Brzeziński, 1965: 88.

[43] DAMFARS, PA, 1964, Romania, f. 186, doc. 15, Some issues of the organization and functioning of the RWP, confidential no. 423461, 1–10.

[44] Oleteanu and Ciobanu 2001: 511–517.

the Romanian communists would elevate national communism to a new level, becoming the first to effectively merge various elements of national ideology with communism.[45]

The publication of the April Declaration strengthened the bond between the people and the RWP. Ideological actions were quickly coordinated with this initiative. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej believed that special attention needed to be given to writers, artists, and youth. With the release of almost all political prisoners in the first half of 1964, the use of terror and coercion as methods was abandoned. The party's influence over artists and writers became more flexible. While artists were granted more freedom, they remained cautious of their influence, carefully avoiding any actions that might overstep the boundaries set by the party. Engaging with youth was also a priority, especially in the field of education. Party lecturers aimed to distance Romanian youth from the church. The RWP fought against religiosity by providing scientific explanations for various phenomena that were commonly perceived as having religious significance. The party managed its propaganda efforts through the Propaganda and Culture Directorate, which contained sections for propaganda and agitation, culture and art, education, and health. Additionally, the RWP had a Directorate for Organizational Affairs and an Economic Directorate.[46] During the early years of Ceaușescu's rule, a people-oriented policy was pursued, which led to a continuous increase in party membership. At the time of the Ninth Congress of the PCR, there were approximately 1,410,000 members, and by the end of 1969, this number exceeded two million. The promotion of nationalism and the desire to separate from Moscow provided the party with an opportunity to establish itself as a driving force across all spheres of society.[47]

Walter Bacon argues that the strict centralism and comprehensive control of society by the party in Romania, which was unlike any other socialist state, is key to understanding why Moscow allowed Romania to de-align from the socialist camp. Although Romania's foreign policy was markedly different from that of the Soviet Union–especially in its relations with West Germany and Israel in 1967, along with its vocal opposition to the intervention in Czechoslovakia–Moscow chose not to take any drastic actions against it. According to Bacon, *Romania was, by all criteria, a true communist party-state,* and at no point did Moscow believe that the communist government was in jeopardy, as it was in Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968. As a result, there were no valid reasons for intervention because Nicolae Ceaușescu stayed within the limits that allowed for only verbal conflict and pressure from Moscow. In other words, Romania did not cross the "red line" set by the USSR, as it sought to leverage its potential, foster more developed relations with the West, and maintain its membership in COMECON and the Warsaw Pact without actually withdrawing from them. As long as other pressing issues, such as those involving Germany or China, were present, the Bucharest dissidence was perceived as a secondary concern.[48]

Thus, on the domestic front, Romania developed strictly according to the Soviet model. However, in terms of foreign policy, it pursued some deviations from Soviet

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45 Djilas 1957; Tismăneanu 2005: 220.

46 AY, A CC LCY, IX, 107/I–42, Note on the conversation between Arso Milatović, Ambassador of the SFRY to Romania, and Leonte Rautu, Director of the Directorate for Propaganda and Culture of the CC RWP, 11. 11. 1964, 1–9.

47 Dobre 2004: 25.

48 Mitrović 2020: 129–146; Bacon 1984: 177–178.

interests. The basic principles guiding the Romanian Workers' Party in its foreign policy–namely, fostering friendships and alliances with other socialist countries–were well received by Moscow. Additionally, the Soviet Union had no objections to Romania's intentions to reduce Cold War tensions, advocate for the rights and interests of newly independent states, and build friendly relations based on respect for sovereignty, equality, and non-interference in internal affairs. Bucharest placed special emphasis on promoting inter-Balkan cooperation and establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, initiatives that also received support from Moscow. However, the Soviet leadership disapproved of Romania's efforts to expand trade relations with Western countries.[49] This orientation was driven by Romania's desire to effectively implement its six-year and fifteen-year development plans, which could not be achieved by depending solely on other socialist countries. Consequently, the USSR had to reluctantly accept Romania's pro-Western position. In summary, the main goals of the Romanian Communists included developing the party, improving living standards, enhancing education and culture, and ensuring that foreign policy was aligned with the national development of the economy.[50]

The Romanian Party evolved from a minor group of like-minded political figures whose activities during the interwar period were largely illegal, into the dominant political organization in Romania after the Second World War. Throughout the late 1950s, reliance on the Soviet Union served as the primary guarantee of their power. As a result, the Romanian leadership willingly accepted and implemented all the demands imposed by Soviet leaders. To break away from this pattern, the Romanian Workers' Party emphasized the importance of national pride and focus on state interests. However, they needed to move past the recent history of their indifference to national sentiments and their total subordination to Moscow. The initial efforts to foster a broad nationalist campaign targeted the party's membership, as it was essential for spreading among the general population the new policy of distancing from Moscow and seeking economic integration with the West. By strategically strengthening its ranks, revitalizing its membership, continuously educating its members, and firmly emphasizing national goals, the party successfully garnered substantial popular support. This support was critical for advancing its policies abroad, which often contrasted sharply with those of the USSR.

4. Differences and Similarities between Romanian *Alternative Path* and other Reformist Movements among the European Marxists

Analyzed sources indicate that Romanian communists were firmly on a path toward creating a new party ideology before the rise of Nicolae Ceaușescu, under whose influence the party would formally enter into a reformist period during the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, scholars never considered the Romanian Communist Party an integral part of the reformist camp among European Marxist parties, unlike the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the Czechoslovakian party in 1968, or Eurocommunist

[49] Mitrović 2020: 335–338.

[50] DAMFARS, PA, 1960, Romania, f. 111, doc. 10, Report on the III Congress of the RWP, confidential no. 418399, 24.

parties of Italy, France, Spain, or Greece.[51] On one hand, the Romanian Communist Party needed to, at least to a certain degree, adapt its policies to the trends supported by the Soviet and other Eastern Bloc parties, even at those times when Romania was able to achieve the highest degree of independence in internal policy-making. On the other hand, Romanian socialist model still evolved in a way that was, in certain aspects, radically different from the one that was followed by other reformist parties and movements in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and on the Mediterranean.[52]

Although Romanian communists did push for the internal democratization and decentralization of the party, as well as for liberalization of the market and freedom of the press in the sphere of state policies, that only happened to a certain extent and during brief periods. Leadership of the RCP was never nearly as committed to making the aforementioned factors a priority in defining their reformist policies as were Yugoslav communists between 1964 and 1974, Czechoslovakian reformists in 1968, or Eurocommunists from 1968 to the early 1980s. Additionally, putting a focus on integrating nationalist ideas into the new party ideology, and subsequently creating a unique, Romanian form of "national communism," caused severe disagreements between Romanian reformists and most democratic socialists outside the Eastern Bloc. Documents of the LCY Department of International Relations testify that some of the leading Yugoslav and Italian, as well as Soviet communists, even went as far as to compare this tendency of Romanian communists with the early Maoist idea of „village socialism", inclusive not just toward ethnocentric nationalism, but also toward traditional values and religiousness, which both democratic socialists and Bolsheviks considered an „ideological abomination".[53] In the early 1970s, Eurocommunists adopted tolerant policies toward both the church and those parties that were considered conservative in terms of social values, though leftist in terms of economic policies. However, these policies never went to the extent that the Romanian party showcased a decade earlier, when it started its policies of indoctrinating and incorporating the opposition toward the regime, and they never included such a level of tolerance toward the idea of unfulfilled national goals.[54]

Lastly, the Romanian Communist Party strived to indoctrinate and control rather than to appease and cooperate with the potential opposition. The amount of authoritarian ideas Romanian communists still held on to, even during the reforms of Gheorghiu-Dej and during the early rule of Ceaușescu, was bound to eventually find itself in the way of expanding cooperation with LCY and Eurocommunist parties. This is why the analysis presented here speaks in favor of the argument made by those scholars who chose not to include the Romanian alternative path among the major reformist ideologies of the period. In the words of Enrico Berlinguer, the famous PCI leader of the Eurocommunist era:

> It is not enough for a communist party to simply renounce Bolshevism in order for its ideology to be defined as democratic socialism. Democratization must come from the internal structures of the party.[55]

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[51] AY, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-549, Analysis of the conversations between Stane Dolanc and Enrico Berlinguer, 1972.
[52] AY, SKJ, 507-IX, 48/I-543-555, Analysis of the correspondence between the institutions of LCY and PCI.
[53] Filipović 2023: 109–147.
[54] AY, SKJ, 507-IX,122/I-110-162, SKJ, 507-IX,33/I-779-825, Information on cooperation with PCE and KKE.
[55] Filipović 2023: 173–185.

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РУМУНСКИ АЛТЕРНАТИВНИ ПУТ У СОЦИЈАЛИЗАМ – ОД РАНИХ ПОЧЕТАКА ДО УСПОНА ЧАУШЕСКУА

Резиме

Још пре доласка Николаја Чаушескуа на чело партије 1965. године, румунски комунисти годинама су покушавали да изграде онакав социјалистички модел какав би представљао извесну врсту алтернативе тенденцији усвајања политика и ставова Комунистичке партије Совјетског Савеза, која је била веома изражена међу готово свим марксистичким партијама и покретима у Европи током међуратног периода. Ипак, многи фактори допринели су да румунски „алтернативни пут“ у социјализам никада не добије ону пажњу европске и светске историографије која је била посвећена југословенском социјалистичком моделу или развоју партијских идеологија еврокомунистичких партија. Са једне стране, напоре румунске партије да напусти покушаје прилагођавања својих политика принципима бољшевичког социјалистичког модела ограничавали су императиви спољне политике румунских влада, које су покушавале да одрже посебан положај земље у оквирима Источног блока. Са друге стране, оне реформе које су биле успешно спровођене имале су за примарни циљ да омасове чланство у партији а партијску идеологију учине прихватљивом и популарном великом броју група које су чиниле веома сложени друштвени рељеф Румуније. На развој оваквих тенденција извесног утицаја могао је имати и стални страх румунских комуниста од губитка популарности у земљи у којој партизански покрет није имао ону улогу у рату коју су имали партизани у Југославији или Италији. Последично, румунски комунисти су приликом дефинисања својих реформистичких програма давали приоритет борби за остварење националних циљева, толеранцији према цркви и културним политикама у односу на захтеве за већим степеном унутрашње демократизације и децентрализације саме партије, који су представљали приоритет за Савез комуниста Југославије, еврокомунистичке партије медитеранских земаља, и друге организације у тадашњој Европи које су своју идеологију дефинисале као припадницу породице идеологија демократског социјализма.

Кључне речи: Румунска комунистичка/радничка партија, Комунистичка партија Југославије, чланство, трансформација, комунизам, идеолошка индоктринација, Совјетски Савез, Георге Георгију-Деж.

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DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC ON THE STANCES OF THE US, FRANCE AND CANADA REGARDING THE 1981/1982 KOSOVO CRISIS

Abstract: Based on the materials gathered from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic in Paris, this article will present the views of the US, France and Canada on the 1981 Kosovo crisis, when unrest and rioting by ethnic Albanians occurred, but also the following year, when (at least on the face of it) order was restored in Serbia's southern province. This approach made it possible to draw comparative conclusions as to whether and to what extent the positions of these countries evolved during the period observed. These include mainly confidential reports sent by these countries to NATO, whose key topic is the situation in Kosovo during 1981–1982. In addition, diplomatic notes (France) and intelligence security reports (a report compiled by the General Secretariat for Defense and National Security of the French Republic) were reviewed. One of the objectives of this paper is to present to the scientific community in Serbia some lesser-known facts about the Kosovo issue–specifically positions of the great powers at a time when the Kosovo issue was not so much in the focus of the international community, starting from 1981, when one of the pivotal crises in the history of the Kosovo issue occurred.

Keywords: Kosovo, 1981 Kosovo crisis, SFRY, USA, France, Canada.

1. Introduction

Up until 1945, the area of Kosovo and Metohija was not territorially defined as a compact one, but was part of some wider areas, such as the Turkish Kosovo Vilayet. In the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, it was divided into regions, and

in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into administrative subdivisions or *banovinas*, while during World War I and II, it was fragmented into occupation zones.[1] On September 3, 1945, the National Assembly of Serbia adopted the Law on the Establishment and Organization of the Autonomous Kosovo and Metohija Region (AKMR).[2] From a strictly legal point of view, it is not possible to refer to autonomy before the passing of this Law.[3]

The Constitution of the FPRY was adopted on January 31, 1946. Under this act, Yugoslavia was defined as a federal people's state in the form of a republic, a community of equal nations, comprised of six sovereign states–people's republics–with the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija being part of the People's Republic of Serbia.[4]

Legally, the completion of the KMR's autonomy is reflected in the adoption of the Statute of the Autonomous KMR in 1948, which, to some degree, repeated the provisions of the 1946 FPRY Constitution and of the 1947 PRS Constitutions, but some differences were noted (the region's territorial scope, powers and competences were more precisely specified in the Statute).[5] The 1953 FPRY Constitutional Law equated the organization of government of the autonomous units with that of the republics, as a step in bringing the autonomies closer to the status of federal units (both Serbia and these units now had executive councils as bodies of executive power).[6]

On April 7, 1963, the Federal People's Assembly promulgated the second Yugoslav Constitution, changing the name from FPRY to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija became equal in rights with the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and its name was changed accordingly to the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija; both Provinces were part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (SRS).[7]

After the national question was placed on the agenda of the 8th Congress of the League of Communists in 1964, the rise of aspirations of the Yugoslav republics for greater political independence can be observed.[8] Following the 1966 Brioni Plenum, the Province gradually gained greater autonomy within the Federation by means of constitutional reform. Remodeling of the Federation began with the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of SFRY during 1967 and 1968, which, at that time, already showed some elements of a confederal state setup.[9] They were followed by amendments to the Constitution of Serbia and to the Constitutional Law of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija in 1969, which further bolstered the statehood of Serbia's southern province.[10]

The violent demonstrations of Albanians (primarily university and high school students) in Kosovo and Metohija in 1968 marked the culmination of the volatile political

[1] Gatalović 2014: 52.
[2] Gatalović 2014: 53; Vukadinović 2021:163.
[3] Vukadinović 2021:163.
[4] Gatalović 2014: 54.
[5] Vukadinović 2021: 292–295.
[6] Vukadinović 2021: 299.
[7] Gatalović 2014: 92; Vukadinović 2021: 456–457.
[8] Gatalović 2018: 25; Vukadinović 2021: 511–515.
[9] Gatalović 2014: 518.
[10] Vukadinović 2021: 726.

atmosphere that ensued after the Brioni Plenum.[11] The protests began on November 27, 1968, in Gnjilane, spreading to Priština, Podujevo and Uroševac and turning violent (leaving dozens of people wounded and one protester killed).[12] At the demonstrations, Albanians asserted their demands for secession, a Constitution and the establishment of the University in Priština.[13] The lukewarm reaction to these events by the authorities (just sixteen people were prosecuted on charges of hostile propaganda)[14] and by the League of Communists, cover-up attempts, along with the provincial leadership's denials of the burgeoning of Albanian nationalism, all gave fresh impetus to local Albanians to keep dreaming their dream of secession.

The Kosovo Albanians' desire for a University in Priština materialized already in 1969. Its establishment was preceded by the introduction of classes taught in Albanian in higher education three years before. On November 4, 1966, the teachers' and students' assembly of the Faculty of Law and Economics, in the presence of the President of the Provincial Assembly's Education and Culture Council and the Provincial Secretary for Education and Culture, introduced teaching in Albanian in five courses at that faculty.[15] Officially, the University of Priština was founded on November 18, 1969, when the Provincial Assembly passed the Law on the Establishment of the University.[16] It was the very same University that later became the venue of unrest leading to protests in 1981, this time accompanied by a harsher and more resolute response from the authorities and the Party.

On February 21, 1974, the Council of Nations of the Federal Assembly promulgated the new Yugoslav Constitution, based on the supplemented constitutional amendments adopted in the period from 1967 to 1971. Under the new Constitution of the SFRY, the state was defined as a federal union of six equal republics and two autonomous provinces and the latter were practically granted the same functions as the republics, while the Yugoslav nations received the right to self-determination.[17] This completed the abolition of Serbian sovereignty in Kosovo and Metohija and, therefore, new demonstrations by ethnic Albanians and the great crisis that erupted in Kosovo in 1981 should come as no surprise.

2. The 1981 Crisis in Kosovo and Metohija

Less than a year after the death of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Albanian demonstrations broke out in Kosovo and Metohija (March 1981). By the end of March, they gradually reached the scale of mass demonstration, turning, in the first three days of April, into an attempt at open rebellion.[18] The students voiced their dissatisfaction with poor food and living standards in the student canteen in

[11] Vukadinović 2021: 663.
[12] Vukadinović 2021: 665–667.
[13] Gatalović 2018: 165–202.
[14] Vukadinović 2021: 673.
[15] Gatalović 2018: 324–325.
[16] Gatalović 2018: 345–346.
[17] Gatalović 2014: 612–613.
[18] Ristanović 2019: 203.

Priština, the place where the Albanian riots actually began.[19]

Social reasons and the poor economic situation led to mass discontent among the Kosovo Albanians, and the situation escalated when the students were joined by other social categories–high school students, teachers, factory workers.[20] Little by little, the protest movement was spreading, and it became evident that economic and social demands were replaced by national ones, whose bottom line was the Kosovo Albanians' aspiration that the SAP Kosovo should be given the status of republic, and to some extent, also their desire for the unification of Kosovo with Albania.[21] In Serbia's southern province, peace was restored only after the arrival of the federal police forces, together with special police forces from other republics and units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JPA).[22] According to official sources, the total death toll of these violent events in Kosovo and Metohija was nine people–eight protesters and one police officer.[23]

3. The 1981 Kosovo Crisis from the Perspective of the US, France and Canada

The 1981 Kosovo crisis attracted the attention of many countries, primarily the Western Bloc. What is common to all countries presently belonging to the "Quint" is that, during the 1981 Kosovo crisis, they gave explicit or implicit support to preserving the territorial integrity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and shared the view that the Kosovo issue was exclusively SFRY's internal policy matter.[24]

It is possible to trace the US view of the 1981 Kosovo crisis through two contemporary documents–one is a telegram sent by the French ambassador from Washington to the head office in April 1981[25] and the other is an American note sent to NATO in September the same year.[26]

In the first document, dated April 8, 1981, entitled "The US and the Kosovo Crisis" and authored by the French ambassador, we learn about the US position regarding the spring events in Kosovo. It should be emphasized that in 1981, Washington was explicit in its view that it was an internal issue of the SFRY and that the US had made it clear to the Yugoslav authorities that the US policy would continue to favor the unity and integrity of Yugoslavia.[27] We find out about the causes of the crisis from the second document entitled "Yugoslavia–Internal Situation," which provides us with a more detailed insight into the US stance toward the Kosovo crisis.

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19 Pavlović 2009: 60–62. The following authors also wrote about the 1981 Kosovo crisis: Mertus 1999: 29–41; Vickers 1998: 197–201; Šuvaković, Stevanović 2018: 1204–206; Hetemi 2020: 171–199.

20 Todorović Lazić 2024: 455.

21 Ristanović 2018: 371.

22 Ristanović 2019: 197.

23 Ristanović 2018: 371.

24 Todorović Lazić 2024: 453–470.

25 Diplomatic archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic (DA MSRF), 1930 INVA, Directorate for Europe, Yugoslavia 1981–1985, folder 2, file 14, ref. no. 858, "The US and the Kosovo Crisis," April 8, 1981.

26 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-763/EU, 'Yugoslavia–Internal Situation,' confidential, NATO, September 23, 1981.

27 Todorović Lazić 2024: 464.

> Kosovo demonstrates problems typical of the economically underdeveloped regions of the Third World. The region is the poorest part of Yugoslavia, with an excessive population growth rate with no choices for graduates, while language and social barriers prevent Kosovo Albanians from assimilating into the Yugoslav society. At the same time, Albanian youth has become largely politicized.[28]

The document highlights the view that Albanians presently have no allies in their efforts toward independence.[29]

> Based on the information available, the fulfillment of the Kosovo Albanians' ambitions for full equality, expressed in their demand for the status of republic within the Federation, is not feasible in the present circumstances. The Serbs would oppose the separation of Kosovo and Albanians are currently unable to mobilize enough powerful allies within the Federation to force the Serbs to cave in.[30]

The document allows us to identify the factors which, according to the US, favor the continuity and stability of the SFRY. These are: the political system, armed forces, aversion to radical change, fear of the Soviets, past experience of ethnic conflict, worldwide political support enjoyed by the SFRY and its economic basis.[31] For each of these factors, the document provides an explanation. It starts with the political system, stating that, regardless of its imperfections, the Yugoslav system, as it remained after Tito's death, should not be disposed of but improved.[32] For the US, the SFRY's armed forces were a national institution that was cohesive, effective and committed to preserving Tito's legacy.[33] The document also cites the fear of the Soviets as a factor, due to a deterioration in the relations between the East and the West and the increased anxiety among Yugoslavs that the Soviets might respond within the Eastern Bloc.[34] Interestingly, the aversion to radical change is also mentioned as a factor. The US view was that the prosperity during Tito's era had entrenched a bourgeois slogan, "Something can be lost," and hence, Yugoslavs were not inclined to radical change.[35] Another reason that speaks for stability is the historical experience of ethnic conflict. For the US, the historical experience of ethnic conflicts and their somber legacy are still alive, and the Yugoslav people know all too well the price of nationalist extremism.[36] Another factor of stability was the broad political support that Yugoslavia enjoys both in the West and in Third World countries.[37] Finally, the document explains why the economic basis is an important factor. By "economic basis," the US means people, land, natural resources, and geography that can sustain considerable growth and evolution toward a modern and developed state, if the government can adjust to a more rational decision-making system at the federal level.[38]

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28 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-763/EU; Todorović Lazić 2024: 464.
29 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-763/EU.
30 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-763/EU; Todorović Lazić 2024: 465.
31 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-763/EU.
32 *Ibid.*
33 *Ibid.*
34 *Ibid.*
35 *Ibid.*
36 *Ibid.*
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Ibid.*

The French viewpoint of the Kosovo crisis will be reviewed through the analysis of two documents. The first one is a note from the French Embassy in Belgrade dated April 22, 1981,[39] and the second is a Memo from the Secretariat General for Defense and National Security (Secrétariat général de la défense et de la sécurité nationale–SGDSN) dated May 21, 1981, entitled "Yugoslavia at a Test with Kosovo Crisis."[40]

During the course of 1981, France maintained its position that demonstrations in Kosovo were a warning that showed an explosion was possible, and that these demonstrations clearly sent a danger signal and the first confirmation of troubles after Tito's death.[41] For France, the political credibility and preservation of the national balance within the SFRY would largely depend on how the Kosovo issue was tackled henceforth.[42]

In terms of the causes leading to insurgency, the French believed that the unrest in Kosovo was mainly due to socioeconomic reasons and cited the alarming state of economic underdevelopment, exacerbated by the rapid growth of the Albanian population.[43]

The French position on the Yugoslav authorities' response to insurrection in the Province was unambiguous.

> The Yugoslav authorities, surprised by the severity of the clashes, responded vigorously, first at the level of the Province and then also at the Republic and Federation level. As for the demands aimed at transforming Kosovo into a federal republic, such a demand poses a threat to the territorial integrity of the Yugoslav state and may lead to its disintegration.[44]

What is immediately noticeable about the French perspective is the fear that riots might spill over to the other Yugoslav republics with a significant percentage of the Albanian population.

> Violence, repression, a state of emergency, security measures involving the YPA and bodies of the general people's defense indicate the leadership's resolve to crack down on this blaze of nationalism fast, in order to reduce any risk of its potential spillover to Macedonia and Montenegro.[45]

It should also be mentioned what the French viewed as the potential to improve or aggravate the relations between Serbia and its southern province in the future.

> Replacing those at the Party helm within the Kosovo leadership, as well as decisions made about the development of the region, could lead to the economic renewal of the Province. On the other hand, demographic developments that prompt many Serbs to leave because they increasingly feel like a minority could lead to a change in the status of the Province and its relations with Serbia. At present, the positions of the federal authorities are very firm, much along the same lines as Croatian or Serbian nationalism was treated in some previous situations. Aware of the fragile unity that exists in the country, the Yugoslav authorities have affirmed their commitment to maintaining national unity.[46]

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39 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-128/EU, 22 April 1981.
40 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-11, 'Yugoslavia at Test with Kosovo Crisis,' confidential–defense, May 21, 1981.
41 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-11.
42 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-11; Todorović Lazić 2024: 459.
43 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-11; Todorović Lazić 2024: 458.
44 DA MSRF 1930- 2-14-128/EU; Todorović Lazić 2024: 456.
45 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-11; Todorović Lazić 2024: 458.
46 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-11; Todorović Lazić 2024: 459.

Canada's views of the Kosovo crisis can be traced from the note entitled "The Situation in Kosovo"[47] sent to NATO on June 26, 1981. According to the Canadians, the situation in 1981, in the aftermath of the spring events, was developing at two levels–one related to Yugoslavia's internal policy and the other centered on the relations between the SFRY and Albania.[48]

When it comes to the first level, Canadians voiced certain criticisms vis-à-vis the Yugoslav authorities.

> One of the major objections we can put forward to the Yugoslav authorities is that, during the demonstrations, they did not regularly inform the citizens about what was happening. Over the past few weeks, the media has been full of such information, whose aim, however, is not to present the facts or events, but rather to inform the citizens about what was said about it at the Party session. Last Monday evening, Yugoslav television aired an hour and a half long report on the situation in Kosovo. A team from Belgrade spent a few days at the scene, collecting testimonies from participants. They showed us some pictures, the only ones that exist about the events, claiming that they were taken at the events of 26 March and 1-2 April. Those are striking images of tanks filing through the streets of Priština, along with smoke rising above the rooftops. Aside from the fact that these pictures were presented two months after the events, the report offered little else.[49]

The next segment from the first level observed by the Canadians is the differentiation within the Communist Party headquarters.

> So far, several hundred members from Kosovo have been expelled from membership. Shortly after the first demonstrations, the Yugoslav authorities received intelligence that enemy forces had infiltrated several sectors of the provincial administration, including the Ministry of Interior. On 15 June, *Večernje novosti* even put forward a thesis that the real basis for the counter-revolution in Kosovo was not foreign propaganda or national sentiments, but a nationalist ideology hypocritically resurrected and endorsed by the bureaucracy in an attempt to strengthen its authority and privileged position. If that is the case, the bureaucracy would have to pay the price through purges that must be even more radical than the measures currently underway.[50]

At the second level, Canada takes the stance that the events in Kosovo have serious repercussions on the relations between SFRY and Albania.

> At first, all cultural agreements and protocols between Albania and Kosovo were suspended. A detailed review of the cultural relations between Yugoslavia and Albania lead to the conclusion that this cooperation was ongoing only with the Albanian population in Kosovo and that Albania systematically rejected any attempt to involve other groups. All future cooperation will be subjected to strict ideological control, but will also need to be balanced, meaning that it can no longer be in favor of one ethnic group alone.[51]

The document notes that economic relations between the SFRY and Albania were also affected by the Kosovo crisis.

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47 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-597/EU, "Situation in Kosovo", confidential NATO, 26 June 1981.
48 *Ibid.*
49 *Ibid.*
50 *Ibid*.
51 *Ibid.*

> As the most significant development in the segment of economic relations, Slovenia and Croatia, i.e. their republic governments, refused to vote for the funding required for the construction of the Yugoslav section of the railway between Titograd and Shkodra.[52]

4. The 1982 Kosovo Crisis from the Perspectives of the US, France and Canada

Based on reports sent by the US to NATO on March 18, 1982, entitled: "Kosovo–One Year On,"[53] we can trace the US perspective one year after the outbreak of the Albanian insurgency in Serbia's southern province. Americans begin their report by an assessment of the situation on the ground in March 1982.

> As we approach the first anniversary of the rioting that took place in Kosovo last spring, it is clear that the Yugoslav government is still facing serious problems in the Province. Despite the involvement of the federal authorities and commitment of additional economic aid, the mass (but inept) propaganda efforts to win the hearts and minds of the young Kosovo Albanians and to establish a significant presence of security forces, Kosovo remains troubled.[54]

The US note in particular that, while the measures adopted by the Yugoslav government (political, economic, social, security) helped to contain the problems, they did not remove their root causes, such as: the traditional Slavic (Serbian and Montenegrin) – Albanian hostility, socio-economic inequalities and economic regression.[55]

> Albanian nationalists (who seem to be a minority relative to the entire Albanian population in Kosovo) seek to control their own destiny by obtaining the status of republic within Yugoslavia, while a minor part of them wants Kosovo's ultimate unification with Albania.[56]

The dominant discourse in this US report was that some elements for the outbreak of new riots were still present in Kosovo.

> The first element are the young Kosovo Albanians from towns and cities who are mesmerized by nationalism, as reflected in a continuous stream of riots organized by students during the winter within the University campus in Priština, which culminated in the 14 February demonstrations following a basketball game and which the authorities declared to be the most serious incident since last year's unrest. The second element are Slavic-Albanian relations, which remain tense, driving the Slavic population to migrate from the Province, as one reflection of the issue; occasionally, there are recurrent cases–violence against Slavs and their property, especially in Peć. Finally, the third element is the fact that, despite the partial success in breaking up organized nationalist groups, nationalist pamphlets and slogans continue to appear throughout the Province, while industrial sabotage remains an evident issue.[57]

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52 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-597/EU.
53 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-217/EU, "Kosovo–One Year On," confidential, NATO, 18 March 1981.
54 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-217/EU.
55 *Ibid*.
56 *Ibid.*
57 *Ibid.*

The recurrent theme of the document is the poor economic situation in Kosovo.

> Kosovo's economy remains in serious trouble. Its businesses continue to operate with a "deep overdraft" and reportedly had a deficit of 75 million USD in 1981. Many companies have difficulty paying salaries to their employees. The official unemployment rate is 27%, but independent estimates put the percentage much higher. According to government officials, the provincial budget is heavily reliant on the contributions from other republics – only 26.4% of the budget revenues originate from the Province. The repayment of foreign debts contributes to the financial burden and the main Province bank had to receive special foreign currency assistance from the National Bank in order to service its foreign debts.[58]

Just like Canada's 1981 note, this US report also points to a deterioration in the Yugoslav-Albanian relations.

> Tirana's continuing public support for Albanian nationalists in Kosovo and the Yugoslav government's fear that it would become directly involved have resulted in a serious deterioration of political relations between Belgrade and Tirana. They remained frozen as Tirana continued to do what the Yugoslav government finds provocative by broadcasting Tirana television signal in the Province. The Yugoslav government's efforts to scramble the signal have been effective to some extent. Despite these accusations, we have not seen any conclusive evidence of Albania's direct involvement, i.e., illegal support for Kosovo nationalists to date. It is not possible for us to confirm whether the Yugoslav government's accusations of Albania's covert support to anti-Yugoslav groups in Western Europe are true.[59]

However, the document clearly indicates that Yugoslav-Albanian relations are showing a trend of improvement.

> The two countries are trying to maintain bilateral relations at the pre-1981 level. Indeed, the two neighboring states have recently signed a series of bilateral treaties on transport, including for the resumption of construction of the Titograd-Shkoder railway (which was temporarily suspended).[60]

The US report offers some predictions of what might happen in Kosovo during the spring of 1982.

> There are genuine concerns among the American contacts in Yugoslavia about what the spring of 1982 might bring after the basketball match demonstrations on 14 February in Priština, given the lingering presence of elements for new riots. Our contacts in Kosovo, including those from the University of Priština, predict more student demonstration this spring, claiming that their preparations are underway. The authorities are evidently concerned about this. Although we cannot predict exactly what the future will bring, chances are that the spring in Kosovo will not be a peaceful one.[61]

From reading this document, one gets the impression that the new outbreak of unrest in the Province is possible, along with some hints of what this new unrest might look like.

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58 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-217/EU.
59 *Ibid*.
60 *Ibid.*
61 *Ibid*.

> If that happens, these will be mainly student demonstrations, a large-scale dissemination of pamphlets and writing of nationalist slogans, in a continued effort to intimidate Serbs and Montenegrins, combined with the acts of industrial sabotage.[62]

The document goes a step further and provides an assessment of how the Yugoslav forces would deal with potential new rioting in Kosovo.

> Yugoslav armed and security forces seem to be capable of containing such incidents and even limiting them, but probably not of preventing all forms of violence, so the US assessment is that the new insurrection of this scale is unlikely to affect the stability of Yugoslavia.[63]

Further, it also explains why they believe that the new unrest would not harm the stability of Yugoslavia.

> The main reason is based on the fact that there is little sympathy for Kosovo Albanians among the other Yugoslav ethnic groups: a spillover effect, i.e., that the nationalist activities in the Province would trigger unrest in other SFRY republics, such as Croatia, is highly unlikely.[64]

Nevertheless, it notes that, despite the low likelihood of affecting the country's stability, the new riots would not pass without any consequences and lists some of them.

> New riots in Kosovo would: 1) amplify the existing problems in Kosovo, 2) distract SKJ's attention ahead of the XII Party Congress in June (expected to be attended by numerous foreign delegations), 3) tarnish the image of the SFRY in the eyes of foreign bankers at a time when the Government is trying to project stability in order to receive new loans; 4) contribute to further straining of political relations with Albania, and 5) suggest that Kosovo is the main political responsibility at this time of increasing tensions in Europe.[65]

Finally, the report raises some concerns that such unrest might lead to foreign interference, which would have attendant consequences for the stability of the Balkan region.[66] It is worth mentioning an almost visionary view of the Kosovo crisis described in this report. Namely, for the US, Kosovo had more than just local significance and required careful monitoring in the months and years to come.[67]

The French note dated June 17, 1982, entitled "Yugoslavia–Internal Situation,"[68] is divided into three parts, presenting three groups of problems faced by the SFRY in 1982 (economic, national, and institutional). The note begins with a reminder that two years have elapsed since Tito's death (May 4, 1980) and that, during this time, Yugoslavia dismissed some alarming predictions that appeared after his death about the state's uncertain future.[69]

The first part of the note begins by outlining the economic problems in Kosovo:

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62 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-217/EU.
63 *Ibid.*
64 *Ibid*.
65 *Ibid.*
66 *Ibid.*
67 *Ibid.*
68 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-667/EU, "Yugoslavia – Internal Situation", 17 June 1982.
69 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-667/EU.

> Autonomy close to independence enjoyed by the republics and provinces did not contribute to the transparency of the single market of labor, goods and capital in Yugoslavia (its per capita income showed a gap of nearly 7 to 1 between Slovenia and Kosovo in 1977).[70]

It also examines some other economic problems faced by the SFRY in 1982.

> We should also add the decline of the dinar, as well as the chronic deficit in trade and payments, manifested in significant indebtedness to the West–20 billion dollars in 1981. The Yugoslav authorities responded by adopting the Economic Stabilization Plan in June 1980. This move and financial assistance from the IMF ($ 1.66 billion agreed in 1981), as well as assistance from some Western countries (especially France and West Germany), enabled the reduction of the current payment deficit from $2 billion in 1980 to $750 million in 1981, but at the cost of disruptions in supplies for production and increased trade with CMEA countries, where the quality of Yugoslav products was more acceptable than in the West and where delays in deliveries were more tolerated.[71]

The second part of the note deals with the national problems in the SFRY. It starts by recalling the national problems in Croatia during the 1970s.[72]

> The federal solution adopted after World War II and liberalized after the problems in Croatia in 1971 has failed to resolve all national problems. Tensions between Serbs and Croats persist. This materialized in the trial for the spreading of enemy propaganda, whose most famous victims included General Tuđman, student Paraga, writer Gotovac and Professor Veselica.[73]

After a brief review of the issue with Croatia, the French note focuses on the Kosovo issue, which France clearly regarded as the greatest problem for the Yugoslav authorities at that time.[74]

> Populated by more than 80% Albanians, underdeveloped despite natural resources, unable to offer employment to a large number of students from the University of Priština, the Autonomous Province of Kosovo (together with Macedonia and Montenegro, also populated by Albanians) was the scene of clashes in March, April and May 1981, as well as in the same period this year. The official figure of 9 casualties in the spring of 1981 seems to be intentionally understated. The number of convictions eventually was above 500 and those convicted (professors, students, teachers, workers)–mostly young people, were sentenced to prison terms not longer than 5 years. The severity of the repression applied by the Yugoslav authorities does not seem sufficient; also, economic aid from other republics, though officially slightly increased, will not have immediate effects, even if it turns out to be sufficient to appease the Albanians.[75]

However, the French take an optimistic view when it comes to the SFRY's capacity to deal with these problems.

> Difficulties that the Yugoslav authorities need to face are such that they cannot be ignored.

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70 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-667/EU.
71 *Ibid.*
72 *Ibid.*
73 *Ibid.*
74 *Ibid.*
75 *Ibid*.

> Economic problems could be solved with increased funds from the West. The Kosovo problem will not disappear only through the use of repression. However, the SFRY is not without assets in fighting these troubles. The factors of unity remain strong: the indispensable role of the Yugoslav League of Communists and the army, supported by territorial and civil defense. Especially worth mentioning is the Yugoslavs' demonstrated remarkable ability to resist any serious threat that could put their country in a crisis situation (both internal and external).[76]

Compared to the 1981 note previously analyzed in this paper, the Canadian note entitled "Kosovo,"[77] sent to NATO on September 22, 1982, discusses the Kosovo crisis in much more detail, one and a half years after the riots.

> One and a half years after the unrest in Kosovo, it seems that the Yugoslav authorities have been successful in suppressing any organized challenge to the established order. There is no doubt that such a challenge existed. Officially, Yugoslav authorities claim to have identified 4 organizations and 55 groups (the distinction between them remains unclear) whose members were arrested. The recent series of five trials resulted in convictions and prison sentences for 62 members of these groups. For most of them, charges include spreading of enemy propaganda and organizing demonstration, although some have been charged for the possession or attempted possession of weapons. 529 individuals faced criminal charges as a result of the demonstrations, while 1,117 were convicted for misdemeanors.[78]

The note separately deals with the purges carried out by the Yugoslav authorities within the security system in Kosovo.

> The authorities have managed to put in place an intelligence and security system that would make any future attempt to disrupt the law and order difficult, if not impossible. This involved a lot more than removing key individuals at the top of the organizational structure. As recent reports show, some low-ranking police officers face disciplinary procedure or are charged with nationalist crimes; there have been several cases of police officers of Albanian ethnicity who were charged with rape or attacks against Serbs. According to these reports, there have been 162 replacements within the higher ranks of the state security system in Kosovo: 27 station commanders, 32 deputies and 50 junior commanders, while 2800 new police officers were hired.[79]

The document specifies that the purges took place both in the government and party hierarchy in Kosovo.

> One of the defendants in the recent trials was Ukshin Hoti, the former deputy secretary of the Kosovo Executive Council for relations with other countries. Within the Kosovo League of Communists, 190 members were expelled, 30 deleted from the Party list, 32 suspended from their jobs, while 182 were subjected to "other measures," and 1,626 new members were admitted (who were apparently previously carefully examined).[80]

This document also raises a controversial question: Did one part of the Government,

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76 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-667/EU.
77 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-833/EU, "Kosovo", confidential, NATO, 22 September 1982.
78 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-833/EU.
79 *Ibid.*
80 *Ibid.*

Party or the security structure over the past decade have a tacit agreement that Kosovo should acquire the status of a republic?

> Some groups whose activities were recently revealed have allegedly been active since 1972. Some of these groups appear to have received assistance from Albania, but there is no evidence that this assistance came from the official Albanian government. One of the defendants stated that he had expected the proposal seeking the status of republic for Kosovo to come from the Kosovo League of Communists. Other defendants stated that they had not even known that what they were doing was "hostile activity." This defense was immediately dismissed at the trial.[81]

For the Canadians, there was no doubt that the organized activity among the Albanians aimed to win Kosovo the status of republic was largely stopped for the time being, but the desire for such status had not disappeared.[82]

> It seems obvious that, after a decade of encouragement, building their confidence and pride in the Albanian language and culture, many, if not all Kosovo Albanians[83], want the recognition of the status of republic for Kosovo.[84]

The Canadian note goes on to discuss the reasons why the Yugoslav authorities were refusing to allow the status of republic for Kosovo.

> Probably the most frequently quoted is the emotional one, namely that Kosovo used to be the seat of the Serbian medieval kingdom and the battle that took place at the Kosovo Field, when Serbia lost its independence and fell under a five-centuries-long Ottoman rule, is a 'holy place' for the Serbs. For Kosovo to cease to be part of the modern Serbia is unacceptable for the majority. The Yugoslav Constitution bars the republic status for Kosovo, in the part where it makes a distinction between nations and nationalities. The Yugoslav nations (South Slavs–Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians) each have their homelands in one of the Republics within the Federation. The sixth Republic is based on a South Slav nationality–Muslims. The Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina make integral parts of the Republic of Serbia and are based on the nationalities of non-Slavic population with homelands outside Yugoslavia (Albania and Hungary). Representatives of the nations and nationalities have equal rights and the Republics are not ethnically pure–many Serbs live in Croatia and many non-Muslims, Serbs and Croats, live in Bosnia and Herzegovina. More remarkably, a significant Albanian population group lives in both Montenegro and Macedonia. The Yugoslav system was designed to ensure ethnic unity in diversity and so that people belonging to all nations and nationalities can live in peace. The nationalism we witnessed in Croatia in the early 1970s and the developments in Kosovo one and a half years ago are the main antitheses to the system and the greatest concern for the federal government.[85]

The note also addresses the Albanians' motives and reasons for wanting a republic.

> The Yugoslav republics retained the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, and the Albanians therefore aim for Kosovo to become a republic that will secede and unite with Albania.

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81 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-833/EU.

82 *Ibid.*

83 This Canadian document uses the term Kosovars to refer to the Kosovo Albanians; that term is not found in other contemporaneous documents analyzed in this paper.

84 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-833/EU.

85 *Ibid*.

> In some extreme and high-profile cases this is certainly the case, however, the vast majority of Kosovo Albanians are aware that they have fared much better than their brothers in Albania. The majority are generally realistic enough to realize that, although the right to secession was granted to the republics, it is undesirable that any republic should seek to secede from the Federation. For the Kosovo Albanians, the appeal of obtaining the status of republic for Kosovo would put Kosovo on an equal footing with Serbia and would thus remove a disconcerting feeling of being dominated by the Serbs. Hence the constant tendency for young people, individually or in small groups, and usually on occasions suitable for expressing their sentiments, to chant republican slogans.[86]

The document also provides an overview of the situation regarding the tensions between the Kosovo Albanians and Serbs and Montenegrins leading to the Serbs' and Montenegrins' migration from the southern province.[87]

> Albanians harass, even rape and kill Serbs and Montenegrins. A combination of these tensions and more attractive economic prospects elsewhere have resulted in a trend of migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. It should be noted here that internal population mobility is very common in Yugoslavia; there is even a joke that Belgrade is the largest Montenegrin city in Yugoslavia. Many Kosovo Albanians live and work in Slovenia, where the Slovenians call them "guest workers". Some 258,000 Serbs and Montenegrins lived in Kosovo in 1971, 102,000 left Kosovo in the following decade. The trend is said to have started back in mid-1960s, when Aleksandar Ranković, the former head of the Yugoslav Security Service, was ousted. His name is associated with the suppression of Albanian nationalism in Kosovo. Serbian and Montenegrin migration from Kosovo increased after the Albanian rebellion in 1968. Although there is no official data yet, this migration is also believed to have increased following the 1981 riots. The legislation currently enacted will help to annul the sales of real properties where the sale was provably done under coercion. However, such measures will only slightly increase the share of Albanians in Kosovo, which is due less to the Serb and Montenegrin exodus and more to the Albanian population growth rate. Between 1961 and 1981, the number of Albanians in Kosovo doubled.[88]

Finally, the note reviews and sums up the Yugoslav policy towards Kosovo.

> The main element of Yugoslav policy toward Kosovo has been economic aid. Kosovo receives 45% from the Federal Development Fund; 80% of the Province's budget comes from federal sources. Current plans require that Kosovo's economic development should proceed 60% faster than the rest of the country. The change introduced after the 1981 insurgency is that only half of the funding from the Federal Development Fund will be delivered directly to the Province; the rest will be made available to companies in Kosovo to match investments made by counterpart organizations from other parts of the country. Behind this change is the obvious intention to strengthen economic ties between Kosovo and other parts of the country and to reduce the power of the provincial government. The Yugoslav authorities hope that an increase in the living standard will serve to lessen the appeal of Albania, one of Europe's poorest countries. However, it is unlikely that any action taken by the Government so far will diminish the sense of national identity and cohesion among the Albanians in Kosovo. If the past ten years can serve as some kind of guidance or instruction, it is that the increase in living standard will also raise, rather than reduce, their self-confidence.[89]

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86 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-833/EU.

87 *Ibid.*

88 *Ibid.*

89 *Ibid*.

The document also contains several suggestions for the Yugoslav authorities on how they should treat Albanians in the future.

> What the Yugoslav authorities could further do is to encourage the cultural self-affirmation of other nations. Such an attempt has been made with the Turkish minority in Kosovo, which means that it could also be attempted with the Albanian minority. A complementary approach could be to encourage Yugoslavism–a tendency to identify with the country as a whole rather than with one specific nation or nationality, although in 1981, only 1% of Yugoslavs lived in Kosovo. Another possible approach would be to work on increasing the differences between the subgroups of Albanians that definitely exist.[90]

In its conclusion, the document highlights the importance of the revival of nationalism in the SFRY after the 1981 unrest in Kosovo.

> In light of the Yugoslav experience with nationalism during World War II and more recently in the case of Croatia in the 1970s, the federal authorities' concern over its revival in Kosovo is understandable.[91]

The final position of the Canadians regarding the further situation development in the southern province is moderately optimistic.

> Despite all the above measures, it is difficult to predict how the aspirations to gain the republic status republic for the Province will be further restrained. Over the past 35 years, the Yugoslavs have proved adept in political and social adjustments and their ability to successfully cope with this challenge must not be discounted in advance.[92]

5. Conclusion

The situation in Kosovo during 1982 was mostly peaceful and it seemed that any organized threat to the Yugoslav system had been curbed. However, the key economic, social, and political factors that led to the 1981 unrest were still present in 1982. This is one of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of documents from all three countries. They share a common view on how the SFRY should tackle the challenges brought by the Kosovo crisis, and it was generally optimistic (more explicit for some, and somewhat moderate for others). Unlike the US, which believed that repression was sufficient for the Yugoslav authorities to cope with the riots, France and Canada argued that it would be necessary to change the existing policy of repression when the riots did occur and, in addition to providing economic aid to Kosovo, the SFRY should find new methods to fight Albanian separatism. However, only in the case of the US, can we detect a certain fear (or desire[93]) that the great powers might get involved in resolving the crisis. The

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90 DA MSRF 1930-2-14-833/EU.

91 *Ibid.*

92 *Ibid.*

93 It is not possible to confirm the presence of such wishes and aspirations in these documents. However, in some confidential reports of the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1968, support by the US intelligence services to the activities of the extreme right Albanian emigrée groups can be noted. Vukadinović 2023: 159–176.

aspect of relations between the SFRY and Albania was important for Canada and the US, and they devoted a significant part of their reporting to this issue. In addition, the relations between Albanians and Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo were particularly important for Canada, in the context of reasons leading to migration of these Slavic nations from the area. Canada even explicitly stated that Albanians pursued different forms of harassment against Serbs and Montenegrins. We can see from the documents that the US retained its view that Albanians did not have enough allies within the SFRY in order to exert pressure on Serbia to give in to their demands, a position repeated in 1981 and 1982. Finally, we can say that both in 1982, as well as the year before, there was consensus among the Western Bloc countries that the issue of Kosovo was an internal issue of the SFRY. It should be taken into account that, at the time, the Cold War was still ongoing, and this was perhaps one of the main reasons why the great powers advocated for Kosovo to remain within Yugoslavia. But even in these circumstances, some subtle hints can be noticed that the crisis over Kosovo might turn into a serious regional crisis that we have witnessed at the end of the twentieth century.

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ДОКУМЕНТА АРХИВА МИНИСТАРСТВА СПОЉНИХ ПОСЛОВА РЕПУБЛИКЕ ФРАНЦУСКЕ О ОДНОСУ САД, ФРАНЦУСКЕ И КАНАДЕ ПРЕМА КРИЗИ НА КОСОВУ 1981/1982

Резиме

Нешто мање од годину дана након смрти Јосипа Броза Тита, на Косову и Метохији су избиле албанске демонстрације (март 1981). До краја марта оне су постепено достигле размере масовних демонстрација, а током прва три дана априла претвориле су се у покушај отворене побуне. Протестни покрет се ширио – било је сасвим очигледно да су економски и социјални захтеви замењени националним захтевима заснованим на тежњи косовских Албанаца да САП Косово добије статус републике. Мир је успостављен тек након уласка савезне јединице милиције заједно са специјалним снагама милиције из других република и јединицама Југословенске народне армије (ЈНА). На основу архивске грађе прикупљене у Дипломатском архиву Министарства спољних послова Републике Француске у Паризу, овај чланак представља погледе САД, Француске и Канаде према косовској кризи 1981. године, када су избили албански нереди и побуна, али и годину дана касније када се бар чинило да је ред успостављен у јужној српској покрајини. На тај начин могу се извући упоредни закључци о томе да ли су се и у којој мери ставови ових земаља променили у периоду који је предмет разматрања. Међу документима су углавном поверљиви извештаји ових земаља упућени НАТО-у, у којима је кључна тема ситуација на Косову током 1981. и 1982. године. Поред њих, представљене су и дипломатске ноте (Француска), а постоје и обавештајно-безбедносни извештаји (извештај креиран у оквиру Генералног секретаријата за одбрану и националну безбедност Републике Француске). Један од циљева овог рада јесте да научној јавности у Србији представи оно што је мање познато о косовском питању – ставове неких земаља међу великим силама у периоду када косовско питање није било толико у фокусу међународне заједнице почев од 1981. године, када се догодила једна од кључних криза у историји косовског питања. Основни економски, друштвени и политички фактори који су довели до немира 1981. године били су присутни и 1982. године. Ово је један од закључака који произилазе из анализираних докумената у све три земље. Ове земље имале су заједнички став о томе како ће се СФРЈ носити са изазовима које је донела криза на Косову, и он је генерално оптимистичан (неке су оптимистичније, друге су нешто умерениje). За разлику од САД, које сматрају да је репресија довољна да се југословенске власти носе са немирима, Француска и Канада тврде да је потребно нешто променити у постојећој политици репресије када дође до немира, и, уз економску помоћ Косову, пронаћи нове методе за борбу СФРЈ против албанског сепаратизма.

Кључне речи: Косово, Косовска криза 1981, СФРЈ, САД, Француска, Канада.

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REVIEWS

Trevor Burnard, Emma Hart, and Marie Houllemare (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Seven Years' War*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2024, 784 pages.

The Oxford Handbook of the Seven Years' War is a recent addition to the renowned *Oxford Handbook* series, which covers a wide range of academic subjects. The volume is co-edited by late Trevor Burnard, who was a professor of history and the director of the Wilberforce Institute at the University of Hull; Emma Hart, professor of history and director of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania; and Marie Houllemare, professor of history at the University of Geneva.

The aim of this *Handbook* is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The interdisciplinary approach adopted by the contributors offers valuable insights in cultural and social shifts brought about by the conflict, alongside a traditional account of political and military history. Likewise, the inclusion of scholars from different regions and academic backgrounds provides a global perspective on the war. The *Handbook* consists of an introduction and thirty-eight essays, organized into five parts. In the introductory notes, the editors provide a concise overview of the war and survey modern interpretations of this conflict, with the aim of highlighting how this *Handbook* opens new lines of inquiry and considers the potential results that they might yield.

The first part of the *Handbook* (pp. 1–156), titled *Global War*, contains thematic essays that explore major aspects of warmaking. Stephen Conway's essay, "Armies," examines the professional land forces of the principal European belligerents. The author focuses on determining whether the war demonstrated more change or continuity in the military development and concludes that veterans of previous wars would be largely familiar with the armies of this conflict. Next essay, titled "Manpower," by Matthew Dziennik assesses the transformative nature of the war by analyzing changes in the methods states employed for meeting manpower needs. The author identifies three major trends: the expansion of previous recruiting methods, the use of previously untapped sources of manpower, and the implementation of new demographic policies. Émilie Dosquet's essay, "Warfare," analyzes the major operational aspects of a mid-18th-century war, namely: logistics, sieges, field battle tactics, petty warfare, and naval combat. Peter H. Wilson's "Resources" examines the mustering, utilization and nature of the resources needed for war, while "European Medicine and Foreign Diseases in a Global War" by Erica Charters highlights the profound effects of diseases on the military operations of this war. François-Joseph Ruggiu's essay, "Empires," analyzes the war's effects on the policies of France, Great Britain and Spain in relation to their American possessions. The essay "Maritime Warfare and the Expansion of British Seapower in the Seven Years' War" by Anna Brinkman provides an overview of naval warfare, addressing strategic considerations of Britain and France, their naval operations, commerce raiding, and the rights of neutral parties. Eliga Gould's essay, "The Peace of Paris," concludes this part of the *Handbook* by examining the consequences of the Treaty of Paris (1763).

The second part (pp. 157–264), titled *Europe*, focuses on the European theater of the Seven Years' War. Sven Externbrink's essay, "Europe and Global Dynamics, 1713–1755," provides an overview of international relations in Europe during the first half of the 18th century. The author outlines the European system based on the principle of balance of power and the challenges it faced. Externbrink concludes that, although considered a period of wars, the 18th century shows a trend of de-escalation. Everyday experiences of soldiers in the European theater are analyzed in Paul Vo-Ha's

"Going to War," while Adam L. Storring's essay "The Third Silesian War" surveys the historiography of this conflict, explores its place in the broader war, and assesses the use of battle tactics, geographic position and resources by the belligerents. Edmond Dziembowski's essay, "European Geopolitics, 1756–1783," examines the war's impact on the geopolitical landscape of Europe and a new system dominated by five powers: France, Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia. Leos Müller's essay, "Maritime Law and Neutrality in the Seven Years' War", analyzes differing discourses on international trade law and their influence on the development of the broader international law. Manuel Covo's essay, "The Economic and Financial Consequences of the Seven Years' War in Europe," explores the financial ramifications of the war across the continent, arguing that wartime expenditures eroded the financial foundations of the belligerent states.

The third part (pp. 265–396), titled *South Asia*, examines the Seven Years' War in the South Asian theater. Abhishek Kaicker' s essay, "The Mughal Empire," outlines the regional context of the war in India by providing a historical overview of the development of the empire that dominated large parts of the Indian subcontinent during the early modern period and its interactions with the Europeans. "The East India Companies and the Seven Years' War" by Danna Agmon and Philip J. Stern focuses on the trade companies and their perspectives on the war. The authors aim to challenge the traditional notion of companies as mere proxies of their governments. Kaushik Roy's essay, "War in South Asia," explores the military campaigns on the subcontinent, while Jonathan Eacott in "The Indian Ocean World" emphasizes the importance of local trade relations, power dynamics and conflicts of the Indian Ocean area on the broader war. "Aftermaths of War in South Asia" by Elizabeth Cross reconsiders the view of the war as the transformative event that led to uncontested British domination in India by examining its consequences. Vinita Damodaran's essay, "Climate, Environment, and Crisis in Eighteenth-Century India," considers the war through the lens of environmental history. Essay "French Careers in Eighteenth-Century India" by Seema Alavi explores the careers of the French individuals in service of local rulers and the British East Indian Company.

The fourth part (pp. 397–568), titled *Americas and Africa*, contains essays that deal with the Seven Years' War across the Atlantic. Paul Mapp's essay, "North America and the World, Late Seventeenth to Mid-Eighteenth Century," considers the question of the inevitability of European conquest of inland North America and highlights the importance of perspective on human actions. Mapp provides a brief overview of the situation and concludes that, while it wouldn't have been unreasonable to think that European settlement would remain confined to the Atlantic coast in earlier periods, the outlook for the natives became ever more grim as the 18th century progressed. In "North American Breakdown," Michael A. McDonnell assesses the period preceding the war from the perspective of Natives from the Great Lakes area. The author stresses that examination of the Native politics is crucial for understanding the causes of the war. A comprehensive overview of military operations across the Atlantic World is provided in Eric Hinderaker's "War in North America," Éric Schnakenbourg's "War in the Caribbean," Kristie Patricia Flannery's "The Seven Years' War in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires," and Pernille Røge's "The Seven Years' War in West Africa." Maria Alessandra Bollettino's essay, "Africans, Slavery, and the Slave Trade," explores the significance of the Seven Years' War for the people of African descent. History of Native resistance to British encroachments during and after the war is treated in Susan Sleeper-Smith's "Native America after 1763," while the status of French Canadians in the same period is analyzed in "French Canadian and British Attitudes toward Governance in Post-Conquest Quebec" by Nancy Christie. Edward G. Gray's essay "The American Revolution" concludes this part of the *Handbook* by examining the Seven Years' War's role in precipitating the American Revolution.

The final part of the *Handbook* (pp. 569–

710), titled *Global Themes and Dynamics*, contains thematic essays that explore the effects of the Seven Years' War on religion, culture, science, demographics, and gender roles. Douglas Fordham's essay, "Visual Arts and Culture," examines the war's impact on the visual culture. The author identifies four major developments: changes in depictions of martial scenes, the establishment of new cultural institutions, the emergence of new print products-particularly maps, that offered new geographic representations of war to wider audiences-and an increased interest in collections of Native American art. Fordham also stresses the importance of the war for the development of national schools of art. In "Luxury and Consumption," Robert S. DuPlessis examines the war's impact on the transformation of consumer culture in the North Atlantic area during the latter half of the 18th century. Assessment of the war's influence on scientific development is provided in Stéphane Van Damme's "Science and Technology during the Seven Years' War," while Mark Peterson's "Demography and the Seven Years' War" outlines wartime demographic conditions and changes, and analyzes emerging demographic thought. In "Women and Gender," Sara T. Damiano provides a gendered examination of Seven Years' War through six case studies, each focusing on a different area: Britain, West Africa, New England, the Great Lakes and the Ohio River Valley, Louisiana and Jamaica. Brian Young and Richard Whatmore's essay, "Religion and Politics in the Seven Years' War," assesses the religious and political discourses in postwar Britain. The final essay of this *Handbook*, Marian Füssel's "Commemoration and Memory," examines the culture of remembrance of the Seven Years' War, focusing on commemorations, historiography, and visual arts.

The Oxford Handbook of the Seven Years' War offers a holistic view of one of the great conflicts of the Early Modern period. Its geographic and thematic diversity make it a valuable contribution to the historiography of Seven Years' War and the 18th century. As such, it is particularly useful for scholars of the Early Modern period, as well as for history students, seeking a comprehensive account of the conflict.

Marko Krička
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Miloš Vojinović (ed.), *Visions of the Future: The Yugoslav Space 1914–1918. A Thematic Collection of Documents*, Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2024, 456 pages
(Miloš Vojinović (ur.), *Vizije budućnosti: Jugoslovenski prostor 1914–1918. Tematska zbirka dokumenata*, Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2024, 456 str. (Serbian Cyrillic)).

When historian Ferdo Šišić published his collection *Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914–1919* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1920), his aim was clear. By bringing together key available acts and official statements from this period, he sought to present to the domestic audience the process of forming the newly established Yugoslav state. His undertaking was of undeniable significance, not only in the discipline of history but also within the broader social and political landscape, where the struggle to shape dominant interpretations of the recent past was already underway. It is therefore telling that Šišić's collection, unintentionally, outlined the framework within which subsequent debates on this topic would unfold. Although, in his own words, he sought the selected documents to "provide readers with an objective picture, even if not perfect and complete," the intention to show "how and what the best sons of our nation did for its liberation and unification" reveals convictions that shaped his selection. After all, like the creators of the documents he collected, Šišić was among those "who, from 1914 to 1919, not only lived through our history but also created it" (*Dokumenti*, pp. i–ii). A native of Vinkovci, he served as a member of the ethnographic-geographic section of the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes at the Paris Peace Conference, where his attention was

primarily focused on the diplomatic struggle over the Adriatic. As a result of his stay in France, he produced another collection of acts and documents, *Jadransko pitanje na Konferenciji mira u Parizu* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1920), a complementary series to his *Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*. For the Yugoslav historian, compiling and publishing these volumes was not merely an academic endeavor; he also regarded it as his "patriotic duty" (*Jadransko pitanje*, p. 3). Such a perspective did not reflect a fleeting personal contradiction; rather, it embodied a prevailing norm that remained one of the principal drivers of uncertainty and ruptures in the historical interpretations of Yugoslavism and its issues. The self-proclaimed pursuit of objectivity, on the one hand, and a sense of duty—political, national, and even emotional—on the other, created a somber antinomy from which contemporaries of the Yugoslav state devoted to exploring its past could scarcely free themselves.

Throughout the 20th century, this pattern haunted attempts to publish primary historical sources related to the creation of Yugoslavia. Its manifestations varied. On the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War, historians Dragoslav Janković and Bogdan Krizman presented the collection *Građa o stvaranju jugoslovenske države (1. I – 20. XII 1918)* (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1964), in part to address the shortcomings of Šišić's compilation. In their assessment, it was characterized by "one-sidedness and a certain orientation," since it included "only what contributed to the creation of the Yugoslav state as a unified community of Yugoslav peoples as it would appear at the end of 1918." As a result, its character was more "manifestato-like and political" than "truly scholarly." Instead of following this approach, Janković and Krizman aimed to introduce a "new and more comprehensive collection of materials" that "also presented disagreements and struggles among the factors in the process of creating the Yugoslav state," intended to contribute to its "better, more rounded understanding" (*Građa*, p. 6). However, the same type of heuristic shortcomings permeated their efforts. Just as Šišić's collection represented an affirmation of the way the Yugoslav state was founded, Janković and Krizman's undertaking served as a means of legitimization of the Second Yugoslavia, interpreting 1918 as a flawed beginning to the joint life in the new state, which—by the very act of unification and through the actions of those who carried it out—was doomed to fail.

The pervasiveness of the present did not preclude advances in scholarship. Even a cursory glance at the unfolding evolution of Yugoslav historiography reveals a notable progression in both efforts and scholarly undertakings aimed at grasping the meaning of the events from 1914 to 1918, as well as the developments that led up to them. This trajectory reached its high point during the 1970s and 1980s, most notably in the works of Milorad Ekmečić, Đorđe Stanković, and Andrej Mitrović. Yet even their efforts remained confined to the limited horizon of expectations. An appreciation of this fact forms the basis for the publication of a new anthology of sources entitled *Vizije budućnosti: Jugoslovenski prostor 1914–1918. Tematska zbirka dokumenata*. As emphasized by its editor, Miloš Vojinović, research associate at the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, for Yugoslav historiography the act of unification of the South Slavs into a single state constituted the vantage point for observing the past. The year 1918 was regarded as *annus mirabilis*, a year of birth, which irrevocably brought together the destinies of the Yugoslav peoples. This outlook is correctly attributed by Vojinović not only to Šišić, Janković, and Krizman, but also to other authors who collected and compiled records on the creation of Yugoslavia. Even when accounts reflecting different conceptions of the state's internal structure were published, particularly concerning the conflicts between unitarist and federalist currents, the underlying perspective remained unchanged—reconstructing the past teleologically, with December 1, 1918, as the point of departure.

In *Vizije budućnosti*, Vojinović seeks to adopt a different method. As he remarks in his introductory study, the collection is based on "a more inclusive approach" to the source materials

(p. 19). The intention was "to gather in one place the viewpoints of all relevant historical actors who operated within the Yugoslav space, regardless of which side they fought on or whether they supported Yugoslavia or not" (p. 24). As a result, the anthology brings together a wide range of documents. These include well-known texts such as the Niš and Corfu Declarations, as well as competing visions put forward by a myriad of actors, including Živojin Perić's plan to unite Serbian territories into a single federal state under Austria-Hungary, Ivo Pilar's concept for redefining Croatian national unity based on the preservation of the Habsburg state and the liquidation of the policy of Croatian-Serbian cooperation, the Serbian Social Democrats' proposal for a union between Serbs and Bulgarians, an initiative to establish a territorial corridor between the future Czechoslovak and Yugoslav states, and a poem about a pan-Slavic republic, written by an anonymous author and posted on a public notice board in one of Zagreb's parks. Among the selected records—which include official memoranda, proclamations, diary entries, memoirs, manifestos, parliamentary speeches, reports and more—the reader can encounter conflicting interpretations of the political events during the war, differing visions of the internal organization of a prospective joint state, alternative approaches to agrarian and other social issues, perspectives of the South Slavic diaspora and intentions of non-Yugoslav peoples. By giving voice to a wide range of actors, Vojinović seeks to counteract the dangers of a tunnel vision in which individuals are considered solely on their own, without regard for their opponents and conflicting viewpoints. As he states, "in doing so, it is possible to better understand not only what they wanted, but also what their plans prevented" (p. 49). This underscores the core purpose of the anthology: "an attempt to transport readers into the world of (the Great War) contemporaries, to uncover their mental inventory, the goals they pursued, the categories in which they thought, as well as the invisible mechanisms that shaped their planning for the future" (p. 48).

Behind this principle lies a clear intervention in the way we think about the course of the events during the First World War in the lands that would become part of the Yugoslav state. Vojinović rightfully points out that his aim was not to provide a comprehensive revision of the historiographical production on this topic. Nonetheless, his carefully crafted reflections merit further commentary. The core component of his argument is that to fully understand how Yugoslav unification occurred, one must recognize the openness of historical developments, seeing the final outcome not as the only point of departure, but as one of several possibilities. This is undoubtedly true. Vojinović briefly considers the potential of counterfactual history as a tool for achieving this goal, though it appears—justifiably—that he himself remains unconvinced of the usefulness of this method. More importantly, he cautions against reducing historical experience to a single, linear path, urging instead a thoughtful consideration of imagined possibilities that never came to pass. Such an understanding of the contingency of the past opens up space for deepening historiographical analysis, encompassing both the structures at play and the individuals who acted within them.

This approach raises an important issue. Vojinović's critique of earlier efforts to publish historical sources on the creation of Yugoslavia rests on the premise that historians are inseparable from their own era and its political and ideological assumptions. As he himself noted in an insightful centennial essay on Habsburg and Yugoslav historiography, throughout the century after the collapse of the former and the emergence of the latter state in 1918, they were inherently presentist. Yet, this perspective calls for a more nuanced delineation of contemporary historians' efforts to grasp the significance of these events. Vojinović touches on this issue only in passing, noting that scholars today remain in much the same position as their predecessors. The fact that, in light of his contribution, this constitutes a rather modest treatment is clearly illustrated by one of the first responses to *Vizije budućnosti*, which closes with a lament over the very occurrence of the creation of the Kingdom of

Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This hardly represents the intended outcome of Vojinović's deliberate and measured efforts to "direct attention to the future, as it was seen by historical actors in the past, thereby opening up space for new and important questions" (p. 25).

Still, the matter presents an opportunity to further examine the problems of contemporary interpretations of the unification of South Slavs. Following Vojinović's contention that the year 1918 was regarded as *annus mirabilis* in Yugoslav historiography, one might argue that today, this stance has been effectively reversed. In fact, prevailing accounts of the Yugoslav state in Serbian scholarship could be viewed through the lens of *annus horribilis*, a year of disasters. In contrast to the singularity of *annus mirabilis*, the notion of *annus horribilis* unfolds within a polarity. It contains both 1918 and 1991. From the outlook of 1918, it illustrates the mistakes and failures that led to the unification of the Yugoslav state, with catastrophic consequences; from the outlook of 1991, it portrays the blunders and calamities that caused and followed its disintegration. In both instances, the antinomy Šišić ran into seemingly endures. Yet, epistemological conditions of current ways of articulating the past have been transformed. Vojinović's use of the concept of presentism in the above-mentioned essay can be examined to reveal the changed circumstances. He follows François Hartog's idea that the term should be understood as "the sense that only the present exists, a present characterized at once by the tyranny of an instant and by the treadmill of an unending now" (*Regimes of Historicity. Presentism and Experiences of Time*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2015, p. xv). But this absence of the future, woven into our regime of historicity, is a distinct feature of the contemporary neoliberal order. As the French scholar notes, "there is something specific about our present" (Ibid., p. xviii). Historians living and working throughout the existence of the Yugoslav state were firmly anchored in a different regime of historicity and the assumptions it imposed on their scientific models. At the current conjuncture, however, as Hartog observes, "the crisis of the future unsettled our idea of progress and produced a sense of foreboding that cast a shadow over our present" (Ibid., p. 196). The past could not escape this shadow—it has obediently surrendered to the reign of a futureless present. Amidst such circumstances, one might turn to the scholar who first articulated a comprehensive understanding of this profound cultural transformation and its connection to broader social development. As American literary critic Frederic Jameson points out: "There is nothing that is not social and historical—indeed, everything is 'in the last analysis' political" (*The Political Unconscious. Narrative As a Socially Symbolic Act*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981, p. 20). This is the vantage point from which scholars ought to orient themselves in order to advance their understanding of Yugoslavia's history. In doing so, they should tread carefully with texts capable of seamlessly reaching across time to persuade their readers. Many in *Vizije budućnosti* are precisely of that nature.

Vukašin Marić

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Biljana Vučetić, *In the Name of Humanity. The American Red Cross in Serbia, 1914–1920 –1922*, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2023, 258 pages.
(Biljana Vučetić, *U ime humanosti. Američki Crveni krst u Srbiji, 1914–1920–1922*, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2023, 258 str. (Serbian Cyrillic)).

Over the past few decades, the history of international relations has undergone a notable transformation. In response to calls for the "internationalization" of international history, scholars have gradually moved beyond the confines of methodological nationalism, which had long served as the dominant analytical framework in the field. Rather than maintaining a somewhat narrow focus on inter-state diplomacy, the so-called "transnational turn" in historiography has advocated for an expanded scope of inquiry that encompasses a broader array

of actors and processes operating across national boundaries. This reorientation has drawn historians' attention to the role of various non-state participants in international affairs, including multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, global movements, and networks of individuals. It sought to examine their activities not only through the traditional concerns of high diplomacy, such as war and peace, economic relations, state borders, and security, but also by engaging with a range of issues directly or indirectly related to international relations, including food, health, migration, and demography.

This framework did not aim to marginalize the role of state actors. Rather, its purpose was to situate them within the broader network of international forces and analyze how the complex interactions between state and non-state entities shaped the historical development of international relations. Reflecting this shift, monograph *U ime humanosti. Američki Crveni krst u Srbiji, 1914–1920–1922*, authored by Biljana Vučetić, principal research fellow at the Institute of History in Belgrade, offers a compelling contribution to the field. Building on prior research on this subject, most notably conducted by earlier generations of historians such as Dragoljub Živojinović and Ubavka Ostojić-Fejić, Vučetić's book opens new perspectives and advances our understanding of the history of American-Serbian relations. Emphasizing that "the humanitarian aspect can contribute to a different understanding of the relations between the two countries," during and immediately after the First World War (p. 7), the author centers her narrative on the activities of the American Red Cross (ARC) in Serbia. Through this focus, she seeks to provide readers with "an engaging and valuable perspective on international relations" by introducing new actors whose role encompasses both social and political dimensions (p. 7).

The ARC was founded in 1881 as a private humanitarian organization and operated as a subsection of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). However, Vučetić does not frame the ARC's activities through the lens of its participation in the international humanitarian structures. Instead, she seeks to situate its undertakings within the broader context of American foreign policy objectives during the First World War. A significant influence shaping this perspective is the research of American historian Julia F. Irwin, whom the author highlights as the "alpha and omega" of current scholarship on the ARC (p. 8). Comprehensively elaborated in her book *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Irwin portrays the international role of the ARC as a complex instrument that simultaneously reflected and advanced American political and ideological expansion in the early 20th century. The ARC was uniquely positioned for such a role, she argues. While one of its responsibilities, aligned with the ICRC's mission, was to provide neutral wartime assistance to soldiers, its mandate was eventually expanded to include aid to civilians affected by natural disasters and episodes of political and social upheaval, both within the U.S. and abroad. Moreover, although the ARC began as a privately funded institution, it gradually evolved into a quasi-official arm of the U.S. government, maintaining close personal and financial ties to both the White House and the U.S. Department of State. As a result, the ARC played an important part in American foreign policy during the First World War by promoting stability, enhancing the nation's international image, and facilitating the dissemination of American values.

The understanding of the ARC as both a reflection and a tool of the U.S. foreign policy informs Vučetić's own approach. As she argues, "American humanitarian activities were never completely altruistic, neutral, or apolitical; rather, humanitarian aid was part of a diplomatic and military agenda" (p. 17). Accordingly, she maintains it could be argued that "the ultimate goal of the ARC's humanitarians was to ensure economic, and consequently social, stability" (p. 64). Nonetheless, Vučetić's detailed reconstruction of the ARC's work in Serbia during the war and early postwar years places less emphasis on the organization's intertwining with the political interests of the American state and instead highlights its practical work on the ground. She

explores the numerous challenges and complexities encountered by the ARC's humanitarian efforts in war-ravaged Serbia, beginning with the deployment of the initial medical units in the autumn of 1914 and continuing with the Sanitary Commission's critical intervention in 1915 to combat the devastating typhus epidemic. The account then turns to the ARC's operations in northern Serbia under Austro-Hungarian occupation, culminating in the organization's forced withdrawal from the occupied territories at the beginning of 1917 and its subsequent relocation to Thessaloniki, where a newly formed unit dedicated to agricultural improvement projects soon joined the mission.

The signing of the Armistice shifted the focus of the ARC's activities in Europe from mostly military-related relief to assisting the civilian population. As Vučetić observes, its efforts to alleviate the social challenges confronting the war-torn continent were closely aligned with the official aims of the American administration, particularly within the context of the looming Bolshevik threat (p. 61). During the autumn of 1918, with the ARC's operations in Serbia reorganized within the newly established Balkan Commission, the scope of their activities expanded. Although medical care remained the cornerstone of its mission, the ARC's Commission to Serbia broadened its efforts to include a diverse array of initiatives that touched the lives of countless individuals, ranging from the provision of essential supplies and services and the implementation of comprehensive educational programs to the establishment of sewing workshops and the dedicated care of war orphans. These activities were carried out in an atmosphere of latent political tensions among the Balkan states, which further complicated the already fragile transport routes and distribution infrastructure. Some of the difficulties were caused by events far beyond Serbia's borders, such as the arrival of large numbers of refugees following the disintegration of the Tsarist armies during the Russian Civil War. Additionally, the presence of multiple humanitarian missions operating simultaneously added another layer of complexity, as the Commission for Serbia sought to give practical form to a unified and coherent relief effort. Following the formal cessation of the Commission's activities in September 1920, the ARC maintained a presence in Serbia for two more years through the Serbian Child Welfare Association, which it continued to support financially. Through this organization, the ARC sustained its commitment to reform efforts in the areas of healthcare, education, and child welfare in Serbia well beyond the formal conclusion of the First World War.

As *U ime humanosti* predominantly centers on the ARC's humanitarian work in Serbia at the grassroots level, shaped and often complicated by its interactions with local authorities and communities, Vučetić offers a rich and nuanced account of the organization's field operations and the challenges it encountered. Her detailed portrayal also provides valuable insights into the lives of numerous individuals who played key roles in these efforts, as well as their accounts of a Serbian state devastated by the wartime collapse of its economic, educational, and healthcare systems. Consequently, tracing the evolving trajectory of the ARC's engagement in Serbia, from the initial military relief missions in 1914 to the postwar initiatives aimed at implementing various social reform programs, subtly reinforces the underlying premise that American humanitarian aid during this period was far from a purely altruistic endeavor or marginal to the overarching objectives of the U.S. Rather, it served as a strategic instrument that merged humanitarian concerns and genuine efforts to alleviate suffering and rebuild affected societies with broader political and economic interests. One such example is Balkan Commissioner Lieutenant Colonel Henry Anderson's proposal to partner with Serbian state institutions in creating an educational system for war orphans, with selected students subsequently advancing to American universities and being groomed to assume prominent roles within their nation's entrepreneurial elite (p. 109). Yet few representatives of the ARC in Serbia explicitly articulated this convergence of humanitarian and strategic aims. It could be argued that this stemmed less from deliberate avoidance of the

topic than from a limited awareness among the ARC's personnel regarding their role within the broader contours of American foreign policy, an awareness that, even when present, was often obscured by the practical demands and moral imperatives of their humanitarian work. In either case, it is evident that the strategic dimensions of their activities were not absent, but rather implicitly embedded in the structure and logic of their missions, shaped by the progressive-era ideals of the time, and therefore did not require explicit articulation or conscious pursuit. Still, this in no way detracts from the book's central thesis or its thorough and insightful reconstruction of the key developments in the ARC's humanitarian work in Serbia during the First World War. Taken together, these qualities make Biljana Vučetić's work a significant and valuable contribution both to the historiography of American-Serbian relations and the field of international history.

Vukašin Marić
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Books:
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Stahl, M. and Walter, U. 'Athens', in: K. A. Raaflaub and H. v. Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Malden (Mass.)/London: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 138–181.

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