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SERBS IN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

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• **Serbs
in European
Civilization**

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PREFACE

A design to publish such a book as *Serbs in European Civilization* was outlined in the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts long before the topic has gained its political up-to-dateness. That is the reason why it is neither for one-time use nor is it a result of day-to-day politics. It is rather an attempt to look into the contribution of Serbs to European civilization from various angles and through the achievements of several scientific disciplines.

It was Radovan Samardžić, member of the Academy, who first initiated the idea of a symposium devoted to the subject contained in the book's title. During the 1989 Himmelsthür Symposium, at the seat of the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy for Western Europe, it was settled that the next conference should deal with such topic. The events in our country, however, made these plans impossible. Instead, in concert with City Library of Belgrade, our Institute brought forth a cycle of lectures under the same title which, slightly changed, make up contents of this book. These lectures were presented from January to April 1992, and, the reader may well see it, by the best scholars and greatest names of our science. Bringing them out in Serbian and English languages, the publishers have had a wish to make precious evidence accessible to both domestic and foreign public.

The Serbian contribution to European civilization having been rich and many-sided, could not be encompassed within one cycle of lectures alone. Thus, the Institute for Balkan Studies and the City Library of Belgrade were compelled to select only one segment out of an ample scientific, cultural and political role that Serbs have played in the creation of European culture. It covers certain parts of history, history of arts, language and literature, philosophy, folk culture and law. Another cycle of lectures, planned by the two institutions, is to present the work of Serbian scientists for whose discoveries and insights the European and the world civilization is highly indebted. Among them are Nikola Tesla and Mihailo Pupin, Mika Petrović Alas and Milutin Milanković, Jovan Cvijić, and many others.

The greatest space in the book, almost as an introduction, is dedicated to the historical position of the Serbian people within wider European framework: from the article of Radovan Samardžić, who follows a continuous rising of aristocratic vertical throughout Serbian history, and through the texts of Miloš Blagojević, Dragoljub Dragojlović, Slavko Gavrilović, to Veselin Djuretić, who deals with the impact of 20th-century political ideologies upon the present conditions of Serbian ethnic entity.

Two-way current of influence – from the Serbian art towards the European one, and vice versa – is featured by four leading historians of art. Vojislav J. Djurić and Vojislav Korać deal with Serbian mediaeval art and Europe, i.e. the relations between Byzantium and the West; Dinko Davidov depicts the revival of the Serbian 18th-century art, while Miodrag B. Protić enters upon the problems of our contemporary art through a dichotomy of the ethic and aesthetic.

Linguistic and literary questions in the book are treated by Irena Gricikat-Radulović, Miroslav Pantić and Predrag Palavestra. In respect to their importance each of these topics deserves a separate book.

Finally, there are three texts covering the realms of philosophy (Andrija Stojković), folk culture (Dragoslav Antonijević), and law (Djurica Krstić). They reveal a linkage of Serbian cultural and scientific heritage with the formation of European civilization and point to wide possibilities of further investigation.

The book is here, in front of the reader, domestic and foreign. How it will be accepted: whether with joy, inclination or suspicion, it is left to individual stand. The pleasure is of all those who have worked upon it, from authors, through the Institute for Balkan Studies and the City Library of Belgrade, to NOVA – the executive publisher and sponsor.

ARISTOCRATIC VERTICAL IN SERBIAN HISTORY

Instead of stating a claim, perhaps this text should begin with a question: Are there collective illusions in a history of long standing which can, in turn, affect social behavior? Or, are such illusions, basically, the result of certain social preconditions? Perhaps it would be most appropriate to explain an ongoing phenomenon with the interaction of social institutions and social consciousness. This is the most difficult, but also the safest way to arrive at certain facts, even though it does not have to result in psychologically the most subtle solutions.

The Serbian legend has created a belief that the cream of the nobility, led by its martyr-prince, was wiped out in the Battle of Kosovo (1389). This belief, additionally, at times edged over into a common conviction that Serbian chivalry, formed in the Nemanjić epoch, was wiped out completely in the battle. Even so, despite such prevailing conviction, the Serbs did not hesitate to determine their historical destiny by raising a vertical in an unending effort of individuals and groups to achieve a noble position and prestige. The deaths of the best continued to mark Serbian history, from time to time. This happened at times (not infrequent) when one conquerer or another discovered that it would be useful to deprive the Serbs of their leading men, or even destroy entire settlements. (These events did not anticipate genocide, they were genocide, carried out in conformity with the character and political beliefs of a certain period.) The nation's development was necessarily checked, particularly in the regions where such crimes were committed, where there was mass extermination or deprivation of leaders. Such shocks spread despondence afar, reverberating in circles. By defying it all, the Serbs did not allow themselves to fall rock bottom, instead they would raise their heads once more, and search the Balkans, the vast Pannonian plain and the ruined towns to find their roots again or at least a branch that would yield noble shoots, for themselves and their descendants. There was barely an environment where the aristocratic vertical did not rise, again

and again. This has lasted until recently, when the destiny of the Serbs fell into the hands of others.

If the pre-Romantic and Romantic conviction that the spirit and character of European nations were instituted in the Middle Ages is at least partly true, then one must find in the Nemanjić epoch the roots of the Serbs' subsequent sense of aristocratic improvement of the society and of its internal provisions underlying such endeavors. Afterwards, this occurrence may have been accommodated to new conditions and then reflected in the altered circumstances. In this lay its spiritual quintessence and internal strength.

Legend says that the Serbs called down a curse upon the aristocracy for instigating the fall of the Nemanjić's empire with their mutual quarrels, but this shows exactly that they considered the state, which fell apart, to be their own with what was deepest in their collective being. May one presume that neither in latter-day history nor in the medieval times the Serbs experienced class indifference, even aversion towards their state, which was characteristic of Western nations (in the first place because the latter had the highest estates leading the state, mainly as its owners, representing its interests and ideology)?

Like in the Biblical legends, the Nemanjić family, which issued forth rulers and leaders of the Serbian Church, was declared saintly while still alive and branching, and its cult remained in the foundations of Serbian Orthodoxy and a vital part of the historical heritage that subsequently determined the nation's destiny. Reducing history to a simplified pattern may mean taking over its essence for some subsequent use. In this case, too, differing from other countries, even from the Byzantine Empire, the Serbian State and Church worked in mutual harmony, or, such an impression is left, like a seal, in ancient national history. From the times of Stefan Nemanja, the father of the dynasty, monastic life offered the Serbian rulers, their closest relatives and the nobility a way towards a truly meaningful life, following the vain glory and splendor of earthly life, and it served as a basis for universal spirituality and public expression. Monastic life represented a strong and unbreakable link between everything that existed on both sides, the Church and the State, and also rendered a spiritual content and meaning to the most important secular matters. The rulers and their nobility sinned because of earthly interests and fleshly joys, but as a rule, they redeemed themselves by erecting endowments, by bounteously gifting the Church, by supporting it wholeheartedly, and finally, if fate did not thwart them, by ascetically approaching the declining years of life. This was the social compromise in which both sides benefited, and public morale remained protected by many God-pleasing deeds which both sides valued greatly. The regional lords and the nobility, various prominent secular and clerical figures, and also the men of affairs in the towns, an ever wider circle of subjects to the holy rulers of Serbia, did what the latter did: they made their chief and most devout obligation the investment in monasteries, churches and other donations that would stand as evidence of their loyalty to the Serbian land and Orthodoxy. As time passed, the state of the Nemanjić dynasty lit up, from within, with an ever clearer light of the many shrines continually being erected all over the land, in towns and villages alike, in courts or by them, especially in the countryside, where the landscape fitted in with the Serbs' visage of their homeland. Until recently, the image of medieval Serbia and ancient Serbian spirituality was judged by the rarely preserved monuments and documents. Although studies were made of only some of the registers of the Serbian lands and people made by the Turks immediately after their invasion – and there is no list including all the traces of the churches destroyed or devastated throughout the centuries – the image of the Nemanjić state approaches,

as time passes, its once true appearance (a phenomenon characteristic of the nations and their respective histories, more often hit hard by the destiny than spurred on to the path of development). In fact, we have come only a step closer to the image of St Sava's Serbia, a country permeated with one of the richest medieval civilizations, created in order that the image of this world be shaped as next to the Kingdom of Heaven. The complementarity of the State and Church, in spirit and interest, appears to have left little room for discontent among the lower classes. Although rarely preserved, informations of class divisions show that this phenomenon made no deep imprint on the daily life of the old Serbian society, as it did in other European countries. On the contrary, the society was sufficiently heterogeneous and movable, with the possibility of choosing various occupations, and it inhabited regions that generally offered abundance. Individuals, groups with special status, especially experienced soldiers, had contact with the nobility and a gradual access into its ranks (by merit). The certain proximity of the nobility and the people was undoubtedly based on the fact that the former, when taking lands and new positions, were always accompanied by their tribesmen. The resistance they offered to the Turks and their death in the battles of Maritza River (1371) and the field of Kosovo (1389), as well as in other clashes, dimmed the feeling of class antagonism among the people and strengthened its aspiration for further striving towards the acquisition of noble attributes and positions. Inconceivable is the number of families and houses in Serbia who identified, through subsequently created traditions, their progenitor with some of the heroes of Kosovo. The images of holy warriors on the walls of churches, along with the remembrance of their role as pious founders, are the reason why the class of the nobles was retained in the consciousness of the heirs of the Nemanjić epoch as evidence and a component of its overall splendor and the glory of former Serbia, not only of its mundane power but also of the spirituality of St. Sava's.

The survivors of the Turkish conquests remained proud of their state, among other things, because of the law that administered it and ordained the place of every subject prescribing the rules of conduct according to one's social position and role. Surrounded on all sides with threats, and filled with fear, a medieval man felt safest as being part of a certain milieu and bound to it. Legal regulations and customary law left him no doubt as to what he was allowed and should do, filling him with tranquility and confidence of an at least partly protected social individual. Medieval Serbian legislation, which was established by the Church or by the will of the national lords, and was founded on the Roman, Byzantine and customary laws, developed in accordance with the growth and maturing of the State, finally consolidating the people's conviction of being provided for within the framework of a superior and reliable imperial law. In addition to this, medieval Serbian legislation was initially based upon and finally rounded off by the combination of monastic rules and state legal norms, thus guaranteeing in itself for the sanctity of both the prescribed order and the dynasty that watched over its people: those who yielded to that order did only what was ordained by God and dear to God. The considerable corpus of laws and other legal norms that originated in the Nemanjić epoch, were applied and eagerly copied in subsequent periods as well; or, else, the social regulations and norms of conduct of groups and individuals, retained, as part of tradition, their most important rules, reduced to their most general essence. (This has persisted with the Serbs, to their advantage and satisfaction, until the predominance of modern European legislation; in the Principality of Serbia, for instance, till the Civil Code of Jovan Hadžić, 1845.) Moreover, the legal order in the Nemanjić state left a lasting knowledge of what one's aspiration in life should be: the noble traits marking the progress not only of the individual, but of the community as well, and which are pleasing to

God and in accord with the historical determination of the Serbs to choose His Kingdom.

The reign of Prince Lazar and the Battle of Kosovo confirmed the conviction of the Serbs that they had left buried in the past their fortune, greatness and glory, their most prominent men of noble birth and immeasurable courage in Christ. By referring to the heroes of Kosovo as the martyrs of Kosovo, they preserved everlasting memory of the Nemanjić epoch as a grand age that, after willing deaths, must be renewed. Although the epic tradition might lead to the conclusion that the people itself was leaving that renewal for some later times (as, after martyrdom and death, the day of resurrection indeed comes), the establishment of the Despotate of Serbia, which lived long (until 1537), meant the egression onto the historical scene of a younger generation of military nobility and other high classes. Actually, owing to great perturbations in Serbia, due to the death of Tzar Dušan in 1355 – when, at Kosovo, according to Vuk Karadžić, the entire history of Serbia broke in two – the flow of history was reestablished, and may be considered continual despite the internal turmoil and many sufferings of the people. From then on, all the phenomena should be viewed in their historical development, in keeping with the shaping of a common mentality of the Serbian people in alien states.

While the northern regions of Serbia and the Danube Basin were ruled by despots, from Stefan Lazarević to Pavle Bakić, battles against the Turks (or Serbs fighting on the side of the Turks), were almost incessant. Although the State was drawing to its end, it was restored, and with it the institution of the court, feudal privileges and estates, an economy that even developed in places far from Turkish onslaught, all of which, together with a greater number of warriors, nourished the surviving nobility, giving impetus to the birth of a fresh chivalrous class. The process grew into the national history, and, maintaining the memory of the glorious past, affected an early self-consciousness of the masses. This occurred especially due to the fact that the nobility, both old and new, lived closer to the people: fighting battles together, sharing good and bad, the spoils and damages, listening to the same songs of concerted feats, moving together in quest for safer land, and subsequently, for more benevolent master, and finally, the nobility designating among the people those chosen to enter the chivalrous order. To remain upstraight, the aristocratic vertical of Serbs was supported more diligently by the people as a whole, with their warrior vocation, personal efforts, the creation of epic tradition and the respect for the life of every individual. Along with the moving of the state center northward, the Serbian Orthodox Church also marked its presence there, even though it was reaching far back into the past. The despots, nobility, and subsequently, national leaders, erected monasteries as far as the eye could reach, as far as the Serbian settlements reached, and from them the inherited cults of the holy Nemanjić dynasty, the martyr of Kosovo Prince Lazar, and the holy warriors for faith, kept radiating and issuing forth fresh offspring. The chivalrous society persisted, being renewed or decimated when exposed to enemies on all sides; it was decaying in an alien environment and reemerged again in the spirit of the heritage which bound most resistantly into a whole the new and old. In times of war and other pernicious moments when Serbian knights perished to the last or fell to eternal bondage, the people sank into despair, feeling alone and beheaded among various alien lords, exposed to destruction whatever they did or wherever they went; believing that, with the nobility and warriors all perished, its own history died as well. Many thus disappeared forever. However, a war-like nation, in that role necessary to itself and the others, came back to life, often showing signs of unexpected vitality. At some points, it seemed that even after a total breakdown, Serbs largely emerged to the surface where one would assume they were horribly thinned out, led not only by their

leaders, the popular nobility, but – at least twice – by self-proclaimed emperors. This took place in Pannonia, on a bloody battlefield between the Turks and Hungarians. The oldest noble houses had already been dead or faded away being related by marriage with the heterodox and foreigners, when, during the Austro-Turkish war – in which Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia interfered – Serbian masses in Banat emerged anew, rising in 1594 one of the greatest revolts in the history of the nation, discovering among themselves new *voivodes*, princes and outlaw chiefs. During the war, known as the Long War, they led their tribesmen and other warriors assembled, moved together from one state to another, fought battles together, made raids into the Turkey for plunder, won the heroic epithet *Delji* alongside their names, and, instead of the surname, often just one word – *Ratz*, meaning Serb. At courts they were received as distinguished national leaders who earned the right to privileges, wages, estates, their own men and higher titles (although this was not enough to protect them from the ill will of some rulers).

The war which ended in 1606, though troubles persisted, scattered the Serbian mass of Pannonia, leaving many in the abyss of oblivion and death; however, they finally became aware of the need to stay together, at least in groups, either as businessmen in cities, or as warriors, called *junaci* (heroes) at borders, with their leaders to represent them, providing a shield with their reputation and serving as a model to all. This gradual rise of a homeless nation, striving to settle down somewhere, had its deep roots and spiritual encouragement in the uninterrupted historical memory and the sustaining of its own cults, whereas the rising of the aristocratic vertical with the rise of individuals and their families, was inherent to that phenomenon: the pride of the Serbs in the Nemanjić dynasty and its nobility, in those who marked their country with the endowments, the spirit of St Sava and provident laws, continued to be the fundament of their self-consciousness and the assurance of their survival. Until more recent times, the Serbs lived through each day, even the hardest one, dragging behind, along with passing anxieties, their history to light up the way, to provide strength for resistance or, perhaps, to leave them to illusions. Serbs more often died for their chief than they complained about him. There was the least of class envy in them (when things went the other way, hard luck became their historical predestination).

Continuously connected, owing to the migratory trends, with their countrymen south of the great rivers, the Serbs survived courageously, and almost throughout the entire century, in Pannonia, on Turkish and Christian soil, whether as *junaci* in camps and forts, or as merchants and craftsmen beneath fortified towns, where, on the waters, lay their boats afloat; whereas others, with their livestock, loads of goods or vessels filled with salt, joined the lands between which, as far as they were concerned, no boundaries existed. With the opening of a new historical scene, in a war that began in 1683, individuals capable of leading the people on to a better future, despite the most arduous trials, emerged from this milieu.

In regions south of the Sava and Danube rivers, finally seized by the Turks by 1459, i.e. 1463, from the very establishment of their regime, the conditions were created for maintaining, and then rooting deeply, a layer of the Serbian nobility closer to the people by its descent and mode of living than the medieval chivalrous class, thus wielding, through its position, more influence on its historical orientation and daily conduct. Until the Turkish breakthrough into the Danube Basin, between 1521 and 1541, northern Serbia was the military border, and its population was under the obligation to join the army, chiefly in reinforcement units, and defend the border. Part of the surviving Serbian nobility – not only those in villages, which had by then become the part of the popular milieu, but those of higher status as well – was received into the *sipahi* order of the sul-

tan's privileged cavalry. They became landholders, as the Turks did, and waged wars with their own men, assuring safety in times of peace in their domains. Along with the sipahi order, but on a broader basis, the Turkish administration set up a layer of leaders (*knez*), having authority at first over their respective villages, then over smaller regions. The people inhabiting the territory of a *knez* were relieved of a larger part of the feudal taxes. The only obligatory tax was the annual *filur* (ducat) to the sultan, paid by the house. But there was a collective responsibility for carrying out various tasks for the Turkish army and internal government. The *knezes* led and represented the people of a certain territory, and the Turkish authorities implemented their decisions through them both in war and peace. Under their leadership, the people, according to their own rules (inherent in a patriarchal society), were largely free to decide on the modes of life and internal relations. Established at an early date, the self-government of a *knez*' domain fitted into the administrative system of Turkey, but increasingly provided a basis for the demographic and spiritual survival of the Serbs in the centuries to come.

The Serbian people, whatever region it inhabited, did not disclaim the *sipahis* and *knezes*, despite their keeping it in alien service. Having lost their state, they needed some mutual feeling of not being entirely abandoned, of being offered certain safety, with one of their men leading and caring for them. Finding support in their new leaders, they found support in themselves. More so as some of the leaders, in particular those who had large clans, got hold of considerable property, even erected palaces, engaged servants, a suite and a standing company of knights, keeping the Turks at a safe distance so as to avoid deceitful destruction. The circle expanded with those referred to by the people as *noblemen* or *landlords*, who, though deprived of special privileges, but by vocation and way of life close to the common folk, gradually and unnoticeably formed a layer of families of particular dignity and influence. An asset to the high reputation of the chieftains was, no doubt, the fact that many popular leaders became hereditary bearers of their titles, whether by recognition from the people, or by the sultan's *berat*. Instead of their own, a foreign emperor came, the sultan's *divan* in Istanbul became the court of the highest appeal, wars were waged, often, for greatness and glory of others. There was some will somewhere which could turn the peaceful daily life into calamity, yet the people remained all the more mutually linked: everyone could take part in the destiny of everyone else and live, finally, in the same spiritual world. The authority of the popular chiefs was particularly prominent during the migrations, first onto Hungarian, and then, Austrian, soil. Deciding to change their master so as not to serve the Turks any longer, those chiefs frequently took with them their tribesmen. They negotiated their position – which could not be lower than the one they had in Turkey – with representatives of the new authorities but also the privileged status for their people, who remained frontiersmen under arms.

The people went by their chiefs because they were aware of their mimicry, moral sacrifice, and, above all, the benefit from their reputation and the perilous task they executed. During the several centuries of their dominion, the Turks used to behead the *knezes* for disorder, both individually, or, after summoning them, by the dozen, according to some list they drew up. The reasons for such genocide (the way for which was being paved) lay in the application of the law of collective responsibility – whereby the retribution of the authorities inflicted upon the most responsible – but also in the intent of the Turkish masters to keep the population beheaded. Regardless, the *sipahis*, *voivodes*, captains, *sirdars*, and largely, the *knezes*, whatever land they inhabited – in Turkey, Hungary, Austria, or, even the Republic of Venice – strove to emulate, at least in some respects, the former Serbian gentry as they were remembered: they erected, for

their own sake, new shrines, gave money for the reparation and painting of old churches, donated to monasteries and churches books and holy vessels, left in their last wills gifts to ancient Serbian monasteries and other endowments. Many inscriptions testifying to that are preserved and occasional portraits of the founders on the church walls. They went on pilgrimage, bought off slaves, offered food to the poor when there was famine, and performed other pious acts; at times, they kept a monk nearby, a scribe, a craftsman, and a boy messenger.

With few exceptions, Turkey annulled the order of those *sipahis* who retained the Christian faith, but the name persisted among the people, designating men of high repute, noble birth (in truth or, more often, basing upon tradition) or prominent positions. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the title was borne by the first among the tribal chiefs of Montenegro, who were, in regular times, subordinate to him. Finding that in their milieu lived a large number of noble families, the Serbs were proud of them and granted them various honorary titles, among others – *sipahis*. Information exists that the Patriarchate of Peć assembled precisely this popular nobility, to be of assistance to it. The patriarch himself appeared in public surrounded by young men from houses of standing, as his suite, to bear the church banners and other equipment. They were called *sipahis* (*voivodes* from the 18th century).

If the existence of Serbs *sipahis*, in particular from the 17th century on, when Turkey renounced the institution of privileged cavalry in its army, remains insufficiently illuminated, the system of popular self-governments, headed by the *knezes*, remained a permanent phenomenon until the creation of modern Serbian state. Some of the *knezes* acquired hereditary positions as managers of imperial domains, sharing competences with representatives of the Turkish authorities. Their repute among the people only grew with time in accordance with the duration of their lineage and the renewal of the berat (Negotinska Krajina, Stari Vlah, Zmijanje in Bosnia etc.). Viewed as a whole, the system of those self-governing communities, which fitted into the system of the Ottoman Empire, encompassed either villages, *nahiye*, or, occasionally, tribes. Owing to its long duration, it became a sort of collective custom of the people, the basis for its feeling of free living, or, at least to a degree, an assurance of its safety. It depended on the tolerance of the Turkish authorities and of the wise attitude of local chiefs, whether some ruling houses of *knezes* would consolidate their power, provide decrees from the higher authorities, find their ancestors in historical tradition and acquire a wider reputation as leaders. The forming of the class of individuals, houses and clans, which, though still inseparable from their peasantry, trod the path of social ascent, gave not only the feeling of safeness to the people and a model to many to forsake the feeling of utter misery, but it made a basis of those patriarchal norms that all Serbs were to share. According to the external appearance and functioning of social institutions, especially the right of every individual to decision-making, this social system was named patriarchal democracy. However, if one were to penetrate deeper into the internal relations that were the expression of a society's unwritten law, one might establish instead, the existence of a certain patriarchal aristocratism with the Serbs, even beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Since the equality of the members of a community could not presume any personal self-will, the public interest had complete predominance over self-interest and individually excessive desires. The decision made by a chief, having been accepted, was implemented without objection; it carried weight rendering particular value to anything performed accordingly. While carrying out a task, everyone assumed a dignified attitude, as they were performing a task conceived by their chief. Perhaps the rule was obeyed that everyone's word must be heard, but the advice of those who had acquired the highest repu-

tation was followed without fail. If a community or solitary family was left without its head, his role could be taken over by the mother without anyone even thinking of questioning her authority as a senior. She would secretly keep, for times of trouble, at least a part of the family money, since men are often reckless, and one may never know when an uninvited guest might appear at the door. The mother was the moral pillar of the family, the judge who had the last word. The Serbs never burned witches. The 1804 revolt broke out, among other things, in order to protect the honor of women from the Turks.

The inclination towards aristocratism among the men of affairs is as recognizable as in Serbian military and rural societies, if not more evident. In those towns, in Turkey and the neighboring Christian states, where they set up their communes as artisans, merchants and shipowners, the Serbs exhibited an exceptionally enterprising spirit; in addition to this, they were very thrifty, pious, conscious of their origin and name, rigorous in maintaining the patriarchal morale. Gathered around the Church, they were its most zealous donors and guardians, and, when circumstances allowed, they paid visits to the famous Serbian monasteries – to Chilandari and Mount Athos. When drawing up their last will, they remembered the Orthodox shrines, leaving to many of them, even the remotest ones, a ducat or two, or an icon, a book, embellished chalice, or, a role of wax and a bag of oil. They sustained historical tradition with pride, as did the entire Serbo-Slavic populace. They knew how to manage affairs, and, after sufficient acquisition, bore themselves as true masters. With the advent of more recent times, their homes became the venues of scholars and artists, turning thus certain cities, scattered throughout the world, into the centers of Serbian culture. Considering that the settlements of artisans and tradesmen were most often formed on a religious basis, Greeks and Tzintzars lived together or in close relationship with the Serbs, and were assimilated into the Serbian milieu rather than the Serbs were lost in theirs. The Serbs imposed themselves with a fuller and more suggestive historical awareness, and often with greater capital and capacity for business. Superior in wealth, evident abilities, appearance and stature, at times insufficiently restrained in stressing their own faith and nationality, the Serbian townsmen sometimes incited the hatred among others, especially if, on account of this, the latter suffered in a state of subordination and unwilling abandonment to idleness. (From such a relationship originated the genocide of the Serbs, which has often commenced with a list of names of the most notable men to be destroyed.)

The rise of the Serbian middle-class in the vast expanses from Trieste and Vienna to Odessa and Istanbul, was not instigated solely by necessity and struggle to survive, but also by the need for continuous striving to improve their life. They belonged to a nation that found it difficult to reconcile to its position, and continually strove to achieve the pattern of internal life it viewed as most suitable, without ever ceasing comparing its former greatness and glory with the present conditions. They kept imposing upon everyone within reach, their name, importance, value and rights which could be transformed into other forms of free living, if they were to grow obsolete. The people – peasants, soldiers and townsmen alike – grew accustomed to high stakes; in doing so, both individuals and groups had a chance to bring out and develop their abilities. However, they preserved their nucleus. While merchants and artisans who remained in Turkey maintained a Levantine appearance almost to the times of liberation, the Serbian middle-class in Austria accepted the western style and ideas, yet maintained its medieval cults, its traditional comprehension of history and patriarchal norms of behavior, close to those of the common folk. The path of progress being often long, laborious and dangerous for Serbian middle-class, it abided by that which made the pith of its being: if that pith failed to ensure success, though it might have, it sought in it at least its own strength to persist morally.

Many started as hirers, drawing up, near the end, their wills as well-known masters; if not them, their offspring did. In some towns, Serbian communes mainly consisted of craftsmen, chiefly furriers, who, once acquiring enough money, set off to trade and often found somewhere in the world a more favorable place to settle down. In spite of the difficulties in consolidating their affairs, by the end of the 17th century at the latest, in the municipalities inhabited predominantly by Serbs, the highest layer of families of notable repute and considerable affluence was gradually being singled out. They represented their people before the Turkish authorities, made up the judicial council for civil trials so that the people would not have to face the *cadi*, administered the church community, took care of the church and school, of the poor, sick and helpless. In time, if business flourished, and the settlement grew larger, the highest layer gradually closed its circle; unwilling or, generally, refusing to mix blood with the lower classes, it was continually striving to accentuate its repute with external appearance, selected spoken word and wealth, even by taking over the national affairs into its own hands. In the Ottoman towns, as well as under the rule of the neighboring Christian rulers, a layer of the town patriciate was founded, divided by faith and language. In the Serbian case, the patrician houses set an example to those of lower standing as how to acquire property and attend to the national affairs. They tried, on their part, not to set apart their mode of living from the rest of the people. They all, in fact, belonged to the same population category, not only to the same people, except that the higher position by wealth and reputation demanded greater responsibility and, in times of trouble, exposed them to greater danger. The notables signified the attainable peak, as they did what others did, or, on their behalf, but in the most serious way. Some of them truly, the others only apparently, they were the bearers of affairs which they attended to on behalf of the entire settlement. The most generous among founders, the protectors of churches, they were more and more becoming the foremost figures of a broader liberation movement of all Serbs. They went on pilgrimage to Holy places and exhibited the desire to differ from their fellow-citizens, common merchants and artisans, by adding the title *hadji* to their names. In some places, their circle closed, but those within it strove not to be necessarily different, but better, from the rest, which spurred the latter on to promote their activities and acquire the reputation of patriarchal hosts, pious men and patriots.

The scene of south-eastern Europe was wide open and vividly illuminated from all sides in the great war of 1683-1699, waged between the Holy League and Turkey. The Ottoman Empire was falling apart, and the Christian armies, unexpectedly penetrating deep, revealed a populace in a condition almost unintelligible until then. The war brought ruin to the Serbian people, scourged its lands and destroyed its old monuments. However, a large number of figures, seemingly of unsurmised potential, appeared on the stage. Among them were Djordje Branković, of the noble house of Transylvanian Serbs, wrongfully called a self-proclaimed despot since the assembly of popular chiefs in 1691 recognized precisely that title (as he had already been granted the title of a Hungarian count), Patriarch Arsenije III, the arch-pastor of exceptional moral strength and deliberation, who related his origin to the Crnojević dynasty, from Cetinje, then Sava Vladislavić, a count in the service of Peter I the Great, who commenced as a merchant and diplomatic agent; at the same time, on the concerted task of taking the Serbian people out of the centuries-long darkness were ecclesiastical leaders, tribal chiefs, popular *knezes*, *Uskok sirdars*, *voivodes* and other military chiefs, men of letters and political skill, and ever more often, wealthy men of affairs. After many efforts to raise and improve their stock and themselves, a large number of national leaders showed up when most needed in history, able to adjust to the demands of times and fight with the immeasurable powers for the preservation and future of their people.

In Serbian history, the 18th century brought to the nation the greatest sufferings and the highest ascent. Never before was the Serbian name spread over such expanses and never did the internal development of the Serbs have such an outcome as the 1804 uprising and the spiritual revival effected by Vuk Karadžić. The Serbs in Austria had several institutions which were the basis for the strivings of individuals and the nation altogether. They comprised the Metropolitan See of Karlovci, which fought for the spiritual independence of its believers, their cults and traditions, seeking the historical grounds for the future Serbian state and the unification of all Serbs taking their way to a transformation into a nation of pronounced self-consciousness; the Military Frontier where men kept up unconstrained notions of life, later being able to successfully compete, unimpeded by heritage, in various domains of public life; the middle-class, particularly its top, which accepted without exaggerated boldness, ideas of the European Enlightenment as it posed no hindrance to the preservation of its religious and historical orientations; the new nobility, ramified over the century, which rapidly deteriorated within the Austro-Hungarian privileged class (produced in a similar manner), yet issued forth few pronounced leaders and patrons. In the Balkan countries within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, the previous process went on of singling out individuals of great potential who wanted much, and often had much, thus assuming leadership in their region, or, even in broader movements. Although Serbia was devastated and ruined, and the Patriarchate of Peć at times in unworthy hands and dissolution, after the turbulence of war common self-consciousness aroused, and many knew more about themselves, their national history, ancient rights and potentials, even about the omens of a new age, than in the preceding century, prior to the tempest. Universal Serbian transformation, around 1740, commenced with the transition of Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović, of the Rašković house from Stari Vlah, onto Austrian soil. He was a superior personality, a dignitary, learned enough and well acquainted with the current position and the needs of his people. Thus he undertook its restoration fully aware of the current historical conditions and upon an accurate evaluation of what was to be received from the great West. The establishment of a restless border in northern Serbia by means of a symbiosis of settlers from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Brdo and Montenegro, with the thinned-out native population, created a basis for the development and prominence of individual capabilities and the formation of a stratum of chiefs with more clearly expressed aristocratic traits. Members of that layer emphasized the excellence of their descent by relating it to the tribes who knew their patriarch had been from Kosovo, and thus carried themselves before others as a community of people of heroic mentality. They dressed up themselves and equipped their horses according to the inherited image of the chivalrous order, from the depictions of the holy warriors to the verses of *Uskok sirdars* and *Haiduk* chiefs of epic tradition. They had their men under arms. The time came when chiefs began to set forth their own banners and signet-rings, engraved with coat of arms. Their houses received *gusle*-players, literary monks and teachers for their children. They bore themselves proudly, regardless of the fact that they lived with the common folk, tilling land, raising livestock, trading and exporting it to Austria, and some of them even joining the *Haiduks*. They became a troublesome lot for the Turks, especially when the latter saw through their designs. The slaughtering of the national leaders in 1804 was an attempt to reduce the people to a beheaded and harmless *raya*. The class of national leaders in Serbia disappeared with the creation of a modern state, when many earlier forms and the spirit of patriarchal society withdrew under the pressure of the bureaucracy, on which the state depended. In Turkey that process was delayed for several decades; in Austria it was determined by a succession of internal changes of the regime and particular institutions of the Empire.

The set up of the aristocratic vertical in Serbian history is undoubtedly a sign of the historical maturity of a nation, and a necessity of life and struggle for survival in conditions that were, at times, unbearable. The people learned how to survive, hiding away in the woods and procreating as much as possible to preserve their community from extermination, even occupying new territory. In order to remain sound and as close as possible to noble models, one was always taking a spouse for life from a respectable house, whose ancestors had been men of order and patriarchal morale, none mentally disturbed or marred by some illness, and the spouses themselves irreproachable persons. Such merciless selection condemned some to perish on the outskirts of society, while preparing the others to become a solid basis for the further ascent of the community, up to the times of those who would mark the establishment of the aristocratic vertical.

With a modern civil society and legislation prevailed new standards of life and a different relationship between classes, thus many earlier customs were checked from the Serbian milieu, including the aspiration towards aristocratic attributes and traits. However, an apparent paradox has persisted. For centuries the aristocratic vertical was represented by the chosen and superior, but the entire Serbian population sustained it. It was expressing more often the common aspirations than instigating deeper class divisions. Thus in its beliefs, morale, customs and understanding of life, this nation remained united, having identical spirit and customs, free from the division characteristic of western peoples, where, with time, every social class built its own mentality. Instead of many, at least one vertical remained: that the aspiration always freely proceed from the bottom to the top and that the model for living is to be sought in the general pattern inherited as common and the best.

ON THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THE SERBS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The older history of the Serbian nation raises a number of problems which can be studied with reference to several different sciences and scientific disciplines. This set of problems should certainly include the question of national identity of the Serbs, on which it is possible to shed light proceeding from a historical or a historico-geographical point of view, or from the doctrine of Serbian statehood, and particularly from the aspect of the entire spiritual output, art, religion, customs and laws and, especially, the aspect of language in the broadest sense of the word.¹ At this point and on this occa-

¹ The research methodology of the subject was approached with due consideration by B. Grafenauer in: *Pitanje srednjovekovne etničke strukture prostora jugoslovenskih naroda i njenog razvoja*, Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis 1-2 (1966), 5-15. A special place in elucidation of the ethnic structure, according to Grafenauer, belongs to: a) the elements of language and colonisation processes, and b) the influence of historical processes (B. Grafenauer, *op. cit.*, 15-25, 25-36). The above work encompassed a broad region in which a number of nations was formed, so that only the most important information about them is given. The problems of ethnic development in Bosnia-Herzegovina were the subject of study by historians at several symposia, organized by the Academy of Sciences of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Papers by the historians (B. Đurđević, S. Čirković, N. Filipović, A. Handžić, M. Hadžijahić, H. Hadžibegić, etc.) have been published. Cf., Prilozi XI-XII, Sarajevo 1975-1976, 261-342. The ethnic history of the Serbian people was studied by S. Čirković, with emphasis on the periods of the Nemanjićs, Prince Lazar and his heirs (S. Čirković, *Moravska Srbija u istoriji srpskog naroda*, in: *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, Belgrade 1972, 101-109). The same author began an extensive study of numerous problems related to the ethnogeny of Balkan nations. He presented the results of his research in the paper *Srednjovekovna faza u tzv. etnogenezi balkanskih naroda*, submitted in Zagreb in January 1989 at the symposium: "Ethnogeny and the early history of Croats". Courtesy of Prof. S. Čirković, we have read the paper while still in manuscript form, and we take this opportunity to express our gratitude. The manuscript has long been edited and gone to press, but has not been published yet. The abovequoted works list practically all of the literature pertaining to the ethnic history of the Serbian nation. This greatly facilitates our work, and need not be gone into or commented on to any greater extent in our work and at this occasion.

sion we shall draw attention to the most evident historical manifestations which unambiguously confirm that the Serbian people has always had its place among the oldest peoples in Europe, and also to those factors which in the Middle Ages substantially influenced the changes and completion of the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people.

Serbian mediaeval sources mention a multitude of nations,² most often neighbours: Greeks, Hungarians, Bulgars and Latins, but also others, with whom Serbs came into contact, such as: Franks, Alemanni, Tartars, Cumans, Turks, Russians, Bohemians, etc. A study of sources of other origin would yield similar information. The naming of other nations in the sources or other literature implies in a simple way the differences between them, the more so as each nation is in the briefest way defined by its name. The latter is true also of Serbs, but brief definitions are always incomplete, and demand more or less comprehensive explanations.

The folk name of the Serbs (Srăbinŏ, Srăblinŏ, pl. Srăbli), as far as could be ascertained, had originated in their ancient homeland, before they settled in the Balkan peninsula, which would suffice to include them among the ancient European nations. According to the surviving tradition and other information, recorded only in the mid-tenth century in the well-known and much quoted *De Administrando Imperio*, i.e. the writing "On Nations" by Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, it would appear that "the Serbs descend from unchristened Serbs, called also White (Serbs), settled beyond Turkey (Hungary)". In their neighbourhood were Frankish Kingdom and Croatia, "the unchristened one, called also White". There "Serbs have lived from ancient times", but when "two brothers inherited from their father the rule of Serbia", one of them, taking with him one half of the nation, fled to Heraclius, the Emperor of the Romaic people",³ more precisely, to settle in the Balkan peninsula in the early decades of the 7th century.

The preserved and recorded tradition gives truly valuable information for shedding light on the national identity of Serbs. This information, which is quoted, says that: 1) Serbs acquired their name in their ancient homeland and brought it with them to the Balkan peninsula; 2) in their ancient homeland, they had occupied a certain territory, which Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus calls Serbia; 3) this Serbia bordered on Frankish Kingdom, White Croatia and, later, on Hungary; 4) in their ancient homeland, Serbs already had their hereditary ruler and ruling dynasty; 5) the migration of one half of the nation indicates its numerousness and comparative over-population; 6) the existence, transmission and cherishing of the national name, the keeping of the people together, indirectly testify to internal cohesion, common language, customs, religion and social relations. The above leads to the conclusion that Serbs had acquired, back in their ancient homeland, most of the important characteristics which make a people a nation in the full sense of the word. These were: the national name, a large population, a territory, a state organism, a ruler and ruling family, and a firm internal cohesion.

Information stored up in tradition is always subject to suspicion, which is true also in the case of that listed above. However, some of it is verifiable, particularly as regards

² Foreign nations are generally referred to as "ini jezici" (foreign tongues) or "inoplemenici" (non-tribesmen). For reference, cf., D. Daničić, *Rječnik iz književnih starina srpskih*, I and III, Belgrade 1863 and 1864, 410 and 515.

³ *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, II, Belgrade 1959, 46, 47 (ed. by B. Ferjančić). For the reliability of the original data, cf., B. Ferjančić, *Struktura 30. glave spisa "De Administrando Imperio"*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 18 (1978), 67-80; Lj. Maksimović, *Struktura 32. glave spisa "De Administrando Imperio"*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 21 (1982), 25-32.

territory or the ruling family. In a separate chapter, Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes the people of Zahumlje and mentions their ruler (archon) Mihailo, son of Višeta, saying that his family "descends from the unchristened dwellers living by the Vistula, known as Litciki".⁴ In this simple way an important information is given. A notice is given that there existed an old family, certainly aristocratic, whose offspring was Mihailo Višević, ruler of the Zahumljani, and that the family came from the Vistula River. In fact, after 250 years that had elapsed from the migration of the Serbs to the mid-10th century, when Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote, nobody, either in Constantinople or in Zahumlje, would have been likely to make up the story that the family of Prince Mihailo Višević had come from the Vistula. This river also more closely determines the ancient homeland of the Serbs as lying in its valley.

The existence of an old clanish aristocracy can be deduced also from the writings of Porphyrogenitus, who says at one point that Croats, Serbs, the Zahumljani, Travunjani, Konavljani, Dukljani and Pagans, "say they have no archons (princes or rulers), but only the elders – župans".⁵ This remark of the Emperor's does not pertain to the time at which he wrote, but to the time immediately after the settling of the Serbs, but even then it does not reflect the true state of affairs. At the time of their settlement, Serbs had at least one archon (ruler), who had led them to the Balkan peninsula, but, besides him, a prominent place in the political life was occupied by "the elders župans". These were, certainly, the oldest and most revered representatives of individual clans, which are generally referred to as the clanish aristocracy. Their presence in the political life is usual with many nations at a certain level of social development. It is well known that some Greek poleis had special councils of elders – gerousia – composed of the most prominent representatives of aristocratic families, while in the ancient Roman state (empire, then republic) this body was the Senate. There is no reliable information whether or not a similar institution was introduced by the Serbs, but it is quite certain that there were "elders župans", representatives of the clanish aristocracy, who played an active and prominent part in the political life. Among other things, they were summoned to endorse a new ruler of the Serbs in the early 10th century, when there occurred a forcible change at the throne.⁶ Therefore, these "elders župans", as representatives of the clanish aristocracy, both before and after settling in the Balkan peninsula, were the political elite of the Serbian people. On the basis of the given facts, it can certainly be said that Serbs came to their new homeland as an already built nation with its political and military elites, its ruler and ruling dynasty.

After settling in the Balkans, the Serbian people found itself in a new environment, exposed to the action of different natural and economic factors. The territory they occupied was criss-crossed with mountain ranges, steep passes, dense forests, lacking proper natural lines of communication, which all went against keeping together a large mass of settlers. It would appear that this largely influenced the old political organization to undergo perceptible changes, which came about as a result of adjustment to the new environment. The superficial observer could not perceive the changes even in the early 9th century. It is probably for this reason that the author of the *Frankish Annals* writes for the year 882 simply that Serbs are people who is said to hold a large part of Dalmatia (Sorabi, "que natio magnam Dalmatiae partem obtinere dicitur").⁷ Here, Dalmatia is the

⁴ *Vizantijski izvori*, II, 60.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 14, 15.

⁶ *Ibidem*, 57. Here we have a story about the Bulgars inviting the Serbian župans to accept a new Prince (Caslav) instead of Prince Zaharije, who had had to flee from Serbia before the Bulgarian threat.

⁷ This fact has been known for a long time and has been much quoted. Cf., K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, I, Belgrade 1953, 67.

Roman province of that name, which stretched from the Adriatic coast to the Sava River. The above quotation clearly indicates that Serbs were a separate and populous ethnic entity occupying a vast territory in the western Balkans.

Approximately 125 years later, when Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was writing his book, the more perceptive of Byzantine observers found the differences among Serbs clearly noticeable. By that time, Serbs had already organized themselves into a number of smaller or bigger territorial and political wholes. Along the Adriatic coast, between the mouths of the Cetina and the Neretva rivers, there were settled the Neretvljani or Pagans, about whom Porphyrogenitus writes that they "derive their origin from unchristened Serbs from the time of the archon who had fled to Emperor Heraclius".⁸ In addition to the inland territory, the Neretvljani held also the islands of Brač, Hvar, Korčula and Mljet. To the east of them, between the Neretva River and Dubrovnik, were the Zahumljani, whom Porphyrogenitus defines simply as "Serbs" who date back to "the time of the archon who had fled to Emperor Heraclius".⁹ They had their archons (rulers) in the 9th and 10th centuries. Between Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor were the Travunjani and the Konavljani (people of Trebinje and Konavli). "The land of the Travunjani and the Konavljani is one", says Porphyrogenitus, and "the people there stem from the unchristened Serbs who have lived there since the time of the archon who had fled to Emperor Heraclius".¹⁰

The facts quoted above clearly indicate that Serbs lived on the Littoral from the mouth of the Cetina to the Bay of Kotor, and that they established several territorial and political wholes there, such as the regions of Neretva, Zahumlje, Travunia and Konavli. Here it should be noted that the last two were united into a single territorial and political whole already in the mid-9th century. Until then, Travunia had been headed by a *župan*, who at that time gained the dignity of archon (ruler) i.e., prince.¹¹

The region east of the Bay of Kotor and nearly to the mouth of the Bojana River was inhabited by the Dukljani, whom Porphyrogenitus does not explicitly describe as being Serbs or deriving from Serbs but, as he mentions them in his book immediately after the Travunjani and before the Neretvljani, for whom this is emphasized, it gives grounds to assume that the Dukljani, too, stem from Serbs. Should this assumption be set aside, however, there are other data which offer reliable information on this point. Byzantine sources are explicit on the point that Prince Vladimir of Duklja, who lived in the late 10th and the early 11th centuries, ruled the "near-by regions of Serbia," while Prince Stefan Vojislav of Duklja, who ruled in the early 11th century, is referred to as "Vojislav the Dukljanin" and "a Travunian Serb".¹² These ethnic indicators do not cancel each other out but, rather, complement each other, since the Serbs, the Travunjani and the Dukljani belong to one and the same ethnic group – the Serbian nation. As a matter of fact, Stefan Vojislav, prince of Duklja, is formally stressed to be "the archon of Serbs," just as his son and heir Mihailo later. It follows that, if the rulers of Duklja Stefan Vojislav and Mihailo were described as "archons of Serbs," then their subjects in Duklja were Serbs.

⁸ *Vizantijski izvori*, II, 64.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 59.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 61.

¹¹ Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus notes that Serbian Prince Vlastimir "gave unto his daughter as husband Krajina, the son of Beloj, župan of Travunia. Wishing to make his son-in-law famous, he appointed him archon, making him autonomous. This one begot Hvalimir, who begot Cučimir. The archons of Travunia have always been ruled by the archons of Serbia" (*Vizantijski izvori*, II, 62).

¹² On the ethnic affiliation of the dwellers of Duklja, cf., S. Ćirković, J. Kovačević, I. Božić, *O jednom shvatanju i jednoj "kritici" istorije Crne Gore*, *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1-2 (1977), 107-128.

The regional division of the Serbs who populated the area along the littoral from the Cetina to the Bojana rivers became pronounced in the 9th and 10th centuries, which could not be said of the Serbs inhabiting the inland. There, in fact, lived the main body of the Serbian nation, so that Constantine Porphyrogenitus had every reason to call this territory Serbia and devote to it more attention than to the other Serbian lands. The original "Serbia" stretched north of the Serbian coastal lands towards the Sava River, and between the Vrbas valley in the west and the Ibar valley in the east. Within this territory, in the upper and middle flow of the Bosna River, there was also a region known as Bosnia. At that time it was only a geographic whole which made an integral part of the oldest Serbia.¹³ In the territory of that Serbia there unfolded an intensive political activity, which is understandable in view of the fact that there had settled and lived the first Serbian ruler and his descendants, as well as a numerically strong political elite – the *župans*. The first Serbian ruler had died before the year 680, and was succeeded by his descendants, whose names are unknown to us. The first descendant known by name and first known ruler of the old Serbian dynasty was Prince Vojislav or Višeslav, who ruled probably around the year 780, and certainly at the time of Charlemagne.¹⁴ He was succeeded by his son Radoslav, grandson Prosigoj and great-grandson, Prince Vlastimir. Since that time, information on the political life in the Serbian state becomes more complete.

Without dwelling too long on well-established facts, it should be noted that the Serbian state of the early 9th century had the same elements as other mediaeval states in Europe. Serbia had a comparatively large territory, a numerous population, a ruler and ruling dynasty, whose members succeeded one another at the throne, a proper number of fortified towns, its aristocracy - *župans* - its military and political elites. Owing to its power, the Serbian state became an important political factor in the Balkans of the 9th century, with an expressed tendency toward territorial expansion, and an ability to defend its borders. By the mid-9th century, its lands had grown to include Travunia with Konavli, and later the region of the Neretvljani, which cannot be claimed for Zahumlje and Duklja.

The regional and political division of the Serbian people in the 9th and 10th centuries did not weaken the strong feeling of belonging to one nation. This was best felt and commented on by Constantine Porphyrogenitus or those who supplied the Emperor with the necessary information. Despite this, however, facts which unequivocally prove that social life was becoming enriched with new elements should not be overlooked or ignored. With time, they were to become more and more significant, directly influencing the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people. Here, in particular, one has in mind the emergence and gradual development of feudal system and, which is of special importance, the Christianization of the Serbs. The establishing of feudal system was on the whole a smooth process, which need not be dwelt upon, but Christianization presented a number of problems which assumed rather acute forms.

Science has generally accepted the view that the conversion of the Serbs was a gradual process which unfolded under the influence of Rome, and by mediation of coastal towns, with the influence of Constantinople becoming stronger only in the latter half of the 9th century.¹⁵ It was at this time that the first Christian names made their appearance in the Serbian ruling family: Prince Stefan Mutimirović, Prince Petar Gojniković, Prince

¹³ V. Ćorović, *Teritorijalni razvoj bosanske države*, Glas SKA 167 (1935), 9, 10; S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, Belgrade 1964, 39.

¹⁴ *Vizantijski izvori*, II, 50, note 155.

¹⁵ *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, Belgrade 1981, 151-153 (S. Ćirković).

Pavle Branović and Prince Zaharija Pribislavić.¹⁶ The alteration of influences of Rome and Constantinople was not favourable to the cohesion of the Serbian people. Should one add a clash in the territory of Serbia of interests of the then powerful states, such as Byzantium, Bulgaria and Hungary, the possibility of uniting the Serbian lands into a single state dwindled further. It would appear that it was by no means by chance that the most clearly pronounced regionalization of the Serbs came about in the latter half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th centuries. It was precisely at this time that the original Serbia was divided into two parts – Rasa or Raška in the east and Bosnia in the west,¹⁷ while the Serbian littoral lands lived their own lives under a strong influence of the powerful neighbours, until Prince Stefan Vojislav began uniting them within the political frameworks of the state of Duklja. By the mid-11th century, this state comprised Duklja, Travunia and Zahumlje, whereas Bosnia and Rasa were, perhaps, to a certain extent dependent.¹⁸ The political ascent of this Serbian state was acknowledged also by Pope Gregory VII, who in the early 1077 wrote to “Mihailo, King of the Slavs, the ruler of Duklja”, even opening the prospects of bestowal of the Papal banner.¹⁹ King Bodin, who succeeded King Mihailo, managed to obtain the Pope’s consent to establish the Bar archbishopric (1089), thus completing the sovereignty of his state.

The political rise of the state of Duklja, the obtaining of the royal dignity and the establishing of the archbishopric did not help strengthen the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people. This could be explained by a short life of the kingdom, i.e., by its sudden weakening, and the fact that the Catholics were less numerous than the Orthodox subjects. The influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople had grown among the Serbs before the restoration of the state of Duklja, i.e., during the rule of Stefan Vojislav, more precisely, immediately after 1019 when the Ohrid archbishopric was founded. Shortly after its foundation, the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church was expanded westward, so when the Church was divided into the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches in 1054, nothing much changed in these lands, because the line of separation had already been drawn and recognized.²⁰ Most of the Serbs embraced Orthodox Christianity, and a minority Catholicism, while in a part of the Serbian people neither of the Churches had sufficient influence. This was in Bosnia, so the conditions were favourable to the spreading of heresy.²¹

The opting of the Serbian people for three confessions weakened the nation’s cohesion and political unity, but did not extinguish the sense of belonging to the same ethnic group. In the 12th century, both Bosnia and Rasa strengthened and consolidated their political independence but, despite this, Bosnia was still considered to be a part of Serbia. The political line of separation between the two Serbian states ran along the Drina River, so that the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos, writing about the Serbo-Byzantine wars of the mid-12th century, said that the Drina River: “separates Bosnia from the rest of Serbia”.²² He also notes that Bosnia is not subject to the Great Župan of the Serbs, but is a separate state. Such view of Bosnia was not taken only in the 12th century and from outside, but the Bosnian rulers, too, regarded their subjects as Serbs

¹⁶ *Vizantijski izvori*, II, 53-56.

¹⁷ S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 41.

¹⁸ *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 186 (S. Ćirković).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 189 (S. Ćirković).

²⁰ *Ibidem*, 176-179 (Lj. Maksimović).

²¹ S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 50-58.

²² *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, IV, Belgrade 1971, 28 (ed. by J. Kalić). Serbia is equated with Bosnia also in the papal correspondence of the 12th century (cf., note 21).

also in the mid-13th century. Ban Ninoslav of Bosnia, in his documents issued in 1240 and 1249, formally defined his subjects as Serbs making distinction between them and the citizens and subjects of Dubrovnik, whom he called "Vlasi" (Vlachs).²³ The basic elements constituting the affiliation to the Serbian nation survived in Bosnia until the late Middle Ages.

When Bosnian Ban Stefan II Kotromanić, in 1333, confirmed the jurisdiction of Dubrovnik over Ston and Pelješac, a special document was issued, in four copies, or "four equal charters, two in Latin and two in Serbian".²⁴ This clearly indicates that the official language in the chancellory of the Bosnian rulers was Serbian, just as Latin was the official language of the Dubrovnik chancellory. The Serbian language was, certainly, the official language in the chancellories of the local administrators in Bosnia in the first half of the 15th century.²⁵ At this time, practically until the arrival of the Turks, the population of today's Makarska littoral, the mediaeval Krajina or the Neretva region, were regarded as Serbs. When in 1434 the gentry and the Radivojević brothers were given back their estates, among which are mentioned Makarska, Živogošće and Tučepi, it was specified that they were being given back everything "of which we deprived either the Serb or the Vlach".²⁶ This was the territory west of the Neretva, where Serbs lived in rural or agricultural settlements, and "Vlachs" lived in pasture camps, mainly as stock-breeders. By that time, they had long been Slavicized and could be regarded as Serbs. Here it should be stressed that the noble Radivojević family and probably their subjects, too, were Catholics, but this did not prevent them from feeling as Serbs. On the basis of the given facts, it can be deduced that the different religious affiliations did not in the Middle Ages cancel out the sense of belonging to one and the same nation. Members of both the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, as well as of the heretical "Bosnian Church", experienced themselves as Serbs. From the point of view of the Orthodox Serbs, who were the most numerous, the Catholics were "Latin heretics", while the members of the heretical "Bosnian Church" were dubbed "the damned baboons", but nobody denied they were part of the Serbian nation. The religious differences must in no way be neglected, especially because, with time, the term "Serbian" would be increasingly associated with the membership of the Orthodox Church and, still more specifically, of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

A more distinct polarization of the Serbs on religious grounds did not begin immediately after 1054, as might have been expected, but at the turn of the 12th to the 13th century. It was then that there appeared also a more noticeable division of the Serbian nation on the political plane. The eastern part of the original Serbia, known as Rasa or Raška, managed under Stefan Nemanja to unite most of the Serbian littoral and inland territories, whereas the western part, known as Bosnia, lived a vivid and autonomous political life, considerably different from that in the east. The most noticeable differences were experienced in the domain of religion. It is known that Stefan Nemanja took firm steps to purge his lands of all kinds of heretics, but they thrived in the Bosnian state of Ban Kulin. In the coastal towns of Stefan Nemanja's state, there lived a rather large Catholic community without being disturbed and under the spiritual jurisdiction of their bishops and archbishops, while in Ban Kulin's Bosnia conversion to Catholicism was forcible, but yielded no definite results. The heretical "Bosnian Church", supported by the Bosnian gentry and populace, won the field.²⁷

²³ Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, I/1, Belgrade 1925, 8, 10.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 46.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 337, 338, 339, 346, 348.

²⁶ Fr. Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, Viennae 1858, 377-379.

²⁷ S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 58-69.

Since the state of Stefan Nemanja comprised within its borders most of the Serbian lands (except Bosnia), it is with just cause that the term Serbia is associated with it. The fight against heresy in this state could not be brought to a satisfactory end by political means, and missionary work of the Orthodox Church was used as the primary method. A better organized activity of this kind began after 1205, more precisely after Archimandrite Sava Nemanjić had been appointed Superior of the monastery of Studenica, but it would not get into full swing until 1219, when the Serbian Church became autocephalous.²⁸ In 1219 the Patriarch of Constantinople at Nicaea ordained Sava Nemanjić the "archbishop of all Serbian and coastal lands".²⁹ This title clearly defines the territories in which the newly-appointed archbishop was to exercise his apostolic duties. Archbishop Sava did not regard them as merely an eparchy or a diocese, but as his "patrimony," both as a man of God and as son and brother of Serbian rulers. The term "patrimony" should not be understood as designating a state organization in the modern sense of the word, or the state territory, or its population, but as embracing all that lay within the borders of the state of the Nemanjićs. Patrimony was hereditary and ordained and determined by God, and could not be undone by mortals. Rulers might be replaced by various means, power usurped, land devastated, the people killed or enslaved, but patrimony could not be abolished or taken over. Of the greatest value in it were the people, whose souls should constantly be illuminated by Archbishop Sava, his bishops and their successors.

Care for patrimony became constant and continuous, both on the part of the Serbian archbishops and patriarchs and of the Serbian rulers, kings or emperors. The hagiographers of Sts Simeon Nemanja and Sava, certainly under a strong influence of Byzantine literature, stress this many times, in respect of various events, occasionally in too strong phrases.³⁰ Despite the obvious influence of Byzantine views, the presentation of the

²⁸ *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 315-327 (D. Bogdanović).

²⁹ When Sava Nemanjić was ordained archbishop, he received from the Ecumenical Patriarch a special document which said: "I, the most reverend patriarch of the universe, German, ordained this kyr Sava archbishop of *all the Serbian and coastal lands*, and as my beloved son I send him to the universe, which is the domain of my holiness of the Orthodox Christian faith, to have the authority in my name over all the cities and lands, metropolitans and bishops and priests and deacons according to the divine laws, to teach all and everybody in dignity in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and whom you should all obey as you would obey me, you who are in Christ Orthodox Christians." (Domentijan, *Život Svetoga Save i Život Svetoga Simeona*, Stara srpska književnost u 24 knjige, Vol. 4, Belgrade 1988, 136; translated by L. Mirković). In addition to numerous interesting facts, the above quotation gives also the official title of the Serbian archbishop, as it certainly was at the time when Domentijan wrote. Science has already established that the term "Serbian and coastal lands" made a part of the title of all Serbian kings, from King Uroš I to King Stefan Dušan. Here it should be noted that Domentijan does not give the title of Archbishop Sava I, but of the archbishops who lived in his time. Despite this, however, it can be deduced with certainty that the title of Serbian archbishop was accorded with and fashioned after the titles of Serbian kings and, more importantly, that the missionary work of an archbishop was confined within the boundaries of the mediaeval Serbian state. The ethnic determinants were introduced into the title only at the time of Emperor Dušan. He was "Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks", and the patriarch also was "Patriarch of the Serbs and Greeks" and, later, only of "the Serbs".

³⁰ On the direct influence of the "praise of Byzantine emperors" on mediaeval Serbian literature, cf., N. Radošević, *Danilo II i vizantijska dvorska retorika*, in *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, Belgrade 1991, 245-252; N. Radošević, *Laudes Serbiae*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 24-25 (1986), 445-451. Both Domentijan and Theodosius were certainly under that influence.

deeds of St. Simeon and St. Sava is not a mere conformation to the accustomed literary form. Stefan Nemanja, later St. Simeon, was a politician of imposing significance, but so devout a Christian that he took literally the evangelic messages, which he proved by his voluntary abdication and taking of monastic vows. This is all the more true in the case of Nemanja's youngest son, Sava, who renounced the earthly pleasures as a young prince in order to take the monastic cloth and devote his life to the Church. Simeon Nemanja and Sava cared for the well-being of their patrimony also as monks on Mount Athos. Domentian writes that, before the monastery of Chilandari was built, a pious "master" had advised Sava to build a monastery on Mount Athos, which would become the "true refuge of your patrimony",³¹ i.e., of the monks who would come to Mount Athos from the "patrimonial lands". Another hagiographer, Theodosius, repeats all this, but with still stronger emphasis. According to him, a devout "old man" advised Nemanja and Sava to restore a monastery and "to their patrimony to dedicate it", so that it should "be called a Serbian monastery".³² That the motives of Sava and Simeon were pious is unquestionable, but they acted to the effect of benefit and salvation of the monks from their "patrimony". Their activity was Christian, but also planned and patriotic, and as such would increasingly influence the shaping of the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people.

After the founding of the Serbian archbishopric it became hardly possible to divorce the interests of the State from those of the Church. They coincided ever since Sava Nemanjić returned to Serbia in 1205. This is best seen from the description of the death of independent Bulgarian headman Strez, who had managed to remain in power owing to the support of Stefan Prvovenčani. But Strez soon found new allies and began to seriously threaten the Nemanjić state. As a monk and head of Studenica, Sava tried to induce Strez to keep the peace, and when he failed, he turned for help to God, the Virgin Mary and St. Simeon Nemanja, who had been canonized soon after his death in 1199.³³ Sava's prayer was granted and, according to Stefan Prvovenčani: "Immediately, with the help of the Holy Mother of God and the power of St. Simeon, who upholds with a strong hand his patrimony, this came to pass. Just as the good and helpful lover of his patrimony (St) Demetrius, the Passion Sufferer, gored the Emperor (of Bulgaria), a cousin of this (Strez), and put him to an evil death, not permitting insult to his patrimony, so also my holy master (Nemanja), helping and protecting his patrimony, gored this rascal."³⁴ Death was actually caused by an "invisible spear", because Nemanja, being a saint, could work miracles. In this context it should be stressed that he was a "lover of his patrimony," just like St. Demetrius who was protecting Salonika from various enemies.

Apart from St. Simeon, the Serbian Church canonized also St. Sava, the first Serbian archbishop. According to their hagiographers, St. Simeon and St. Sava were regularly partaking in the protection of their patrimony whenever it was threatened. The hagiographers, Domentian and Theodosius, allot considerable space to the negotiations with

³¹ Domentijan, *Život Svetoga Save i život Svetoga Simeona*, 89.

³² Teodosije, *Žitija*, Stara srpska književnost u 24 knjige, Vol. 5, Belgrade 1988, 136; M. Živojinović, *Klitorska delatnost Svetoga Save*, in: *Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava*, Belgrade 1979, 16-18.

³³ Events in connection with the "wonder of Strez" have been analyzed in literature on several occasions. Cf., M. Blagojević, *Studenica – manastir zaštitnika srpske države*, in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, Belgrade 1988, 59-61.

³⁴ Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrani spisi*, Stara srpska književnost u 24 knjige, Vol. 3, Belgrade 1988, 93 (ed. by Lj. Juhas-Georgievski).

Strez, and Teodosije also explains Sava's motives: "His soul suffered in the care of the people of his tribe, because he bethought him that in a clash of many arms there could not but be many deaths, especially of those who fight with warm and ardent faith."³⁵ When this event came to pass, Sava was still living, thence the enormous suffering of his soul for his patrimony. The defence of patrimony was primarily a duty of the Serbian ruler, but the responsibility was shared by the church dignitaries, in keeping with their commitment.

The Serbian Church played a manifold part in consolidating the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people. The canonization of Sts Simeon and Sava gave to the Serbian people saints who had come from among their ranks and who would in heaven be tireless protectors of the Serbian state, Serbian rulers, Serbian people and the entire patrimony.³⁶ Their contemporaries confidently looked up to them for protection. The canonization of Sts Simeon and Sava was also the most important step in conferring the Nemanjić dynasty with sacred properties, particularly since many of Nemanja's descendants and heirs to the Serbian throne were canonized. It was precisely for this reason that Nemanja was figuratively depicted in literature as "the holy root", and his successors, as "saplings" or "offsprings" from the holy root.³⁷ This found peculiar and fine expression in religious frescoes of the 14th century: in the compositions of "Nemanjić genealogical tree". All this went towards consolidating the Nemanjić dynasty, as well as consolidating the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people. Mediaeval writers do not mention Nemanja only as the founder of the dynasty, but also as another Abraham – the patriarch of the Serbian nation. He was also a "New Israel", so that his descendants – the Serbs – became the "elected people".³⁸ Even if these terms should be looked upon as having been borrowed from the excessively rich Byzantine literature, it still is an irrefutable proof of a pronounced self-esteem of the Serbian people. With the canonization of the Serbian saints, the proclamation of a "New Abraham" and a "New Israel", the ecclesiastical elite sought and managed to completely equate spiritually the Serbian people with the old Christian peoples of Europe and the rest of the world.

Such aspiration was justifiable, because the Serbian people had already secured the necessary self-esteem in the lay sphere, particularly in politics. Over barely 150 years, the Serbian state had traversed the road from a vassal principedom to an empire. No doubt that the political and ecclesiastical elites had developed and consolidated an idea of the total sovereignty of the Serbian rulers and the Serbian state. This was contributed to primarily by Stefan Nemanja and his son Sava. In the *Chilandari Charter*, Nemanja says that God Himself "in his great and infinite mercy and love of man bestowed upon our great-grandfathers and our grandfathers the rule of the Serbian lands".³⁹ Thus, God had ordained that Nemanja's ancestors, he himself and, subsequently, his heirs, should sovereignly rule "the Serbian land". They should take care of the "flock" entrusted to them, i.e., of the Serbian people, defend it and keep all evils away from it, as well as keep it together. All these largely influenced the feeling of belonging to a common ethnic group – the Serbian nation.

The sovereignty of the Serbian ruler and the Serbian state was further consolidated when Stefan Nemanjić obtained the royal crown in 1217. With the acquisition of the

³⁵ Teodosije, *Žitija*, 181.

³⁶ M. Blagojević, *Studenica - manastir zaštiunika srpske države*, 51-66.

³⁷ N. Radošević, *Danilo II i vizantijska dvorska retorika*, 247.

³⁸ St. Sava was the first to mention Simeon Nemanja as "Another Abraham", and the Serbian people as "Israel" (cf., Sveti Sava, *Sabrani spisi*, Stara srpska književnost u 24 knjige, Vol. 2, Belgrade 1986, 98, 102).

³⁹ Sveti Sava, *Sabrani spisi*, 31.

crown, the Serbian state acquired also international recognition. In the existing hierarchy of states and rulers, the Serbian Kingdom was in every way equal to other Christian kingdoms in Europe and the world. The King of Serbia became an "autocrat" in his state, subjected to nobody. With Dušan having been crowned emperor in 1346, the state sovereignty was raised to the highest possible level. Serbs as a nation became completely equal with Greeks, at the time considered to be the only legitimate holders of all rights to the Christian Orthodox Empire. This found expression also in the ruler's title, with Stefan Dušan calling himself the Emperor of "the Serbs and Greeks". More than this could not be achieved and what was achieved offered a true reason for self-esteem.⁴⁰

The sovereignty of the Serbian mediaeval state cannot be regarded solely from the secular aspect, since the Church occupied a prominent place in state sovereignty. At the time, the state was both a religious and a lay community, and when the Serbian Church became autocephalous in 1219, this community was further consolidated. Immediately upon gaining the autocephalous status, Archbishop Sava drew up the so-called "legal books", a collection of canon and civil laws known as the *Nomocanon*, which laid down, following a certain system, the imperial laws and the ecclesiastical rules and regulations, which the Serbian Church would abide by. All this was derived from the rich Byzantine legislation, not mechanically, however, but by adjusting it to answer the specific requirements of the Serbian Church and State. The selection of the texts followed a clear ideological pattern, which can briefly be summed up as acceptance of the principles of symphony in relations between the Church and the ruler as equal partners in the state.⁴¹

The *Nomocanon* did not restrict the ruler in his domain, or the activity of the Church within its jurisdiction. Throughout the Middle Ages, cooperation between the Serbian rulers and the Church was total, meaningful and unbreakable. There were virtually no conflicts. For this reason, the Serbian Orthodox Church was a major element of Serbian statehood. It stood side by side with all the institutions of secular authority and, together with them, represented Serbian statehood in its entirety. Owing to the way it was structured, the Church was able to keep the Serbian people together. After the breakup of the Serbian Empire into autonomous regions, the Church remained united, and gave a powerful impetus towards the re-unification of the Serbian lands. The re-unification had begun with Prince Lazar, but it was not until his canonization that conditions were created to establish a new "holy dynasty", deriving with its female branch from the Nemanjić dynasty, whose "holy root" would yield a new "sapling" - the legitimate ruler of the Serbs.⁴² Owing to this view taken by the contemporaries, and primarily by the Serbian Church, Despot Stefan, the son of Prince Lazar, was considered to be the legitimate heir both to his father and the Nemanjićs.⁴³ During his brief and difficult rule (1402-1421), he managed to unite all the Serbian lands beyond the Bosnian state. The process of political unification was constantly hampered by the Turks, who finally managed to disrupt it altogether. When, upon the Turkish onslaught in 1459, the Serbian state lost its political independence, it preserved its spiritual autonomy which was the exclusive province of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Thus, as long as there is the Serbian Ortho-

40 *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 530, 531 (M. Blagojević).

41 *Ibidem*, 322, 323 (D. Bogdanović).

42 For exhaustive information on the cult of Prince Lazar, cf., R. Mihaljčić, Lazar Hrebeljanović. *Istorija - Kult - Predanje*, Belgrade 1984, 127-220.

43 M. Blagojević, *Despot Stefan Lazarević i Mileševa*, in *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda*, Belgrade 1987, 167, 170, 171.

dox Church, there will be cherished one of the essential elements of Serbian statehood and the Serbian national being.

Owing to the activity of the Serbian Church, the ethnic consciousness of the Serbian people was enriched by other important factors which defined Serbs as a state-building, politically mature and heroic people. Briefly and to the point, what it amounts to is the acceptance of the legend of Kosovo and the Kosovo ideal, where the heroic deed of the warriors and the death of the Christian martyrs are interwoven into an inseparable whole.⁴⁴ Similar phenomena might be observed in other nations, where the deed is accomplished by the brave individual, whereas in the case of Serbs, it is the entire nation: the Serbian ruler and all his warriors and, through them, the people as a whole. In the minds of the contemporaries and their descendants, in the clash with the Turks in Kosovo, lives were laid down for the faith, the patrimony and the ruler. Valiant conduct and devoutness marched hand in hand. The cult writings about Prince Lazar, written shortly after his death in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, praise death by the sword over fleeing before the enemy. However, Turks were not just another enemy of the Serbian state ("non-tribesmen"), but "infidels" and "damned Ishmaelites". The Battle of Kosovo was a clash between two different nations, two religions and two civilizations. The defence had to be uncompromising, and no sacrifice was too great. Thus the authors of the cult writings about Prince Lazar were in a position to record the terrible and grand message in which the Serbian warriors tell their Prince: "We shall die in order to live forever. We shall be the living sacrifice to God."⁴⁵ The message was terrible and therefore none of the future generations would have the right to take it up lightly and toss it to the Serbian people, or to belittle and forget it. A thoughtless recommendation might have wiped out the entire Serbian race, while to ignore the message would have been to destroy the Serbian national being. The legend of Kosovo and the Kosovo ideal have found their most beautiful expression in the folk epics. The folk bard praises the Serbian warriors in Kosovo as making wonder of heroic deeds, but victory slipped out of their grasp because their prince preferred the "Kingdom of Heaven" to the "Kingdom on Earth".⁴⁶ The legend and ideal of Kosovo made their early way into folk stories and poems. Handing them down for centuries from generation to generation by word of mouth, the Serbian people kept embellishing and improving them, finding in them the mainstay necessary to endure in the struggle for their faith, freedom and restoration of their state.

In order to succeed at this, it was necessary to possess a great spiritual and physical strength, because long Turkish occupation had laid to waste everything that the Serbian nation had achieved hitherto. The state was destroyed, political independence lost, the military and political elites wiped out, efforts at restoring the economic elite were being nipped in the bud, spiritual and all other creative work in the Serbian lands was being stifled and Church life was dying away. In order to survive as a whole, the Serbian nation had to return to its oldest roots, re-creating wherever possible its military, political and spiritual elites. This it finally succeeded, owing to its rich mediaeval heritage, which could not have been completely destroyed and which served as the foundation on which to build the modern Serbian national being.

⁴⁴ R. Mihaljičić, *Kosovska legenda i svest o srpskoj etničkoj posebnosti*, Istorijski glasnik 1-2 (1984), 39-46; Idem, *Junaci kosovske legende*, Belgrade 1989, 254-264; Idem, *Lazar Hrebeltjanović*, 223-245.

⁴⁵ Cf., B. Bojović, *Geneza kosovske ideje u prvim postkosovskim hagiografsko-istoriografskim spisima*, in *Kosovska bitka i posledice*, Belgrade 1991, 15-28.

⁴⁶ R. Mihaljičić, *Junaci kosovske legende*, 7-56, 83-108.

SERBIAN SPIRITUALITY IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES AND WESTERN SCHOLASTICISM

The Nemanjić epoch, which encompasses the period from 1166 when Stefan Nemanja became a head of the Serbian State, until 1371 when Tsar Uroš died, presents a complete whole in the political and spiritual life of the Serbian people. Its outset coincides with the precipitous fracturing of the Byzantine Empire which, following the downfall of Constantinople and the ascent of the Latin Empire in 1204, set out on a desperate struggle for survival, with the false hope of attaining to the glorious moments of its thousand-year-long history (during the reigns of emperors Justinian I, Basil II and Manuel I Comnenus), yet strong enough to persist, through great sacrifice and effort, for another 250 years.

A complex and manifold hierarchy of autonomous and vassal Catholic states emerged from the ruins of the Byzantine Empire, all of them assembled around the Latin Empire and the Kingdom of Thessalonica, along with two Greek Orthodox states, the Nicaean Empire in Asia Minor and the Despotate of Epirus in the Balkan Peninsula.

The territorial and political break-up of the Byzantine Empire was accompanied by a new division of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A Latin patriarchate was founded in Constantinople with the Venetian Tomaso Morosini at its head, with jurisdiction over newly established Catholic archbishoprics in Thessalonica, Athens, Thebe, Corinth and Patras. The election of the Nicaean metropolitan Michael Autorianus for the Ecumenical patriarch instead of patriarch John Camaterus, who had refused to come to Nicaea (the new seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), met with resistance not only in the meanwhile stabilized Archiepiscopate of Ohrid (seated at Arta, the capital of the Despotate of Epirus), but also in the remaining Greek episcopates in Greece which refused obedience to the Nicaean patriarch. Prior to the fall of Constantinople, a renewed Bulgaria came under the ecclesiastical domination of Rome. The legate of Pope Innocent III, presbyter Cardinal Leon, inaugurated in 1204 the Bulgarian Archbishop Basil as Primate of Bulgaria, thereby rendering the largest part of the Balkan Peninsula under the ecclesiastical domi-

nation of the Latin West. The changed political map of the Balkan Peninsula struck a heavy blow to Serbia, not only surrounded on all sides with real or potential enemy states, but at civil war between Nemanja's sons Stefan and Vukan. The endeavor of Stefan Nemanjić, who became the head of the Serbian State by the will of his father Nemanja, to get protection, in those hard times, of the omnipotent Pope Innocent III (whom Stefan's brother Vukan had claimed earlier to be related by blood to the Nemanjić family), failed due to the claims of Catholic Hungary to rule over Serbia. In his conflict with brother Stefan, Vukan was bolstered not only by the Catholic Church in Duklja, which restored the Archbishopric of Bar to Vukan's credit, but also by the Catholic Church in Hungary, which strove to extend its jurisdiction over the Orthodox episcopates in Serbia. With the Pope's consent, King Emeric of Hungary invaded Serbia in 1202 and instead of the banished Stefan, brought his protégé and vassal Vukan to the throne. The following year, the Pope ordered the Kalocsa archbishop to leave for Serbia in order to relieve the Orthodox bishops of their obedience to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and consolidate them in the Catholic faith.

The sudden death of King Emeric in 1204 and the return from Mount Athos of Sava Nemanjić, carrying the relics of his father Stefan Nemanja, who at Mount Athos "ranked among the great holy and pious fathers", led to a reconciliation of the estranged brothers and the restoration of Stefan to the throne. In those dramatic times, full of unexpected surprises and unpredictable turns, the autonomy of the Serbian State was secured as well as the Orthodox orientation of its people. Undoubtedly, it was the merit of Sava Nemanjić, then a monk at Mount Athos and the first Serbian writer who does not pose a mystery to us and with whom Serbian literature, in fact, begins. Another occasion would be chosen to speak of Sava's work on founding and erecting monasteries and churches, to discuss his reform of Serbian monasticism, or his diplomatic missions and negotiations with foreign rulers, his travels to the Holy Land, his missionary work of consolidating Christianity in Serbia (earlier imposed by Ohrid or other Catholic bishoprics along the Littoral, with bishops and clergy employing chiefly Greek or Latin in liturgies), his literary and legislative work or the organization of the Serbian Church, whose autocephaly he had struggled for and won and whose See he first occupied. This has been included more or less in a now immense pile of scientific literature dealing with this most remarkable figure among the Serbs.

St Sava emerged on the historical stage at a time when all of West Europe was thriving in its spiritual and cultural renaissance. Among Sava's contemporaries were the greatest and most intriguing personalities issued forth in the medieval Latin West, such as Pope Innocent III, St Francis of Assisi (the founder of the Franciscan order), St Thomas Aquinas (the most eminent among the western Scholastic theologians), or Emperor Frederick II of Germany – each in their own right the greatest representative of their kind. One may mention as well, the earliest Western scribes who wrote not only in Latin, but also in their respective vernaculars, such as Geoffroi de Villehardouin or Joinville in France, the anonymous writer of the epic of the Nibelungs in Germany, or Eike von Repkow, the first German writer known by name from the earliest decades of the 13th century.

There were other significant achievements in the West that were not directly linked to these great men, such as the Gothic cathedrals in France, the earliest Catholic universities founded in Paris, Padua or Naples, between 1200 and 1224, the romantic literature about Charlemagne, or the inception of parliamentary life within the framework of the Magna Carta. All of it has the analogies in the erection of sacral objects in Serbia, from the monastery of Studenica from the late 12th century through the endowments of King

Milutin to the monastery of Dečani from the first half of the 14th century, in the emergence of hagiographic and liturgical literature in the Serbo-Slavonic language or in the institution of state assemblies as a special form of parliamentary life in Serbia, on a feudal, though nevertheless democratic principles.

The importance and diversity of St Sava's works (and he is in part a synthesis of all these figures and in part their antipode), can be objectively evaluated only in comparison with his contemporaries, each of whom in his own domain represents the peak of Western cultural, political and spiritual life in the earliest decades of the 13th century. Coming the closest to St Sava is St Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order. Both came from notable families and after a carefree youth both chose to serve the highest Christian ideals. Sava became a monk, a reformer of Serbian monasticism in the spirit of Mount Athos traditions, a missionary, a preacher of evangelical teachings and, finally, the first archbishop of the Serbian autocephalous church. St Francis of Assisi founded a new monastic order of the Catholic Church and dedicated himself to missionary work. Both retired at the sunset of their lives to live solely for their ideals. St Sava set out on another journey to the Holy Land and, upon returning to his fatherland, had at Trnovo, in his deathbed, a mystic vision of the Holy Ghost and an announcement of the celestial abode. St Francis retired to Monte Alverno, experiencing a mystic vision of Christ at the cross and, receiving Christ's wounds upon his body, composed his magnificent hymn to the sun, only to die soon thereafter, while singing *Te Deum laudamus* with his brothers.

There are, however, considerable differences between the Serbian saint and one of the greatest holy men of the Western Church. St Sava was regarded as a saint during his lifetime, one before whom, according to his hagiographers, even sultans bowed. St Francis of Assisi's saintly life, which stood apart from the immoral Catholic cloth, wallowing in vice, roused suspicion among the clergy, thus many contemporaries accused him of heresy. To his devoted followers he was the greatest saint of all during his lifetime, while his opponents saw him as one of the greatest heretics of his day. His posthumous destiny was decided by Pope Gregory IX who canonized him two years after his death, despite fierce resistance on the part of the clergy.

St Sava reformed Serbian monasticism in the spirit of Mount Athos tradition, defining in his typikons the rules for spiritual life in monasteries and the organization of various services in monastic community. That community rewarded manifold both the reformer and the people to which it belonged. Its monastic cells ushered into the world many men of spirit, prelates and holy men, as well as eminent writers, artists and philosophers from Domentian and Archbishop Danilo of Peć – who emerged from Sava's Kariai cell – to our elder contemporaries, Justin Popović or Nikolaj Velimirović. One could write volumes on their efforts to enlighten the Serbian people spiritually and culturally, and on their sufferings and sacrifices for the survival of the Serbian Church and the Serbs as a whole.

Final result of St Francis' life was the forming of a wealthy and vile monastic order under the wing of the Catholic Church, which strengthened the largely dissolute hierarchy and helped persecute those of sober morale and a free-thinking mind. Elias, the Franciscan who succeeded St Francis as the head of the order, was one of the most licentious men of his age and a bloodthirsty inquisitor in the first half of the 13th century. Considering the order's objectives, set by St Francis himself, it is impossible to imagine an outcome so bitterly ironical as this one. Only a small number of St Francis' disciples remained faithful to the ideals of the master. Most were burned at the stake by the Inquisition, while Pope John XXIII in 1323 declared the rest to be heretics and incapacitated their further work.

St Francis remained beyond the view of St Sava, who was much more attentive to and anxious about the ecclesiastical policy of his contemporary Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), the first pope devoid of sanctity, Christian humbleness, even of the basic moral qualities essential to the highest position he occupied. When Constantinople fell due to the devastation caused by the Fourth Crusade, which was mustered by the Pope himself in order to achieve union with the Eastern Church, St Sava was at Mount Athos, then under the rule of Boniface I of Montferrat, king of Thessalonica. The following year, St Sava returned to Serbia with the relics of his father Stefan Nemanja and reconciled his estranged brothers. St Sava spent his lengthy sojourn in Serbia doing missionary work, “correcting the deficiency in divine teachings”, as his hagiographers penned, and enlightening his people “misled by ignorance of the true God”. The earlier superficial Christianization of the Serbs, imposed by the Greek and Latin clergy from Ohrid and by Catholic bishoprics from the Littoral, left the populace largely outside the current developments of Christian civilization. St Sava was writing a liturgy and the hagiography of his father, monk Simeon, not only to consolidate the cult of the Nemanjić dynasty, but to bring the Serbs, through their first saint, closer to other Christian peoples of the Orthodox orientation. The weakening of the Latin Empire following the deaths of Henry of Flanders and the omnipotent Pope Innocent III in 1216, the departure of King Andrew II of Hungary on a crusade to the East, and an earlier rivalry between the Nicaean Empire, the Despotate of Epirus and Bulgaria over the right to succeed Byzantium, were used by St Sava to resolve the issue of Serbia’s state legitimacy and win the autocephaly for the Serbian Church. We have no reason to doubt the credibility of Domentian’s telling that in 1217 St Sava sent his disciple Methodius with an epistle to the successor of Innocent III, Pope Honorius III, “seated at the throne of the holy and famed apostles Peter and Paul”, requesting blessing for Serbia and the “royal wreath for his brother Stefan”. The Pope granted him the request and sent Stefan the royal crown through his nuncio, wrote Toma the Archdeacon. Having resolved the issue of state legitimacy in favour of his brother Stefan, St Sava set off to Mount Athos, and then to Nicaea, requesting and receiving from Nicaean Emperor Theodore I Lascaris and the Ecumenical Patriarch Manuel Saranten Hariopulous the autocephaly for the Serbian Orthodox Church, the first head of which he became.

The tasks of St Sava and Pope Innocent III differed both by the objectives they set before them and the means they employed. Carrying out Augustine’s idea of a Divine State on earth, Pope Innocent III imposed supreme rule upon all the rulers of the Latin West – the kings of Sicily, Aragon, Portugal, England, Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Germany. He ensured the future of his *Christianitas* (a sort of commonwealth of Western Catholic states) by a canonic code whereby all Catholic states became papal feudal property, which he, as the “King of kings” and the “Lord of lords”, bestowed according to his own will. Having organized the Serbian autocephalous church and the ecclesiastical authorities, St Sava left for Mount Athos, renouncing all secular power and valuing the life of a humble monk over that of a dignitary. When codifying his canon, Pope Innocent III strove solely to increase the power of the Curia and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which, with the secularization of church life, was sinking deeper into debauchery. Having resolved the issue of state legitimacy and achieving the autocephaly for the Serbian Church, on his return from Nicaea to Serbia, St Sava composed a code, known as St Sava’s canon law code, with the purpose to establish legal order in Serbia. It was based upon the Orthodox idea of the Church and the State being two partners, equal in their own domains, in order that harmony be achieved by the demarcation between the ruler as the bearer of secular rule and the archbishop as the bearer of spiritual authority.

Even though the papacy rose in its power to unsurpassed heights during the pontificate of Pope Innocent III, the fall was inevitable and accompanied by schism, the loss of papal authority, and the final result was: Avignon papacy. However, the works of St Sava, based on different foundations and inspired by different ideals, proved much more successful and effective. Whereas 13th and 14th-century papacy, absorbed in a struggle for power and a craving for earthly goods, failed to bring forth one single saint, St Sava and many of his followers at the head of the Serbian Church were included in the pantheon of holy men not only of the Serbian Church, but of other Orthodox churches as well.

St Sava and Pope Innocent III are further set apart by their attitudes towards various heterodox and heretic teachings they clashed with, yet settled differently. After an assembly at Žiča, St Sava won over to Orthodoxy a large part of the heretically oriented nobility, and anathematized and banished those who opposed, treating them as a true divine and spiritual leader. On the other hand, in 1209, Pope Innocent III mustered a crusade against the Albigenses in Provence, ending in genocide and the utter destruction of local culture. Soon after, he set up an inquisitorial procedure in the canonic judicial law code of the Western Church. The act, referred to by some as the "darkest book ever created by hell", opened one of the most dismal chapters in the history of the Catholic Church. Brutal methods of the inquisition-torturers knew no bounds. Much innocent blood was spilt and humanity experienced cruelty and bestiality unheard of, which blind fanatics of the Inquisition carried out in the name of Jesus Christ and his evangelical message of salvation.

St Sava was not only the founder of churches and monasteries, the reformer of Serbian monasticism, a shrewd diplomat and legislator, but also the first Serbian writer, the one with whom Serbian literature begins. Everything penned by St Sava, although in the service of church and state interests, was subordinated to one aim only – to include the Serbs in the developments of Christian culture and true spirituality. Desiring to expand the spiritual horizons of his people, St Sava included in his canonic code (rewritten in Thessalonica in 1219 for the needs of the autocephalous church in constitution and the independent state in internal consolidation), the *Panarion* by Epiphanius of Cyprus, the unique encyclopedia of all pre-Christian civilizations, supplementing it with a review of classical philosophy, the first such reference book written in medieval times in a European language, including the Latin.

That which St Sava lacked the time to do was done and completed by his disciples and followers, above all Domentian and Archbishop Danilo of Peć, the former being the sole representative of scholasticism in old Serbian literature, and the latter, the most well-known adherent of Orthodox mystical theology, which was established in Byzantine Empire by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the early 6th century, further developed by Simeon the New Theologian in the early 11th century, and rounded off into a system by Gregory Palamas in the mid-14th century.

Scholasticism was introduced into Byzantine theology by St Anastasius Sinaita in the 7th century, and developed into an integral system by St John of Damascus in the 8th century, by introducing Aristotle's dialectic and syllogistic reasoning into Byzantine theological thought. These two theologians of the Eastern Church were translated into the Old Slavonic in the early 10th century, during the reign of Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria. Some of the works of St Anastasius Sinaita has been preserved in the *Izbornik of Prince Svyatoslav* (the 1076 copy), and John the Exarch translated extracts from Damascene's *Source of Knowledge*. After St John of Damascus, scholasticism faded away from Eastern theology, conceding to beliefs closer to learned Byzantine monks, who preferred mysticism and theological metaphysics to dialectics and rational reasoning.

Contrary to the Eastern Church where Christological, and subsequently, Iconoclastic controversy induced the development of theological literature, the Latin West bred no prominent theological writers after Ambrose or Augustine until the mid-9th century. An almost bizarre instance played a crucial role in this. When in 827 Byzantine emperor Michael II sent to Louis I the Pious of France a copy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's works (the most renowned representative of Byzantine theological mysticism in the Eastern Church), the French king requested a translation of the work from Child-evan, the abbot of Saint-Denis. The king's wish was not granted, as no one in the Abbey spoke Greek. The work was translated several years later by an Irishman, John Scotus Erigena, whom the new king of France, Charles II the Bald, had appointed the principal of the Court school. Influenced by the Neoplatonic conceptions of Pseudo-Dionysius, Erigena wrote his well-known theological treatise *On the Division of Nature*, which he sent, along with the translation of Pseudo-Dionysius, to Pope Nicholas I in 860. The Pope condemned both the treatise and translation, but Charles the Bald took Erigena under his protection, forbidding the Pope's envoys to take him to Rome. Subsequently, the Western Church condemned again Erigena and his work, for the last time by Pope Honorius III in 1225, with an order that his writings be burnt, which, fortunately, was not obeyed to the full.

The condemnation of Erigena – who, proceeding from the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, tried to explain the fundamental dogmas of the Western Church through the ideas of Platonic and Neoplatonic spiritualistic mysticism – hindered the development of Western theology for the next three centuries. After the 1054 schism, the Latin West grew more interested in the achievements of Eastern, Byzantine theology, above all in the works of St John of Damascus, who, by joining Christian theology with Aristotle's dialectic, came quite close to the rational spirit of the western man. It is difficult to say how well the early scholastics of the 12th century, St Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Abelard or Peter Lombard (the writer of the first systematic treatise on sacred dogmas in Latin), were acquainted with the works of St John of Damascus. Conveying into theological treatises the rationalism of Western civilization, they strove primarily to accord the fundamental dogmas of the Western Church with the common sense, disregarding divine revelation if it opposed logical reasoning.

The condemnation of Abelard's belief (at the 1141 local council in Sens) that dialectic is the only path towards truth and that everything opposing to reason gives rise to doubt, only temporarily checked the Scholastic movement in Western theology. After a closer study of Byzantine theology following the downfall of Constantinople and the creation of the Latin Empire in 1204, 13th-century Western Scholastics turned increasingly to the original Aristotle (earlier known in the West only through Arabic translations), and to his dialectics, previously integrated in the theological thought of the Eastern Church in Damascene's work.

Western Scholasticism reached its climax in the works of Domentian's contemporaries Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, whose work *Summa theologica* not only offers a complete account of theological thought of the Western Church, but represents, as one researcher wittily said, the most complete synthesis of Christ and Aristotle.

St Sava was interested neither in the eastern nor western scholastics, as he belonged, in his religious orientation and theological education, to the spiritual culture of Mount Athos monasticism, to which Pseudo-Dionysius's mysticism was closer than Damascene's rationalism. Continuing the work of his teacher, Domentian wrote two hagiographies, one of St Sava and the other of St Simeon, filling the basic text not only with quotations from the Holy Scripture, moral teachings and instructions for leading a spiritual

life (characteristic of this literary genre), but also with brief morals, speeches and prayer monologues the contents of which present the earliest theological disputes written in Serbo-Slavonic language in the spirit of Scholastic dialectic. The most representative example of a dialectical approach to theological issues is the *Poučenije o istinitoj veri* (The Teaching on True Faith), put forward by St Sava at the Žiča assembly on the occasion of proclamation of the Serbian autonomous church. The *Poučenije* is a brief theological dispute which Domentian wrote in the spirit of scholastic dialectic, employing the same arguments in the explication of the fundamental dogmas of the Orthodox Church as those found in the works of St John of Damascus or St Thomas Aquinas. As a contemporary of Latin rule in the chief centers of Byzantine spirituality – Thessalonica, Constantinople and Mount Athos – Domentian certainly heard of his contemporaries Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas, the greatest figures of Western Scholasticism. However, his model and source was no doubt St John of Damascus, the most famous representative of earlier Byzantine theological thought, whose work, founded on scholastic dialectic in the spirit of Orthodox theological conceptions, was at the time reaffirmed in the Eastern Church, as a challenge to Western Scholasticism. In that spiritual clime, during Domentian's stay on Mount Athos, or somewhat later, during the reign of King Milutin, the integral version of Damascene's *Source of Knowledge* was translated into Serbo-Slavonic language, comprising three parts: "Dialectica", "Against All Heresy", and "True Exposition of the Orthodox Faith". Domentian's knowledge of Damascene is proved not only by the title of his *Poučenije* – a paraphrase of Damascene's "Exposition" – but by the same dialectical approach and the same arguments in explaining the essence and nature of the divine being. It is the idea of God as the cause and creator of everything caused and created, the identification of divine entity with existence, or the idea of the Trinity in unity and unity in the Trinity, whose existence is simple and incorporeal. Through the same scholastic dialectic, Domentian expounds Christ's incarnation, whose being remained what it was and became what it had not been, "a complex composition in two perfect existences and in two existences and probers, and in two natural wills, and with the activity of both mixed in content."

Any unbiased researcher must wonder in admiration how these rare learned Serbs attained in such a brief period to the peak of Eastern and Western theological thought, and even employed, in expounding the most intricate theological problems, despite many difficulties (above all as regards the terminology), the complex method of scholastic dialectic. This dialectical approach, in expounding Christian dogmas, was soon abandoned by Theodosius, and subsequently even condemned in the works of Vladislav Grammaticus. Disputing with Western theologians, Vladislav Grammaticus accused the Latins of "inventing many syllogisms against the Orthodox, and, finding no corroboration in the divine books, resort to Aristotle and other Greeks, thus aiming to blind the common folk with false ideas. Even though (ancient) theologians have proved that Greek syllogisms have no place in the Orthodox theology".

The greatest representative of hagiographic literature with the Serbs at the turn of the 13th to the 14th centuries, was Archbishop Danilo of Peć, the writer of two liturgies and six hagiographies which make the core of his works. Archbishop Danilo was one of the most learned men of his day and the most interesting Serbian representative of theological mysticism originating from Mount Athos. By the end of Danilo's life, Athonite monks became the chief apologists of hesychasm and Palamitism in Eastern Orthodoxy. Archbishop Danilo did not write special theological treatises like his predecessor Domentian, but displayed his ideas of fundamental Orthodox dogmas in the form of brief statements, thus following the trend in Byzantine theology leading from Pseudo-Dio-

nysius the Areopagite, through Simeon the New Theologian, to the works of Gregory Palamas and the teachings of Mount Athos hesychasts. It is the understanding of God as the absolute light, the arch-cause and arch-principle of all things and beings and the "creator of the visible world and sage nature". Divine light is the essence of universality and the principle of absoluteness. It exists in itself, it is sufficient to itself and immaterial as a "pure spirit". Certain things come through emanation, or, as Archbishop Danilo said, through "divine radiation of light". Through "divine radiation", divine light, which is "single", is particularized into a multitude, into the "other light" – angels and human souls. Through the "divine radiation of light", absolute light is concretized into the individual, in order that, through the transition from temporal to eternal, the individual multitude may return to the single. The one who radiates light, wrote Archbishop Danilo, conducts all light. To Archbishop Danilo, nothing exists that is not in light. Man has deprived himself of the divine light through the Original sin; however, by "illumination of his darkened soul", a human being becomes "adorned in divine light", and crossing over to the "world of light", passes from the temporal into the eternal, from "death into infinite life".

The theological thought of Archbishop Danilo is nothing but a resumé of Pseudo-Dionysius's metaphysics of light, whose work is not only a harmonious unity of Neoplatonism and Christianity, but a reference book imperative for the understanding of Orthodox theological mysticism and metaphysics. Although condemned by the Western Church at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople, and on several other occasions (first by Pope Nicholas I in 860 and finally by Pope Honorius in 1225), the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite remained present in Orthodox theology throughout the medieval times, owing above all to defenders of icon worship who relied on his Neoplatonic ideas to successfully justify the cult of the icon and ecclesiastical art as a whole. Without the works of Areopagite, one cannot comprehend the theological mysticism of Simeon the New Theologian, nor the Palamite theology of the hesychasts of Mount Athos, who through the works of their spiritual leader Gregory Palamas, fully elaborated Areopagite's Neoplatonic conception of "deification". It implies that a transfigured human being succumbs to the effect of divine energies, which in turn exalt man to the highest degree of spirituality. In that contact with God through his energies – divine essence remaining inaccessible – man experiences illumination and vision of the uncreated, eternal divine light, the one seen by Christ's disciples at the Transfiguration.

The aspiration of the 13th and 14th-century Western Scholastics to explain the essence of the divine being by means of the human mind, assisted by Aristotle's dialectic, meant reducing the entire problem to fruitless debates on the relationship between divine essence and existence. It was opposed by the Eastern Orthodox Church and its Neoplatonic conception of deification, which enabled a human being in the state of illumination to come into direct contact with God and see the uncreated divine light. Polemics between the Eastern and Western churches over papal primacy, essentially a political issue, or the problem of *filioque*, which evolved owing to philological differences in interpretation of the decisions of the Ecumenical councils, only concealed the essence of the dispute which might be reduced to a conflict between eastern mysticism and western rationalism, eastern spirituality – founded on the most sublime moral ideals of Christianity – and the western, pragmatic and relativized attitude towards moral principles, which gained through indulgence, the remission of sins for money, their distorted, unchristian content.

Archbishop Danilo of Peć died when the hesychast controversy opened in the Eastern Orthodox Church, thus his theological ideas are void of the essential stands of Palamite

theology. Owing to a schism with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the sixties of the 14th century, before the final victory of hesychasm, Serbia, until the times of Prince Lazar and the election of hesychast Jefrem as the Serbian patriarch in 1375, abided by the traditions of the theological mysticism of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, whose work was translated into Serbo-Slavonic soon after the battle of Maritsa and the death of Tsar Uroš, the last issue of the Nemanjić dynasty, in 1371. The translation was done by Old man Isaiah, by order of Serrai Metropolitan Theodosius, whereby ended an era in the history of the Serbian people and its culture. With the works of its wisest representatives – St Sava, Domentian, Theodosius, Archbishop Danilo and his followers, Serbian culture attained to the peak of Byzantine spiritual creations which, in all their phenomenal forms, were superior to the ossified and largely unproductive 14th-century Scholasticism.

SERBS IN HUNGARY, SLAVONIA AND CROATIA IN STRUGGLES AGAINST THE TURKS (15TH-18TH CENTURIES)

With the fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1459, the struggle of the Serbian people against the Turks continued, though in essentially altered circumstances, within the framework of Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, Slavonia and Croatia, i.e. within the Habsburg Monarchy which undertook the defense of Europe south of the Alps and the Carpathian mountains. In that struggle, the Serbs displayed extraordinary persistence, steadfastness, courage, mobility and military skill, thus proving to be, despite the loss of their statehood, an important factor in southeastern Europe, unparalleled amongst their neighbors. Though unable, as it were, to restore their state, the Serbs, as Orthodox Christians, defended Catholic and Protestant Europe from Islam, which, conquering regions in the Danube basin and Pannonia, reached beneath the walls of Vienna, to the Kupa river and the Velebit mountain.

Taking refuge from the Turks, the Serbs moved in large numbers to Hungary, above all to Banat, to the area by the Mures river, Srem and Bačka, with intention to defend - as allies, subjects or mercenaries of Hungarian kings, Transylvanian and Wallachian voivodes - their southern borders, with faith in the victory of the Cross over the Crescent.

A descendant of the Branković house, Vuk Grgurević-Branković (better known in folk epics as Vuk the Fiery Dragon) with other fleeing Serbs entered the service of King Matthias I Corvinus of Hungary who granted him the estates of Slankamen and Kupinik in Srem, and conferred upon him the title "Despot of the Kingdom of Serbia" in 1471. For years he proved to be more troublesome to the Turks than any Hungarian military leader in the south. His bold raids into Turkish territory, the burning down of Srebrenica and Zvornik, his returns with great plunder and many prisoners were heard by far. His surprise attack on Požežena resulted in the capture of 300 Turks, he sunk dozens of Turkish vessels in the Danube, he took part in the 1476 siege of Smederevo, and with Pal Kinizsi beat the Turks at Bečej in 1483 (13,000 dead!), only to repeat the feat that

same year with Vuk Frankopan by the Una river, while returning with plunder from Kranjska and Koruska.

Similar feats were carried out by the Jakšić brothers, Stevan and Dmitar, to whom the king of Hungary granted territories by the Mures river, to be used by them and their 1,200 warriors. In 1479, along with Kinizsi and the Transylvanian voivode Zsigmond Bathory, they won a great victory over the Turks with some 30,000 dead, including several pashas.

During the breakthrough into Serbia, tens of thousands of Serbs joined Despot Vuk, the Jakšić brothers and Kinizsi, managing to cross over to Hungary from under the Turkish rule; according to one document as many as 200,000 people in just a few years! The same happened again in 1502, when the Jakšić brothers, voivode Radič Božić and the Hungarians from Belgrade attacked and burned Kladovo, Vidin and Nikopol, taking great plunder and taking many Serbs to Banat.

Young Despot Jovan Branković followed the example set by Despot Vuk and the Jakšić brothers. Given supreme command over the army at the Turkish border in 1501, he won several victories, taking much plunder and many prisoners. With 1,000-2,000 horsemen, Jovan carried out a bold breakthrough into Serbia along the Kolubara river in 1502; he was received as a savior by the people, who offered their sons to his army, enlarging it thus to 10,000. His campaign ended up with a victory over the Turks at Zvornik, but he died soon thereafter, leaving the battleground without a worthy successor.

Unfortunately for the Serbs, Hungarian kings failed to take advantage of these often significant triumphs over local, peripheral Turkish garrisons, even of the deeper breakthroughs into Serbia, to launch an offensive against the Turks to the aim of liberating subjugated Serbia. Namely, the Hungarian kingdom was involved in strifes elsewhere, itself becoming a scene of tragic feudal anarchy. Hungarian and Serbian voivodes in the south were left almost entirely to themselves, without sufficient ways and means, thus able to wage only "small-scale wars", but not to oppose the campaigns of the sultan's army. This proved so during the invasion of Suleyman the Magnificent on Belgrade in 1521. The fort, in the possession of Hungary, together with Šabac and Mačva, was defended by a garrison composed of Serbs and Hungarians, as well as by a river flotilla under the command of Petar Ovčarević. The flotilla was defeated by the far more powerful invader, just as the entire border garrison of Zemun with 400 men, led by the Skoblić brothers, was also killed. The following year, however, a Turkish detachment was routed at Petrovaradin; the same fate was met by Ferhat Pasha who charged into Srem with 15,000 Turks from Bosnia. The boatmen of Radič Božić sunk all his ships into the Sava river, cutting him off from Bosnia, while a Hungarian and Serbian army attacked him at Morović, inflicting on him the loss of 8000 men killed in battle and another 4000 who drowned in the Sava.

When Belgrade fell to the Turks, the battle-zone moved to Srem, Slavonia and Banat, in the form of a "small-scale war" with changing fortunes. Sultan Suleyman decided to strike the crucial blow to Hungary and the Serbs in the south with a fresh offensive he started in 1526. The huge Turkish army first took the Fort of Petrovaradin in late July, after three weeks of resistance offered by Serbs and Hungarians, then, conquering the forts along the Danube, it reached Osijek, built a bridge on the Drava river and broke into Hungary. The decisive battle between the Turks and Hungarians took place at Mohacs on August 19, 1526, where the latter were utterly crushed. Fighting on the Hungarian side were also Serb forces under the command of Radič Božić and Pavle Bakić, the latter being one of the most respectable Serbs from occupied Serbia. He crossed over to Hungary six months earlier with 50 lightly armed cavalry soldiers, and soon mustered

a large number of fellow countrymen. Many Serbs were killed in the battle, including Pavle's brother, Manojlo Bakić. Hungary was in utter chaos, as the Turks reached and entered its capital. The Serbs led by Radič Božić were the quickest to act. Following the Turks returning from Buda, Božić and his men launched an attack near Titel, causing to the enemy a loss of over 1,000 men. Already in February 1527, he crushed Turkish elite troops on two occasions and captured dozens of their officials. As a commander of a flotilla numbering 500 vessels, Radič Božić proved to be one of the most agile and enterprising among Hungary's nobility of the time.

During the troubled times following the catastrophe at Mohacs, when a long-term dynastic and civil war broke out in Hungary, at its very beginning a mysterious Serb leader emerged in Banat – tsar Jovan Nenad – the man whom “God himself sent to liberate the people from the Turks”. Having mustered strong forces from the runaway Serbs near Lipova in Transylvania, the self-proclaimed tsar crossed the Tisa river and started breaking up Turkish garrisons all over Bačka. After a victory at Bač, he was firmly consolidated in Bačka and proclaimed the town of Subotica as his capital. In late 1526, a part of his army crossed over the Danube into Srem, taking Banoštar, Čerević and other places where they set up military garrisons and established Serbian rule. Some 15,000-30,000 men fought under his banner. Not even the claimants to the vacant Hungarian throne, Janos Zapolyai and Ferdinand I of the Habsburg, had a larger army. Although his chief aim was the struggle against Turks and the liberation of the Serbian and other Christian nations, the Serbian tsar could not help taking sides in the Ferdinand-Zapolyai conflict; he chose Zapolyai as his adversary, falling as a victim of the Hungarian nobility in late July, 1527. His army dispersed and the Turks restored their lost territories.

Contrary to Jovan Nenad, Radič Božić joined Janos Zapolyai (who granted him the title of despot), remaining loyal to him till his death in September 1528. When the civil war broke out in Hungary, Pavle Bakić also sided with Zapolyai, but abandoned him after the defeat at Tokaj in September 1527, to join Ferdinand, remaining faithful to him till the end. With his group of 2,000 Serbian cavalry soldiers, Pavle Bakić clashed with the Turks during the first siege of Vienna in 1529. Emperor Ferdinand entrusted to him the protection of the bridges across the Danube which he defended with success; towards the end of the siege he hit the encampment of Ibrahim Pasha by the Danube beneath Kahlenberg, inflicting on him great losses in dead and captured. After the defeat of the Turkish main body beneath Vienna, Bakić kept attacking Turkish rear units and captured them, liberating the Christians who were conscripted into them. As a reward for his heroic deeds, Pavle Bakić was granted a number of towns, including Győr, Papa and Szombathely in northwestern Hungary.

Bakić also excelled during a Turkish campaign on Hungary in 1532. Together with Hans Katzianer and 2,000 horsemen, he beat the Turks retreating from Sopron, pursuing them as far as Ljubljana. In September that same year, Pavle and his brother Petar intercepted a strong unit of Turks devastating Lower Austria, and crashed it near Baden. On that occasion, Pavle charged in a flash onto Turkish commander Osman Bey, pulled him off his horse with a lance and beheaded him. In recognition to such heroic deeds and merits, Emperor Ferdinand conferred on him the title of Serbian despot on September 20, 1537. This was the highest but also the last reward to the brave soldier, fighting at the time in Slavonia as a part of the army under imperial commander H. Katzianer. After failing to lay siege to Osijek, the army began to withdraw and disperse. Pavle and his men were in the protection units, in an attempt to halt the Turks who were pursuing the demoralized Christian troops. On October 9, 1537, near Gorjane by the town of Dja-kovo, Bakić attacked a considerably stronger Turkish unit, breaking through to its cen-

ter, when he was wounded and thrown off his horse. In the bloody slashing that ensued, the Janissaries finally seized his head. Many Serbian soldiers and commanders were killed as well, and many were taken as captives. The head of the last Serbian despot Pavle Bakić was sent as a trophy to Sultan Suleyman.

In the part of Hungary controlled by Zapolyai, in mid-1537, died another of contemporary Serbian leaders, Marko Jakšić. His death marked the beginning of the dissolution of this noble family. However, this loss was not comparable with that of Pavle Bakić, whose death for those Serbs who sided with Emperor Ferdinand "posed a real catastrophe", as amongst them there was no one as near to Pavle "in respectability, chivalry, wisdom, integrity, nor in the fanatic love for his people", said the historian, Aleksa Ivić.

Since the Turks occupied Slavonia and a larger part of Hungary with Buda by the mid-16th century (1541), the heart of the struggle of Serbs was transferred from the former Despotate to Banat, to the Mures valley, Transylvania, upper part of Hungary and Wallachia, where fresh groups of Serbs from under the Turks were continuously crossing to the other side.

New figures emerged to lead the people – Petar Petrović, Petar Ovčarević, Nikola Crepović, Petar Božić and others who invested their own and the people's strength in struggles between Zapolyai and Ferdinand, i.e. in the services of Transylvanian and Wallachian voivodes, often discouraged altogether on account of frequent deceptions and betrayals by the Hungarian nobility and pressures on account of their Orthodox faith. Thus some of them joined the Turks and fought among themselves, which became apparent during the Turkish conquest of Banat in 1551-52. As *martolosses* (Turkish border-units) on the Turkish side, Serbs usually protected and defended forts along the border, while on the Austrian and Transylvanian sides, they were a lightly armed cavalry which disturbed and sporadically took those forts over. The Serbs were also spies, especially on the Austrian side, informing the imperial commanders on Turkish movements, as they nevertheless maintained some contact with their fellow countrymen under the Turks. In the 1566 war during the attack on Gyula, the Turks clashed with a garrison comprising largely Serbs under the command of Dimitrije Ovčarević, who was killed along with most of his men; yet, on the other side, Pavle the "Ratz" and other commanders referred to by this name, won a number of local skirmishes over the Turks (at Ujvar, Parkany and elsewhere) and engaged in irregular border fightings against them. At the time, Serbian merchants were inundating Turkish and Habsburg parts of Hungary, reaching as far as Vienna, proving thus that the Serbs were just as much in the "mercy" of gods Mars and Mercury; all this, in the end, to the interest of European, Christian civilization.

During the few decades of relative peace between Turkey, Transylvania and Austria, the Serbs were less present on the historical scene in the Pannonian-Danubian region, though individuals among the nobility held important posts in the diplomacies of Transylvania and Wallachia, even of Austria. However, with the outbreak of the next war, the one from 1593 to 1606, they emerged again, through rebellions, uprisings, robberies and bold guerrilla fighting, as an important factor, especially in Banat, Transylvania, Upper Hungary and Wallachia, and throughout the rest of the Balkans.

During the second year of the war, in spring 1594, an uprising of Serbs in Banat raged under the thereuntil unknown Petar Majzoš. The insurgents attacked the Turks in Vršac and other places, robbing and burning them, and then withdrew to Transylvania to establish contact with the local Austrian commanders and the prince of Transylvania, Zsigmond Bathory. Considering that many other Serbs joined them in Transylvania, the insurgents returned to Banat and consolidated themselves at Vršac, from where they

were making attacks upon Bosa, Faget, Ineu, Beckserek, Bečej and Titel with much success. They confiscated ships with food and weaponry for the Turkish garrison in Esztergom, besieged by Imperial and Serbian troops. The Turks suffered great losses, their garrisons in cities were either destroyed or captured, towns were in flames. The beylerbey of Temesvar was forced to pursue the Serbian insurgents himself, suffering defeats in four clashes, but winning the fifth one, when he attacked with 30,000 men some 4,000 insurgents in the vicinity of Beckserek, of whom only 300 were saved. After that, many other smaller Serbian detachments were defeated, but those who escaped the catastrophe withdrew to Transylvania and Upper Hungary and as part of the Transylvanian and imperial army continued their struggle against the Turks, who devastated entire Banat to the Mures river in retaliation. Since the insurgents carried the figure of St Sava on their banners, Sinan Pasha, in order to intimidate and demoralize the Serbian people, took the saint's relics from the monastery of Mileševa and burned them at Vračar plateau near Belgrade.

However, the Serbs would not bend; instead, relying on Prince Zsigmond, they resumed their irregular fighting in northern Banat and Mures valley, and when in 1596 some 10,000 Serbs joined Bathory, they threatened Temesvar and other Turkish towns in the area. New leaders sprang among the Serbs – Deli-Marko, Djordje Ratz-Slankamenac, Sava Temišvarac, Starina Novak. They fought as part of the Transylvanian army but often independently carried out bold raids across the Danube, into Bulgaria and Serbia. Such breakthroughs reached Plevna, the Maritsa river and even Edirne. Turkish military and trade caravans were attacked, their ships sunk and great plunder taken.

Thus in spring, 1596, Deli-Marko attacked Plevna with 1,500 men, capturing 400 Turks and the family of the Turkish commander of the city and returned with plunder worth 400,000 scudi. At the time, the army of Wallachian voivode Michael the Brave included many Serbs (among them the detachment of Djorde Ratz-Slankamenac), who took part in the war against the Turks by the Danube, especially at Nikopol and Kladovo. As the advance-guard of Michael's army, but also independently, the chief of haiduks, Novak Debeljak, known in epics as Starina Novak, excelled as courageous and heroic; he even broke into Sofia and pillaged it, kept roads and Turkish garrisons besieged south of the Danube. The haiduks in Slavonia became active as well, setting fire to a large number of Turkish hamlets and imperiling Požega, the center of a sanjak by the same name.

In the second stage of the war, the Serbs were soldiers and commanders in conquering and then defending Fort of Papa (Radič Ratz, Miloš Ratz), in battles over Tolna, Babocsa and Ratz-Kanizsa in Western Hungary. Their raid on Turkish ships carrying food and ammunition on the Danube near Kalocsa, with 52 ships captured and 1,000 Turks dead, was marked as particularly successful.

However, all the victories of the Serbian detachments and the great sacrifices of the Serbian people in the aforementioned uprising, war and irregular fighting, remained without the desired result, since Austria made peace with Turkey in November 1606, thus dispelling the hopes of its allies, the Serbs.

When the Turks conquered Bosnia in 1463, Croatian and even Slovenian lands were directly threatened by their bold penetrations which were difficult to halt and curb. Croatia was to become the *Antemurale Christianitatis* of the Western Europe, but it soon became evident that it was too weak to respond to the task, as it was reduced to the "remains of the remains".

As early as 1469, Turkish detachments made a deep breakthrough into Croatia over the Una river, and over the Sava river into Slavonia, while a part of the army occupied parts of Dalmatia. The attacks were repeated the following years and in 1471, the Turks

reached Ljubljana. Those were plunder campaigns, in which the Turkish cavalry ravaged lands, dispelled the population or took slaves, burned villages and towns, destroyed feudal castles and forts. An eminent 19th-century Croatian historian said it was "a shame that the enemy could thus... dash across our country, as if there were no one at home".

The Croats suffered the heaviest defeat by the Turks in 1493 in the battle at Krbavsko polje, when their army was routed, 15,000 men lost, and their commander, Ban Mirko Derenčin, fell captive to the Turks. The "flower of the Croatian nobility" was swept off, and the territory of Croatia kept reducing: thus after the battles of Mohacs and Gorjan, the Turks were located near Koprivnica, Križevac, Zagreb and in the south – before the gates of Split, Zadar and Senj. The nobility withdrew to the cities of the remaining part of the country, while peasants fled to Slavonia, Burgenland, Slovakia and Bohemia. The Croatian *Antemurale* was at its last gasp. However, salvation came, when on the historical scene of Croatia and Slavonia stepped Habsburg rulers and Orthodox Serbs.

When, in early 1527, the Habsburgs took over the Triune Kingdom (without Dalmatia), they were bound to defend it with an army of 200 cavalry and 200 foot-soldiers, and to pay another 800 horsemen in the service of Croatian noblemen. Croatia was so weak and poor that in the mid-16th century it was able to collect on behalf of the war tax a mere 1,500 florins, while the costs of maintaining the nascent Military Border amounted to over 200,000 florins! However, neither the available imperial army nor the financial support could halt, let alone expel the Turks from the entire territory stretching from the Drava river to the Adriatic Sea, as the forts taken by the army had no support among the local people that either fled or was captured. Thus many of the forts were abandoned and left to the Turks and wasteland lay around them. Between the imperial army and that of the Croatian nobility on one side and the Turks, on the other, a belt of "no man's land" stretched, becoming the battleground of a perpetual "small-scale war".

The situation began to change when the Serbs crossed over in large numbers from the Turkish to the Croato-Austrian side.

Smaller groups of Serbs, as troops led by noblemen, emerged in Croatia and Slavonia in the 15th century. Following the death of Pavle Bakić, certain Serbian noblemen crossed over to the Austrian side, followed by larger population groups, who in the first few decades of the 16th century began to lose their "vlachian" (cattle-breeder and military) privileges and became Turkish *raya* entirely deprived of their rights. These populations, led by their chiefs (knezes, voivodes, sirdars, standard-bearers and Orthodox priests), sought ever more frequently the protection of Austrian imperial (German) commanders, and rarely paid allegiance to Croatian noblemen. They undertook to defend the border against the Turks, thus the future Military Border unfolded out of two imperial generalities - the generality of Varaždin between the Drava and Sava rivers, and the generality of Karlovac, from the Fort of Karlovac to the Sea. The Croatian nobility retained only the defense at the Kupa river with a small-in-number army of feudal lords and the ban.

Thus the *Antemurale* was restored in Western Slavonia and Croatia, resting largely on the Serbs frontiers-men as the human force and on the financial power of the Lower Austrian classes. However, as it was in the territory of "historical" Croatia, the *Antemurale* remained *Croato-Catholic* in the eyes of Europe (under the sway of the papacy), regardless of its crucial *Serbo-Orthodox* component. This image was transferred onto subsequent times, and everything that came from Croatia was regarded as *Croatian* only. Thus the merits for the defense of Europe against the Turks, and the contributions of

both peoples to European culture were ascribed only to Croatia, since Croatia as a territory (country) was identified with the Croatian people, while the Serbian name and the Serbian Orthodox people – not being related with Serbian “historical” territory within the framework of Croatia – were almost entirely ignored. Much injustice was thus inflicted upon the Serbs, and the gates of the Europe they defended with their blood and lives were shut before them.

Among the earliest compact Serbian groups that crossed over to the Austrian side were those who settled in the region of Zumberak at the Croato-Slovenian border, to whom Emperor Ferdinand I granted special frontiers-men privileges in 1538. The emperor demanded from them, their captains and voivodes, loyalty and military service “for the benefit of the entire Christian community”, promising them for the next 20 years, “to till the land without any taxes or leases, ... to take all the crops and the income from that land... Additionally: everything they take... from the Turks... and pillage, it all belongs to the Rascians themselves (Serbs)” etc. By the way, the Serbs-Uskoks, i.e. border-guards, were not subject to the Croatian feudal authorities, ban and Assembly, and they were exempted from religious dependence upon the Catholic Church.

During the 16th century, smaller and larger groups of Serbs-“vlachs” settled in areas stretching from the Sea to the Drava river, though the largest group moved out from Bosnia and Turkish Slavonia during the Long War (1593-1606).

The area south of the Sava river to the Sea, not yet invaded by the Turks, was settled by Serbs arriving from Bosnia. They entered into the services of imperial, German commanders in Karlovac, Ogulin and Senj, and the services of Croatian noblemen Zrinski and Frankopan, thereby strengthening and expanding the belt of either purely Serbian settlements, or the ones mixed with the remaining oases of native Croatians.

During the aforementioned war, large groups of Serbs moved from Turkish Slavonia to the Austrian side, to the Generality of Varaždin, where the imperial commanders granted them lands abandoned by Croatian noblemen and those of the Zagreb Chapter, unequivocal military status and self-administered popular organization which was subsequently legalized in the so-called *Statuta Valachorum* of 1630.

The migrations of Serbs from Bosnia and Slavonia, from under Islamic rule, to a Christian administration, were often carried out in battle and with heavy losses on both sides. This was taking place now and then during the entire 17th century as, from time to time, Turkish raids into Austrian territory defended by Serb border guards were followed by onslaughts of the border guards into the territory controlled by Turks, and these were accompanied by villages in flames, population captured, cattle lifted, plunder of other property and migrations. The migration of Serbs from Turkish Bosnia and Slavonia affected Turkey’s decline in economic and military might in those areas, and reverse: the settlement of Serbs in the abandoned regions under the rule of Austria and of the Croatian ban increased their economic and defensive powers.

The Military Border in Croatia and Slavonia, in which Serbs played a chief role in the 17th century, was enlarged during the 1683-1699 war.

At the very beginning of the war against the Turks, the Serbs in Dalmatia rose under their famous voivodes Stojan Janković and Ilija Smiljanić. Following them were the Serbs in Lika, who called off their allegiance to the Turks and together with the border army, comprised again largely of Serbs, cleared the area of Turks after bloody battles, so that Serbs from other regions could settle there, stamping their ethnic trace.

In the war, the imperial army, Serb border-guards and the army of the ban routed the Turks from the territory stretching between the Kupa and Una rivers. In addition to two Serb groupations that had settled around Petrinja before the war, large masses of Serbs

from Western Bosnia arrived in Banija, becoming nearly its only population. The there-
until "no man's land" was settled and the soil tilled. The Serbian frontiers-men by the
Una river and on Petrova Gora became a strong bulwark against the Turks in Bosnia.

Similar events took place north of the Sava river with the liberation of Slavonia and
Srem from Turkish dominion. The imperial and ban's armies played a part in this, as
well as the Serbs from the Generality of Varaždin and those Serbs who had until then
been under the Turks in Slavonia and who immediately crossed over to the Austrian
side. As the Serb ("Ratz") militia, they fought the Turks around Požega, throughout
Mala Vlaška, around Virovitica and Osijek to Petrovaradin. As the Turks were routed
from those areas, a large number of Serbs from Northern Bosnia joined the native Serbs
there, thus the ethnic composition of the lands between the Drava, Danube and Sava
rivers altered to their advantage.

During the war, Serbs throughout Hungary, Transylvania, Bosnia and Serbia emerged
at various battlefields. When Buda was besieged in the early fall of 1686, Serbs
under the command of Jovan Tekelija, who with time rose to be the most prominent mi-
litary figure among his people, crossed over to the other side and fought against the
Turks until the end of the war. At the same time, Serbs in Banat were being mustered by
their chief, Novak Petrović, who formed a strong popular army detachment, putting it
under the command of the imperial general, Count Istvan Csaky. He was appointed cap-
tain of the Serbs of Banat, 5,000 of whom he settled in the vicinity of Szeged the fol-
lowing year. The Bunjevci, of Serbian origin and Catholic faith, inhabiting the environs
of Sombor, Subotica, Baia and Szeged, placed themselves, with their captains Marković
and Vidaković, under the command of imperial generals. The transfer of Serbs to the
Christian side increased in the spring and summer of 1688, while the imperial army was
conquering Ilok, Petrovaradin, Titel and approaching Zemun and Belgrade; it was
flocked by Serbs from Bosnia and Srem, and the process became more evident after
Belgrade was taken in the beginning of September that same year. Serbian detachments
sprang up one after another, i.e., entire military units were abandoning the Turks to join
the other side. Thus a detachment of 3,000 Serbs destroyed a Turkish garrison in Orsova
by the Danube and conquered its fort; a similar feat was performed by Captain Prodan
Šteta with the conquest of Kladovo. In October that same year, Serbs seized the Turkish
stronghold of Užice and vanquished a strong Turkish detachment in northeastern Bosnia
which tried to imperil Srem (400 dead!). Soon the Serbs liberated Mačva and the
Rašković knezes from Stari Vlah crossed over with their men to the other side. Serbia
was in turmoil and the Turks in retreat and disintegration; it appeared that triumph by
the Christians and Serbian popular army would be hasty and complete.

However, in February, 1689, Louis XIV of France declared war upon Austria, which
was compelled to withdraw a large part of its army from the Balkan battle-zone, leaving
thus the heaviest load of war upon the Serbian people and troops. The Turks took advan-
tage of this, pulled together and mounted a fresh offensive, first in the mid-Danube, and
restored Kladovo, which was defended bravely by Captain Šteta and 1,000 Serbian sol-
diers. Then they attacked Orsova, advanced onto Golubac and launched a surprise attack
on nearby Serbs, causing them the loss of 1,500 dead and wounded.

However, the imperial army and the Serbian detachments were still making advances
on the main road towards Niš and Skopje by the beginning of 1690. The emperor
entrusted Pavle Nestorović Deak with the command over the Serbian troops, appointing
him colonel for his merits in waging the war, especially during the conquest of Niš,
when Deak went round the Turkish right wing and resolved the battle to the advantage
of Prince of Baden's army. By crossing over to the imperial army of General Piccolo-

mini in masses, the Serbs helped it effect a swift conquest of Kosovo and Metochia and cleared the path towards Skopje and Peć, enabling a contact between Piccolomini and Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević who joined fresh Serbian detachments to the Christian army.

General Piccolomini entered Skopje on October 26, 1689, and, without any delay, he burned it down, as the plague was raging in the city. He himself became infected and died soon in Prizren while meeting with the Serbian Patriarch who greeted him with several thousand insurgents. Soon, the fortunes of war in Macedonia and Kosovo changed, and following a crushing defeat of the Austrians and Serbs at the gorge of Kačanik on January 1, 1690, began an abrupt, even panicky retreat of the imperial army, and within its frame the Great Serbian Exodus under Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević.

The withdrawal of the imperial army, with brief delays, lasted until early October, 1690, when it was forced to leave Belgrade and turn to the defense of Southern Hungary and Slavonia. However, Serbian detachments were quite active at the time, a little on the eastern and a little on the western side of the battle-zone. Near the end of January, a detachment of 2,000 Serbs commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Antonije Znorić (actually, Anton Zič of Znorova!) launched an attack upon 3,000 Turks not far from Sofia, inflicting on them a crushing defeat; he was just as successful at Peć and Banja in mid-March, reaching again to Sofia and returning to Pirot with great plunder. Captains Toma Kolašinović and Strahinja also inflicted defeats on the Turks, though on a smaller scale. During that time, Colonel Pavle Nestorović Deak with several thousand Serbs – cavalry and infantry, protected crossings over the Danube towards Transylvania and Wallachia; towards the end of 1690 he was blocked in Orsova and, worn out by hunger, was compelled to turn the fort over to the Turks with the entire garrison of 600 men, who were chained and led to labor to the Fort of Belgrade. The Serbs in Niš were less fortunate; after being handed over by their Austrian commander, the Turks decapitated over 4,000 of them!

Vienna assessed the withdrawal of its army from Serbia and Belgrade as temporary, and conceived renewed conquests in early 1691, with the engagement of more Serbian detachments, of which imperial generals Ludwig of Baden and Veterani had high regard. They were also the cheapest army, waging wars at their own expense with some food from the imperial storehouses. Thus Patriarch Čarnojević, Captain Todor Rupić, the newly elected vice-Voivode Jovan Monastirlija, Pavle Nestorović Deak, ransomed from captivity, and many other captains in Srem, Slavonia, Transylvania and Hungary, set up new detachments or mustered up existing ones, taking upon themselves the bulk of the war against the Turks.

In the first half of 1691, Teodor Rupić was successfully engaged in fighting throughout Banat, Antonije Znorić and Captain Strahinja fought in Transylvania, while other Serbian captains and their troops held positions by the Sava, to withstand Turkish attempts to break into Srem. That spring, vice-Voivode Monastirlija and Patriarch Arsenije mustered a detachment with over 2,000 soldiers by Buda, under the leadership of 12 Serbian officers. Monastirlija led them to Osijek under Serbian popular standards, drums and trumpets, and then set off towards Petrovaradin. Many Serbs from Slavonia and Srem joined him, enlarging his army to 10,000. In the decisive clash with the army of Grand Vizier Mustapha Čuprilić at Slankamen, on August 19, 1691, the Serbian army, and Monastirlija in person, excelled particularly by charging onto the Turks first, killing many and seizing 34 standards and 11 horse-tail ensigns of pashas, which the imperial commanders praised highly. Two weeks later, the Serbian commander Subota Jović conquered Arad and was appointed captain there.

During 1692, almost the entire burden of waging war on the Sava river fell onto the Serb troops which carried out raids into Serbia and in 1693 took part in an unsuccessful siege of Belgrade. Captain Pantelija-Pana Božić was stationed at the Fort of Petrovaradin with 800 Serbs who attacked Turkish ships with ammunition and supplies. At Morović and Kupinovo, the Serbian militia clashed with Turks during their sporadic forays into Srem, while Serbs from Bačka disturbed the Turks in Banat. Captain Prodan Šteta excelled in this fighting as the defender of Titel, a key fort at the mouth of the Tisa river into the Danube. In spring 1694, he repelled two Turkish attacks (the first one numbering 5,000 men, and the second as many as 8,000) aided by several dozen river boats. Although they lost over 300 soldiers in the second attack, the Turkish commanders launched a third attack in early September, 1695, slashing Serbs to the last – Captain Prodan Šteta and all of his men, who withstood the attack bravely. Colonel Antonije Znorčić, the commander of the Serbian militia in Transylvania, fell in the battle of Lugos in Banat, waged at approximately the same time. Succeeding him was Pavle Nestorović Deak who arrived at the battlefield in Banat as colonel of the Serbian militia in Transylvania. With his 600 hussars, he was compromising the Turks in Temesvar and fought successfully against their ally Imre Thököly at Tokaj in 1697, on which occasion he sustained serious wounds and barely survived.

Thus fought the Serbs from Transylvania to Slavonia. They also took part in the crucial battle that took place near Senta on September 11, 1697. In the encampment of the commander-in-chief, the imperial general Prince Eugene of Savoy, between Titel and Kovilje, was also vice-Voivode Jovan Monastirlija with 1,000 footmen and 700 cavalry-soldiers. His task was the monitoring of the advances of the Turks led by Sultan Mustapha II himself. However, deserving the highest merit for the outcome of the battle was a Serb from Senta, Captain Jovan Popović Tekelija. At the right moment, guided by the stars, he led the imperial army, over swamps and bog, to Senta, informed the Prince of the moment the Turks began crossing the Tisa river on their retreat to Banat, after which he mounted an attack in which 25,000 Turks fell, including the Grand Vizier and many pashas. Tekelija cut a figure in the battle, and then pursued the broken Turkish army throughout Banat and captured two pashas.

Following the battle of Senta negotiations began, ending with a peace treaty in Sremski Karlovci at the beginning of 1699. Thus ended a war in which the Serbs performed meritorious services for the Habsburg Monarchy and the Christian world, a war which took many victims and after which part of Srem, Banat and Serbia still remained under the Turks, while those who freed themselves from Turkish rule were dispersed throughout the vast expanses from Transylvania to Komarom, from Karlovac to Karlovci and south to the Adriatic Sea.

After the liberation of Slavonia, Srem (to the mouth of the Bosut into the Sava river) and entire Bačka, the defense of “neo-activistic lands” against the Turks in northern Bosnia, eastern Srem and Banat needed setting up, on account of which the creation of new sectors of the *Military Border* ensued in 1702.

Along the Sava, from Gradiška to Rača, the Military Border of the Sava area was set up, composed of the Higher, Middle and Lower Sava sectors; in the Higher and Lower sectors the border-guards were chiefly Serbs, and in the Middle, Slavonian Catholics, subsequent Croats. Through the center of Srem, the Danubian Military Border was set up only of Serbs, and along the Tisa and Mures rivers another sector was formed, inhabited by Orthodox Serbs, with the exception of the Bunjevci (“Catholic Serbs”) in Subotica and Sombor. When the imperial army conquered Banat and Serbia in 1716, a Serbian militia was formed to guard the border towards Turkey. However, when the Aus-

trians left Serbia in 1739, the Serbian militia crossed over to Srem under Atanasije Rašković and Vuk Isaković and became the nucleus of the Military Border of Srem to be set up several years later, whereas the Serbian militia in Banat would form the Banat Military Border. Since the flotilla from Komarom, Győr and Esztergom was transferred to the south to become a naval battalion, organized as a separate military formation during the 1760s, it might be said, without exaggeration, that the largest part of the Military Border along the Sava and Danube rivers was occupied by border-guards of Serbian origin as a bulwark of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire, including, of course, the former ones in the imperial border service in the Generalities of Karlovac and Varaždin.

Along that long-drawn border line, in hundreds of stations, the Serbian frontiers-men day and night protected Christian borders from Turkish onslaughts, prevented smuggling from Turkey to Austria, checked incursions of bandits and prevented the plague from reaching imperial lands. When need arose, they carried out reprisals on local Turkish stations and were the pillars of the Austrian intelligence service against Turkey. Of course, they took part in the three wars that Austria waged against Turkey in the 18th century.

In the 1716-1718 war, the Serbs were most frequently the advance-guard of the imperial army; they carried out bold thrusts into the rear of the Turks, facilitating operations for the Austrians. In Banat, during the siege of Temesvar, Jovan Tekelija and his troops successfully prevented the Turkish army from endangering the imperial troops from the southern side and unblocking the fort. Nearby, border guards by the Sava river and in Srem, under Colonel Petraš, were mounting attacks on Bosanska Gradiška and Bihać, charging onto Šabac, Lešnica, Bijeljina and Brčko, and inflicting heavy losses upon the Turks, but also suffering their counterattacks, of which the most tragic one was at Irig in early 1717, when 300 border guards and their commander Adam Monastirlija fell defending their trenches and 100 citizens of Irig were killed. Monasteries and settlements in that part of Srem were burned down.

In the following war, from 1737-1739, border guards were largely in the composition of the Austrian army which operated in Bosnia and Serbia. Border guards from the Generalities of Varaždin and Karlovac comprised the main body of the army led by Prince Hildburghausen, which was defeated by the Turks at Banjaluka; those who survived were transferred to the battle-zone in western Serbia. The border guards from the sectors of Slavonia-Srem and Tisa-Mures, in concert with the Serbian militia and insurgents led by Patriarch Arsenije IV, waged bloody battles with the Turks in Stari Ras, beneath Niš, on the Drina river, by Užice, Kruševac, Valjevo and Šabac, and in Banat, scoring victories with their own commanders and losing battles when led by Austrians. The outcome was the same as fifty years before: the routing of the Austrians from Serbia, the Exodus under Patriarch Šakabenta and the immeasurable suffering of the Serbian people.

In the last Austro-Turkish war waged from 1788 to 1791, the Serbs bore the heaviest burden, fighting as imperial border guards, insurgents and members of the so-called Free-corps.

Thousands of border guards, largely Serbs from the Generalities of Karlovac and Varaždin, under the command of imperial officers, charged onto the Turks at Dubica, which they conquered after heavy losses, in the third attempt under the famous marshal Gideon Laudon. When the imperial army went on the defensive, the Serbian voluntary detachments – the Free-corps – took over further fighting under their local commanders Šujica, Kovačević, Budisavljević, Gvozdrenović and Borojević, who penetrated courageously into Turkish Bosnia, burned towers of beys, returning with their heads and

plunder, but also with thousands of refugees brought over to the Austrian side. The Military Border, called Krajina (Borderland), again became the "bloody dress", sublime in poetry, but tragic in reality.

At the eastern battlefield, in Serbia, alongside the sluggish imperial troops sailed Serbs boatmen out to destroy Turkish ships in the Danube and Sava rivers, marched Serbs border guards from Srem and Banat and the Free-corps troops, who at one point were the advance-guard and the next the rear-guard of the main body of the Austrian army at Šabac, Belgrade and Timočka Krajina. In the first few months of the war, the Free-corps under Koča Andjelković were breaking up the main, "imperial", road from Belgrade to Niš, liberating small towns along the Morava river and across Šumadija, arousing panic in the Turkish rear-guard. However, without backing from the imperial commanders, they were unable to liberate Serbia wherefrom they were finally checked into Banat. The price they paid for being loyal to a Christian emperor and for loving freedom were their heads and the impalement of Captain Koča. To the East of the Morava river and in Timočka Krajina, daring fighting continued until the end of the war with the Free-corps led by Captain Marjan Jovanović, who was joined by the somewhat younger Free-corps under Captain Jovan Branovački, composed of refugees from Serbia and border-guards from Banat. In northwestern and then in central Serbia, due to the poor activities of the imperial army, the load of fighting was transferred to the Free-corps of Major Mihajlo Mihaljević, mustered in Srem from Serb refugees amongst whom was the future "vožd" (leader) of the Serbian people, Karadjordje Petrović. As the advance-guard and shock troops, the Free-corps under Mihaljević took part in the liberation of Šabac and Belgrade, fighting independently for a year throughout Šumadija and western Serbia, reaching to Niš, Kruševac, the Studenica Monastery, arousing people against the Turks, and then, defending them when the imperial army began its withdrawal from Serbia, when tens of thousands of helpless people sought salvation in the flight to Srem.

Again the sacrifices of the Serbian people were overwhelming, the land devastated, the population on the run, thousands dead, thousands taken to slavery... and, in the end, under the decrees of the 1791 Svishtov Peace Treaty, the Serbs were given only amnesty, while many of those who crossed over to Austria were recruited to fight the French as Free-corps. Embittered Serbs on both sides of the Sava and Danube rivers, realized they were deceived, as they had been so many times before, laying down their lives for Christian Europe which turned its back on them, pursuing its own goals.

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In conclusion, the Serbs lost their national state, and in part came under Turkish bondage while the other part was dispersed in the regions where they were tolerated as a foreign body, as Orthodox "schismatics" who were expected to spill their blood and spend their modest means for the benefit of Catholic Europe. In 250 years, from the fall of the Despotate to the Insurrection under Karadjordje, the Serbs took part in every Austro-Turkish war, always offering great sacrifices, performing the most heroic deeds, only to get from their Christian allies a few crumbs, false promises and privileges that thawed in times of peace, which were imbued with disdain towards them, although it was they who were the *Antemurale* of the Christian world toward the Islamic, Ottoman Empire. It goes without saying that frequent wars and migrations had to produce fatal consequences in toughening fibers, breaking families, clans and tribes, in slowing down and often interrupting economic and cultural development.

It is a sheer miracle that the Serbian people survived and even mustered up their strength for a struggle for national liberation in the early 19th century, despite Europe's disinclination, despite the fact that the sultan in Istanbul, the emperor in Vienna and Napoleon in Paris were devising similar plans for their future.

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THE SERBIAN AND BALKAN REVOLUTIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Only fifteen years following the triumph of the French Revolution, at the turn of the century, the undulating regions of the Belgrade pashalik were seized by a surge of heroic fighting of the Serbian people for their national, political, economic and social liberation. It was the echo of a powerful movement that spread in the previous century throughout Europe, contributing it to start differing from its own past; to fiercely oppose the rest of the world and be constituted as a coherent whole. It was the age in Europe that raised again the question of delicate and complex components in which were reflected all constant and very diverse opposites.

The chronological sequence of the momentous events in Europe asserts a process set in motion by an intricate play of active opposites, notions, emotional structures, interest-groups, peoples and social classes. An impression has been shaped that within certain social categories certain tendencies dominated for a moment, to be soon refuted and weakened, sufficing for which was a scarcely noticeable shift of the weight of human activity. Though gradual, that shifting nevertheless becomes prominent in spectacular phenomena as soon as the disturbed balance, once it reaches the ultimate point, turns everything upside-down, requiring the establishment of a new order of things, which is to relive the same fate. This oscillation and swaying characteristic of historical evolution is not as new as the speed with which the evolution unfolds. This fresh speed of evolutionary processes could hardly be imagined without an abrupt development of efficient intellectual activity. Although the process we call progress evolves in a rhythm which is just as easy to discern as it is difficult to define in time, it seems that in the 19th century it has gained a velocity thereuntil inexistant in human history.

Viewed globally, this progress was quite easily perceived on the political and social plane. Before the period discussed here, the fate of the ruling classes and of those related to them for generations through the prevailing feudal relationships, was almost identical, if not with the destiny of the peoples themselves, whose daily life depended primarily

on natural conditions, then with the destiny of the state in which they lived. Through political organization, the ordinary man learned his affiliation; his position in the social and political hierarchy: a position not determined by himself. However, towards the end of the period viewed here, the feeling of national affiliation turned into something which became nearly an overall phenomenon in contemporary Europe. Peoples grew conscious of their role – aware that the state rested on them. They began to feel that the destiny of the political authorities was above all their own destiny. If in addition to this, they grew conscious of their place and position in the sphere of economic relations and recognized the framework that hindered a normal development and natural order of things within it, then the day of momentous transformations was not long to come. In that instance, outside impulses stand only as initiators, as instigators of tumultuous changes. The Serbian revolution, a forerunner of subsequent Balkan revolutions, contained in itself all the ingredients and philosophy of such a historic event, with its active participants, even its researchers, often unaware of its greatness and import in the contemporary developments of European civilization. What is it that renders it such magnitude and such import, both in the very moment it took place, and today, from our perspective – from a distance of almost two centuries? What was the fundamental task of the Serbian and Balkan revolutions? These questions can be answered only if events in Serbia and the Balkans are viewed in their dialectic totality, in the development of a revolutionary process, its course and settlement.

And indeed, some 19th-century historians viewed the Serbian and Balkan revolutions not only as a struggle for national liberation from centuries-long Turkish bondage, for the creation i.e. restoration of the independent state of Serbia, or the independent Balkan states, but as a struggle of the oppressed and exploited peasantry (then the vast majority of the population) for release from the feudal restraint and the creation of free peasant estates. It had become clear to everyone that it was a struggle both national and political, economic and social. *In other words, the creation of national states in the Balkans, the break away from the dependence of local feudal lords, the definitive liberation of the Balkan peasantry, whatever its nationality, from the sipahi yoke – that was a historic task standing before the Balkan peoples. That was the fundamental objective of the Serbian and overall Balkan revolutions.* In addition to this, it is important to mention that not a single representative of the oppressed Balkan peoples advocated, or emphasized, any program to reform Turkey. During the struggle for national liberation, during the revolution, they strove either towards total independence or broad autonomy, above all towards internal independence. Only in this respect can there be talk of identifying the contents of the Balkan revolution with its objectives, whatever the specific results the revolution had brought to individual Balkan states. It is particularly important to point to this, as these peoples differed in their demands from those within the Austrian Monarchy, whose representatives stood on reformist positions and advocated programs for a national and political reorganization of the Habsburg Monarchy. Here, particularly among the liberals, the principles of Austro-Slavism and federalism were popular. It is true, there were adherents of Yugoslavism in Austria, the supporters of the idea of a unitary independent state on the basis of national togetherness or of congruity of Yugoslav or all South-Slavic peoples, including the Bulgarians. This fact shows that a conflict of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies existed in the Austrian Monarchy. True, after 1848, the Habsburg Monarchy survived two lost wars (1859 and 1866), and even lived to see a temporary stabilization thanks to the 1867 reform. The tendencies towards its disintegration, regardless of internal political opposites, were barely noticeable, even in the 1870s, but then, this goes beyond the framework of our discussion.

However, it could be said that the formation of new states in southeastern Europe did not first occur there where the capitalism was more developed, i.e. in Austria, but there where conditions for national revival were harder and the structural formation of a bourgeois society more difficult to achieve, i.e. in the Ottoman Empire.

However, if we were to take a general view of the history of the struggle put up by the nations of southeastern Europe against Ottoman dominion, i.e. if we were to follow the process of their revolutionary transformation, we could notice several stages related both to the internal development of most of the Balkan nations and to the foreign political situation.

The initial stage of the process, i.e. the process of separating the national states of the Balkan peoples from the composite Ottoman Empire, can be chronologically situated within the period between the late 18th century on the one hand, and the twenties of the 19th century, on the other. In this period, as a result of the tumultuous national-liberation movement of the Balkan peoples and the Russo-Turkish wars, the kingdom of Greece was formed and the broad autonomous rights of Serbia and the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) were confirmed through international agreements.

The end of the Crimean War (1853-1856) marks the end of the *second stage* in the revolutionary struggle of the Balkan peoples. It is characterized by the sharpening of social opposites, due to the formation of a bourgeois basis of the Balkan states in their nascent stage: Serbia, Greece and Romania, and also to the increasingly harsh contrasts between the Ottoman regime and the subjugated peoples.

The second half of the 1850s opened the *third stage* when the crisis in the Ottoman Empire grew particularly acute. Accompanying it was a strengthening of the liberation movements in Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a gradual consolidation of positions of Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, as well as the unification of the Danubian Principality. Supplementary to all this was the struggle of the great powers for influence in the Balkans. This stage ended with the Eastern Crisis in 1878, the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, the liberation of Bulgaria and the official recognition of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania by the Porte.

If we return for a moment to the Austrian Empire, the historic events that determined the position of the oppressed peoples within it were the 1848-1849 revolution – which indeed ended the feudal system in Austria, though politically it suffered defeat – and the reorganization of the Habsburg Monarchy on the basis of Austro-Hungarian dualism in 1867.

After viewing more closely the developments and results of the forming of national bourgeois states in the Balkans, some common traits become noticeable which is explicable through a number of reasons. With most peoples within the Ottoman Empire, the conditions for the formation of new states were quite similar. All those states sprang, more or less, at the same level of development – in the period of crumbling of the feudal system and the rise of capitalism (sometimes with a preserved patriarchal system). The epoch of their coming into being was one in which other bourgeois states in Europe had been already formed and their systems could serve as a model to the Balkan peoples. It should be added that some new Balkan states emerged within the frame of a complex struggle of European powers over the Eastern Question and with their direct participation.

These factors enabled in many cases that a path towards national statehood for peoples in the Balkans was shorter than the process of capitalist development. Several new states with analogous typological traits were gradually being consolidated. These states were constitutional monarchies with strong monarchic rule, and with constitutional laws based on the principles of bourgeois law. They formed and developed a parliamentary

system. This refers to the Kingdom of Greece, the Principality of Serbia, Romania and the Bulgarian Principality. Only in Montenegro, theocratic rule was succeeded by an absolute monarchy.

The separation of autonomous national states from the Ottoman Empire was consequential chiefly to the stormy development of the Balkan peoples' national-liberation movements, which in some cases led to national uprisings and longterm wars.

National uprisings and wars in the Balkans in the 19th century were anti-feudal in character and created the conditions for the development of capitalism. Such, for instance, were the contents of the events taking place in Serbia and Greece in the first three decades of the 19th century, in which social and national problems flowed into a one stream.

Because of the different levels of socio-economic development in the Balkan countries during their national-liberation movements, the bourgeois and democratic transformations took place with varying intensity. Thus in Serbia, the 1804-1813 insurgence paved the way for a bourgeois development in both the economic and political aspects. However, generally speaking, the character and time of the anti-feudal sways depended on the socio-economic structure of feudalism in each of these countries; on its political conditions and historical destiny. And agrarian relations in feudalism varied not only from one country to another, but, sometimes, within a single country, thus rendering their typification and classification an interminable problem even to agrarian historians. The same applies to the study of feudalism in the Balkans, Serbia in particular, where many important issues, including the difference between medieval feudalism during the Nemanjić dynasty and subsequent Turkish feudalism, have yet to be unravelled. However, this did not prevent 19th-century revolutionary changes in the Balkans from acquiring an anti-feudal character. But, if this was an irrefutable fact, another question arises: what were the results of the antifeudal revolution in the Balkans? Can these results be compared with those obtained in other regions, other countries and with other nations? The answer is interesting and important. It is generally known that the typical feudal system had been developed in France over the centuries. Owing to an unrelenting exploitation of landless peasantry, the nobility lived in the greatest luxury. During the 18th century, the serf in France was in a much worse position than in any other European country, except in Russia. This was conducive to the emergence in France of physiocratic ideas, which contributed to the ideological basis of the French Revolution, itself being extremely radical for those reasons.

It is generally believed that the 1789 French Revolution destroyed the feudal system not only most radically and primarily in its own country, but that it incited a revolutionary spark throughout Europe, a spark which, sooner or later, more or less, contributed to the burst of anti-feudal movements and revolutions in other European countries. A brief but categorical provision from the decree of July 4, 1789, which obliterated in a flash the whole past, severed feudal relations, gave peasants personal freedom and ownership over the lands, became famous worldwide. In spite of everything, viewing the abolition of feudalism in rural areas, the glorious revolution itself, actually, was not as radical as it is generally believed. (First of all, French peasants were not relieved of the feudal burdens immediately, but somewhat later, during the years of the Convent, 1792-1795, and more important, those peasants who were share-croppers or simple day laborers did not become the owners, just as many noblemen who remained in the country kept their land. Next, the estates owned by the State and the Church, as well as properties abandoned by the nobility, were proclaimed state property and sold not only to peasants but also to capitalists.) As a matter of fact, feudal relations were severed most

radically there where peasants themselves seized the property of the landowners, destroyed their castles and burned the landregisters. The present-day agrarian structure of France – with a mixture of small, medium and large estates, with its relations comprising ownership, tenancy and day laboring - in many respects has its roots in the variegated revolutionary events that took place two centuries ago, just as the anti-feudal revolutions and agrarian reforms in all countries, including Serbia, impressed their stamp, visible in their actual agrarian structures.

A recollection of the times and manner of the abolition of feudal agrarian relations in France was necessary chiefly to show more clearly, in the light of the stated facts, the tremendous importance of the Serbian revolution, which, along with the national liberation, brought to the Serbian peasantry the liberation from feudal bondage, among the earliest in Europe. Thus, after longterm national subjugation, the revolution brought not only national freedom and independence, which many other European peoples already enjoyed, but also free peasant estates, for which many still had long to wait and crave. This national freedom, however late it might have been, along with economic and social freedom as well, characteristic of the Serbian revolution, enabled to the Serbian people a more rapid economic and cultural development. "The symbiosis of class and national subjugation of the Serbian peasant in the Ottoman feudal state", wrote Stojan Novaković, "inevitably established an early relation between class and national struggles and coordinated aspirations for class and national freedom."

In fact, precisely the liberation of the peasantry from feudal ties was necessary from the point of view of the national and political freedom of the Serbian people, as the latter would never have been possible without the former. This is that unique national and socio-economic process that presents a distinctive trait of the Serbian revolution, because feudal lords with the Serbs, unlike those in most other European countries, were members of another, conquering people.

Not only that. The Serbian revolution incited revolutionary, national, social and economic liberation processes in all other countries in the Balkans. In that respect, it set off for other Balkan peoples the same liberation spark as the great French Revolution set off for European peoples in its day. Naturally, from that viewpoint, the moment of its outbreak is not without significance. While the Serbian agrarian revolution is divided from the French one by some fifteen years only, in other European countries, moreso in the Balkans, the abolition of feudal agrarian relations took place both later and less radically.

In all European countries, except in France, the process was more or less longterm, and, as a rule, lasted at least sixty years, beginning from the French Revolution in 1789 until after the 1848 Revolution. The Serbian revolution was far more short-lived: the feudal bondage was in fact severed during the few years of the First Serbian Insurrection. Even if we take into account a process of the legalization of the revolution's results by the thereuntil exploiter – sultan's edicts of 1830 and 1833 – a process thus understood did not took whole three decades.

The Serbian revolution is one of the earliest anti-feudal revolutions on the European continent; actually, it took place almost immediately after the French Revolution, as we said earlier, it came some fifteen years behind.

How did the revolutionary, national-liberation process unfold in other Balkan countries? What were its characteristics? Let us turn to them briefly.

Greek lands were at a higher stage of social and economic development at the beginning of the revolution (1821-1829). However, longterm wars were accompanied by the destruction of the productive forces of the country additionally encumbered by foreign debts. The rule of King Otton of Bavaria (a foreigner) was autocratic. A civil legal order

was established during the longterm strife between the different ruling classes. A quite strengthened Greek bourgeoisie, largely backed up by the people, won a new constitution for the country in the 1862 revolution, envisaging Greece as a constitutional monarchy.

In Bulgaria, the idea of national revival has got its general contours with Paisius of Chilandari as early as the 18th century. Afterwards, in the following decades, the idea failed to develop, and only in the first half of the 19th century, a concrete program was made for a struggle for Bulgaria's political autonomy, though within the Ottoman Empire. This was further spurred on by armed uprisings of the people against Turkish rule, by the Russo-Turkish wars, and also by the formation of autonomous semi-independent states in the Balkans. In the late sixties, and in the first half of the seventies, the idea to form a Bulgarian national state as a democratic republic became ripe in the Bulgarian national movement, as did the application of revolutionary methods of struggle for its realization. When the Russian army liberated Bulgaria in 1878, the capitalist socio-economic system was already present, rendering easier the victory of the bourgeois constitutional system.

The starting position of the struggle for national statehood in the Danubian Principalities was the most favorable, since autonomous state organizations had already existed there, and rule was in the hands of the national ruling classes. Romania emerged as a unitary state only with the unification of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and with considerable support from Russia and France. This was the only state in the Balkans created in a peaceful way, with ample use of diplomacy, however, without ruling out acute social conflicts perpetually accompanying the forming of its bourgeois state structure. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 with the participation of the federal Romanian army, brought full state independence to Romania.

In Montenegro, the struggle for political autonomy lasted several centuries, but it was not accompanied by the development of bourgeois relations. During the struggle, a state organization was gradually formed, in which the process to overcome tribal separatism played an important part. Montenegrin metropolitans occupied an important place in the process, as did some tribal chiefs. Only by the mid-19th century did the theocratic form of government lose its import.

The national uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1875-1878) did not end up in its liberation, but in its occupation by Austro-Hungary.

Socio-economic relations in Albanian lands were similar in type to those in Montenegro, though the process of Albania's national and political consolidation was retarded, due to various reasons. Moslems made up the majority of the population; feudal lords were important and influential in the Ottoman Empire, constantly aspiring to political autonomy. The forming of the semi-independent pashaliks of Scadar and Ioannina in the latter part and end of the 18th century positively affected the national and political consolidation of the Albanian people. However, the Porte was successful in squaring its accounts with the Albanian pashas. Only with the founding of the Prizren League in 1878 (its radical wing in particular), was proposed for the first time a program of the struggle for the autonomous national development of the Albanian lands and a demand for Albania's autonomy within the Ottoman Empire.

It is important to underline that each of these Balkan states, once a part of the Ottoman Empire, passed its own path of development, before becoming included in the international European system, though all of them, without exception, were assisted by Russia diplomatically, sometimes materially and militarily. Contrary to this, the other big European states, above all Austria and Great Britain, upheld the *status quo* principle

in South-eastern Europe and generally hindered the formation of the Balkan states.

Complex and diverse were the influences exerted by foreign factors on the state system principles of the young Balkan states. Russia's influence was direct and strong. However, it should be mentioned that tsarism often displayed indecisiveness and conservatism, since it constantly feared the penetration of revolutionary and democratic ideas into the Balkans, and had its specific objectives as was creating of the conditions for the expansion of its influence in one or another Balkan state. Such tendencies were numerous; a good example to that effect, well-known from the period of the First Serbian Insurrection, is when Russia attempted to impose upon Serbia an utterly inappropriate constitution, or when it openly interfered in the internal affairs of the Danubian Principalities in 1831-1832, imposing on them their first constitution, known in literature as "Organiceskij reglament". Many other similar cases can be added, but it is nevertheless important to note that the Russian government, though it stood for one of the most reactionary regimes in contemporary Europe, assumed a special role in the Balkans, contributing to the national liberation of its peoples. In addition to this, in an endeavor to retain them under its wing, tsarism made no attempt to consolidate in the newly established Balkan states, the autocratic feudal and serf system dominant in Russia, aware that it clashed with the conditions prevalent in the Balkans. Generally speaking, during the forming of state structures in the Balkan countries – Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria – the influence of Russia was not prevalent, but that of European capitalist states, above all of France. By the models of the constitution from the times of the French Revolution, the Belgian 1831 Constitution and the state system in Switzerland, constitutional projects were being developed for the young Balkan states. The Napoleonic Code was used in the elaboration of civil legislature. In Serbia, Austrian legislature wielded considerable influence. The Constitution of Tirnovo in Bulgaria was written by the Russian administration, and sanctioned by St Petersburg. However, it rested upon the demands and programs prescribed by the Bulgarian bourgeois circles, and in content could be included among the liberal bourgeois constitutions.

The process of the territorial enclosing of the Balkan states was very distressing. Namely, in terms of territory, all the Balkan states were small, but nevertheless internationally acknowledged (except the Bulgarian Principality) towards the end of the period discussed here. In some of them ruled kings or princes of foreign origin (Greece, Romania, Bulgaria), while in others (Serbia and Montenegro), the national dynasties were in power. In all of them, the key positions in the state administration were in hands of national bourgeoisie, which formed during the 1860s and 1870s various political parties to protect their interests.

During the process of their birth, the Balkan states were unable to include all members of one people into a single national state. Thus a perpetual task became the need to liberate as yet unliberated parts of a people and the expansion of state borders. The task was carried out in a longterm struggle, on diplomatic and military battlefields alike, and almost always with the involvement of the great powers. On the other hand, the development of national consciousness opened up the aspiration for national consolidation. Consequently, ideas and plans were developed for the political reorganization of the Balkans and comparatively large states emerged. These phenomena took place around the 1840s. From then on, they were present in the socio-political life of the Kingdom of Greece (the so-called *megali* idea) and in the Serbian Principality (the "Načertanije" of 1844), i.e. with those nations that had preserved the most their traditions of feudal statehood and historical right. Doubtless, the ideas and movements had a twofold character. On the one hand, they expressed the desire for the establishment of national states, and

on the other, they bore in themselves possibility for the expression of nationalist tendencies implying the idea of a greater national state.

Somewhat later, in the 1860s, ideas and programs for interethnic alliances, confederations and federations spread in the Balkans. Their development is explicable by a relatively small population and political weakness of every individual Balkan people, which led to a hasty search for allies. They were sought both through liberation struggles and for the defending of their positions as free peoples before the face of the great powers. The struggle for freedom and sovereignty of the Balkan peoples was accompanied by a search for roads leading to the creation of interethnic associations, new multinational states with ethnically identical populations. Projects were developed for federations of countries each differing in their historical, social and cultural traits. One of the causes for the emergence of interethnic associations could probably be found in the fact that the peoples of the region have always been considerably mixed. The more so as clear boundaries between ethnic territories were almost nonexistent, while the projects of state demarcations, as well as state claims to certain territories, increasingly provoked clashes among neighboring peoples.

The creation of national bourgeois states in the Balkans was a longterm, complex and diverse process, closely associated with the constituting of capitalist relations and bourgeois nations in the region. Near the end of 1870, the processes were completed with all the Balkan peoples. However, their activation was assisted by the separation from the Ottoman Empire of several autonomous states, in most cases typologically close to European constitutional monarchies with a bourgeois legal order. This in many ways facilitated the path to national development and the economic and social progress of Serbs, Montenegrins, Romanians and Bulgarians. However, remaining under the direct rule of the Porte were many other territories inhabited by Southern Slavs, Greeks and Albanians. Their national and political self-determination was placed on the agenda of the future historical development of the Balkan countries.

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Veselin Djuretić

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE 20TH CENTURY AND SERBIAN ETHNIC BEING

I do not propose to read out my lecture, but to offer an impromptu discourse characteristic of an *ex cathedra* delivery. It is my aim to separate from this wide theme only one problem and, through a historical and problematist analysis of the problem, to demonstrate the influence of the political ideologies of the 20th century on Serbian ethnic space and their contribution to its destruction.

I shall try to elaborate this problem through two basic ideas: one is the idea of Yugoslavism, and the other is the idea of socialism (communism). At the core of the analysis is the relation these two ideas have borne to Serbian ethnic space from the beginning of the century to the present day. Of course, this kind of approach to my subject presupposes following the basic directions of the processes which are unfolding before our eyes at this moment.

The ideas of which I am speaking are the product of both the Serbian historical process and major European movements, but the Serbs have not accepted them mechanically.

The idea of Yugoslavism is the product also of Serbian historical development; it stemmed from the Serbs' liberation struggle; but it was also the creative response to certain European ideas, best embodied in the creation of the German and Italian nations and states.

As for the socialist idea, it also implies European influences, but, above all, it concerns the Serbian protagonists who leaned on European ideas, trying to adjust them to the concrete Serbian socio-political and cultural processes.

It is not necessary to speak about the genesis of the idea of Yugoslavism, about the degree of its maturity at the time the Serbs were in the position to choose between constituting themselves as a nation and a "supranational" option. (The latter found expression mostly through the ideology of Yugoslavism.) It is well known that the idea of so-

cialism in the teachings of the Serbian socialists of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century was better articulated than in most of other European nations, and certainly better than in any other Balkan nation.

The question of interest to us today is: To what degree did the European national ideas influence Serbian ethnic space and what attitude they took towards the Serbian nation-building?

The historical distance today makes it possible for the great determinants and fascinations in Serbian history to be considered in the context of similar processes that have occurred in other European nations, to be defined in terms of a real-possible relation. It would appear that this kind of assessment brings to light their extremely destructive character, because they hampered the Serbs in the stage of their national liberation opening – no matter which form it took: either of an armed revolution or compromise – from accomplishing the constitution of their nation and their state. The idea of Yugoslavism considerably influenced the definition of the Serbian war objectives in the Balkan wars and, particularly, in the First World War, preventing the nation from finding its ultimate expression – the way the other old European nations had made it. During the process of creating the new Yugoslav state, the Serbs not only subordinated their national goals to the supranational ones, but subjected to the same interests their social and state organization. Because of this idealism they were not able to complete that which as a nation they had to complete: they failed to carry out a homogeneization even of their ethnic space liberated during the anti-Turkish and anti-German wars. Entire regions not touched by Karadjordje's uprising remained nationally incoherent, as well as those in Montenegro, Herzegovina or Bosnia, not having been seized by the uprisings. They remained as grey ethnic zones, where social experiments of various types were to be carried out in the future: both those directed by the Black Catholic Multinational and those directed by the Black (communist) International.

The Yugoslavism accepted in 1918 and embodied in the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes turned out to be victorious because it was an expression of Serbian choice, of the Serbian 1912-1918 war victories. The Serbs had opted for the European model, which was best expressed in German unification, with the difference that Bismarck had accepted his idea of pan-Germanism and German unity with a clear objective in mind, at the core of which was a unitary state, the unity having been based upon the common language.

Serbia embraced this model lacking a coherent national structure, without a coherent national ideology; lacking a clear programme and a capacity to attain its nation-building objective without outside interference. Serbia embraced the supranational option at a time when it had every chance of carrying out an all-Serbian unification and national constitution. The trouble lay in the attitude of its partners and their outside supporters. While the Serbian nation was thinking along the Yugoslav lines, the outside factors, primarily in Europe, were using the Serbian idealism to attain their own objectives. Milorad Ekmečić's book *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918* (The Making of Yugoslavia 1790-1918), which many of you have read, documents how Serbian idealism was manipulated. How, for example, the operation of separating the Montenegrinism from the Serbdom was carried out - through raising Montenegrin rationalism to the level of the absolute, that state of consciousness which floated between tribal society and a modern system of relations, which had been uniting the Serbs as a global-idea. In the final chapters of his great book, Ekmečić shows, for instance, the way of incubation of the Montenegrin national idea: from the kitchens of the Vatican and the Black-and-Yellow Monarchy, from Italian trickery and anti-Serbia Serbdom, via anti-Serbia Montenegri-

nism – to the communist variant of the Montenegrinism as a national surrogate separated from the Serbdom.

Another form of ideological destruction of the Serbian ethnic space is encountered in the territory of Macedonia. Here the object of social experiments was a fluid, insufficiently defined grey ethnic zone. The zone which in the 19th century was only “disturbed” by the blows of the Bulgarian exarchate; and only superficially touched by the Serbian cultural and educational drive; without a clear all-Serbian goal.

The Serbian people in Serbia and Montenegro entered into Yugoslavia wholeheartedly, with traditional feelings and with the deep moral conviction that the others think as they do, that the others are approaching the new community with the same sincerity. But, that was not so: the Croats had other plans. In the process of the struggle for autonomy, which unfolded within the boundaries of the Black-and-Yellow Monarchy, their passions for autonomy were fanned to a white heat, remaining within the old clerical frames. Those clerical constituents, defining the Croatian movement as centrifugal both in the anti-Serbian and the anti-Yugoslav sense, had remained untouched.

When the Yugoslav community appeared on the scene, for the Croats it meant a loose supranational and state entity, favourable to separatistic experiments in all directions. The most favourable to them was the fact that the clerical ideology, acting through various channels, was able to ruthlessly corrode the Yugoslav framework and – on the basis of its Serbian ethnic zone, and in the circumstances of “supranational” idealism of this nation – to establish some intra-Serbian ethnicities (Bunjevci, Šokci, Moslems), to affirm Montenegrin entity as something confronted to the whole of Serbdom, and to do the same with the Macedonians. And, finally, proceeding from the ethnic Albanians separatism, to create another anti-Serbian camp. The ethnic Albanians rallied also that fluid part of the nation (“Arnautashi”), who still well remembered their Serbian origin. Their unity was forged on the basis of a separatist ideology, through confronting the nation to the Serbdom and Yugoslavism.

Being in the hands of the Catholic multinational and its clerical policy, the Croats knew exactly what they wanted. For them, the Yugoslav framework was no more than a free zone for unhampered territorial expansion and for their nation building at the expense of the Serbs. In the period from 1918 to 1941, they had completed psychological, ideological and political preparations for such an expedition. While the Serbs were being institutionalized in the terms of Yugoslavism – in all spheres of human endeavour, the Croats were weaving webs of their national organizations.

World War Two found Serbian ethnic space in a state of incoherence. It needs to be pointed out here that such state of looseness would not have had such devastating consequences for the Serbs as a nation had it not been for a use of another fascinating idea – the idea of proletarian internationalism and communism. As to this fascination, I wish to stress something unusual, which has become obvious in retrospect – namely, that Serbian “communism” was not a doctrinal self-sprung option, but an expression of cultural and historical solidarity, that the path to it led through the medium of “Mother Russia”; that it was accepted as Russian ideology. Serbian spirits were fascinated by the Russian factor to such an extent that, on the eve of the war, Prince Pavle himself was reluctant to establish diplomatic relations with the Kremlin, fearing the very symbol of its Mission. The Russian factor was less influential in Serbia - because of the painful experiences related to bureaucracy-mediated interstate relations. In other Serbian lands the sentimental tie with Russia found expression in complete identification, as in Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the lands of today’s Serbian Krajina and some Serbian regions in Macedonia. Here, the Russophilia gained irrational proportions; later, it found expres-

sion in an ideological fascination which made possible the incubation of the ideas of that kind of "internationalism" which objectively checked the process of Serbian national homogenization. It is a fact that the ideas of socialism and communism were mostly used for anti-Serbian purposes when they had become the framework for realization of the Greater Croatian policy; thence the term of "Croatian communism" applies.

Russia became the screen which hid the activity of various destroyers. Between the world wars, it had all the lure of a "forbidden fruit", it was the ideological opium not of the elite, but of the ordinary man – the labourer and the peasant. It was gaining ground in Serbian ethnic space as the champion of an attractive social ideology. To the degree of people losing their way. Ones accepted it – the communist idealists unreservedly – as the "Bastille of the classes". Some saw from the start that it was used along the line of a clerical, Greater Croatian policy, and they were ill-fated in their authentic revolutionary practice, disappearing in Stalin's purges. On the communist scene a negative selection was practiced which left behind only the obedient ones, those who doggedly followed Stalin and the Comintern – but only as the personifications of Russia.

In the social movement in the inter-war period, the communist lever was used to create conditions for all those anti-Serbian activities which would find expression particularly during and after World War Two. The communists - marginal politically between the wars – were establishing their identity in subsequent developments as the new "vanguard force". A sharp turn-about was effected as a violence against the natural historical development, a substitution of intellectual values by narrow, ideological values. The national elite, formed during the long socio-economic development and the liberation wars of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, was replaced by the social periphery, in conjuncture of circumstances which were making possible its most diversified use. The "new class" was entering the mainstream of the social process through the communist ideology and under the wing of the Soviet Russia. In the case of the Serbs, the turn-about was drastic, because it took place under the sign of a harmony of pan-Slavism, Russophilia, Orthodoxy, communism (the latter always as the "Russian ideology"). Therefore its influence on the future course of social development and national history would be crucial.

After the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in the early years of its existence, a certain harmony existed between the Yugoslav idea and the social movement; it lasted until mid-1924. During this period, the Yugoslav idealism was the predominant mood. It was disrupted only by some Croatian separatist actions, but without major consequences. The codification of the legal principles of the state in the Vidovdan Constitution was a victory of unitarianism and centralism of the West-European model. The Yugoslav idea was accepted by the majority of all the three ethnic groups. Its protagonists were still fresh and unscarred by inter-party strife, even the Croatian ones, and could not be deterred by the blows of Frank's separatism (extreme Croatian nationalists, members of the True Right Party). The Yugoslav idea was at the time accepted by the communist protagonists, because they also felt themselves closer to the supranational than to the national identification, as the former was closer to the ideology of proletarian internationalism. The unitarian harmony of the socio-ideological antipodes is best illustrated by numerous documents of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Comintern. At the core of projections of the future was a Balkan federation, the associations of the Balkan and Danubian countries, a Southern Slavic union, even a union of the Slavic nations. The national was secondary.

This state of affairs prevailed until the mid-twenties, when the political ideology of internationalism turned against its own basic postulates. From the famous Fifth congress

of the Comintern in 1924, a new course was set of breaking up Yugoslavia as a "Versailles creation", and a "Serbian fabrication" which oppressed all minority nations. In order to break up Yugoslavia, not only are the potential separatist aspirations of non-Slavic nations – Hungarians or ethnic Albanians – given free play, but a policy is pursued of organizing separate Slavic regionalisms, those within the grey Serbian ethnic zone: initially Macedonian, then Montenegrin and finally Moslem. The feelings and aspirations of the "little man" in an underdeveloped and unconsolidated society are projected on a broader social plane, with reasons for the problems being found in a fabricated "Serbian exploitation and oppression". Political groups and parties were being organized on this basis.

That which the Serbs did not accomplish in the 19th or the early 20th centuries – the unification of their nation – now suddenly turned against them: and in a perfidious way, through a social movement which affirmed the grey Serbian ethnic zones as separate national entities. As part of this movement, they received both inner and international recognition. The path of this "social engineering" can be traced from Austro-Hungarian plans, via those cooked up in the kitchens of the Comintern, to its section known as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After this came their intellectualistic shaping, in which activity special prominence was gained by the historiographic and politicological circle rallied round Robert Sitton Watson and Henry Wickham Steed and which, in the late twenties and early thirties, included also W. Churchill. The latter accepted without suspicion platitudes about Serbian hegemony and the monarcho-fascist dictatorship of King Aleksandar.

Here we shall mention another anti-Serbian harmony of antipodes: the Austro-Hungarian methods of destroying Serbia as Piedmont of Southern Slavs and the Comintern's ideas of destroying the Serbs as the nucleus and backbone of the Yugoslav state, which had been proclaimed in Moscow to be the bastion of anti-Soviet reactionism. The Serbs were placed in an ironical position: they had accepted communism because of Russia and, precisely because of Russia, were being regarded in the West with suspicion! At the same time, the Stalinist Russia was disowning them, because of their refusal to follow its destructive anti-Serbian "internationalism". Thus a negative selection was being made, which left above water only those of the Serbian communists who were prepared to sacrifice even the vital national interests.

The social movement thus programmed had paved the way to a full separation of the incoherent ethnic zones of the Serbian family from the Serbdom. The ground was laid by both "left" and "right" forces. Prominent is an unusual similarity of plans of the Frank's Croatian nationalists, the party of Radić and Maček, the positions of the Serbian "dissident" Svetozar Pribičević, etc. In the case of Pribičević, there was a pronounced renegade turn-about from Greater Serbian to anti-Serbia Serbdom and anti-Serbian separatism. All the "dissidents" had in common an anti-Serbian use of the social ideology, the destruction of Serbian ethnic space.

Let us now examine how the ideas of Yugoslavism and socialism (communism), the mainstays of the great Serbian fascination – which ones embraced as a determination for higher goals, and the others, because it was fashionable, as a constituent part of their cosmopolitanism and democratism – how these ideas defined the Serbian conduct in World War Two. Today's historical distance makes it possible for us to carry out the analysis in a deductive manner, to take as our point of departure the fact that the confused wartime enabled the biggest step towards shattering of Serbian ethnic space. The narcotic political ideology of internationalism became during the war the mainstay of the Croato-communist forces – to insert their behind-the-scene anti-Serbian plans into a

wing of the Serbian liberation movement and turn them into its "revolutionary constitutional determinant". The concept defined at the AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia) "institutionalized" them in such a destructive way that they surpassed even Frank's achievements and the principles of the Cvetković-Maček 1939 Agreement. With the AVNOJ federalism, the theory of "the achieved" in the Serbian way was confirmed in new radical "achievements". The Serbs did not make corrections in their national policy. Regardless of all the earlier trials, they walked during World War Two again along the paths of their delusions.

The road of Yugoslavism was travelled also by the movement of Draža Mihailović. This dimension of the Chetnik movement should be emphasized because it was placing it into the rift between Serbdom and Yugoslavism, between the eastern and western allies, finally pushing it into the abyss. Its Yugoslavism indicated that the wells of the old fascination had not dried up. It also indicated a certain anational state of the mind; finally, a special form of the supranational option, characteristic more of the Serbs in Serbia than of those elsewhere. Because it is a fact that supranational ideologies in this soil have been present to a greater degree than, for instance, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kordun, Banija, Montenegro...

The political ideology of Yugoslavism confronted Mihailović's movement against its Serbian national structure, which was naturally turning it towards the national determinant. Fatal was his linkage with the King and the Yugoslav government, factors which were prisoners of the English policy; the King's government being, furthermore, the medium which refracted the interests and relations in the anti-Hitler coalition. Mihailović thus became the victim of high politics: of its interests, conflicts and compromises. It dashed him from one rift to the next. He did not have an independent orientation which would direct him to articulate Serbian national goals, thus he was being squeezed between Serbian and Yugoslav objectives. This crucifixion was best illustrated by his 1941 National Committee, and still better by his Central National Committee of early 1944, formed at the congress in the village Ba. The essence of the Ba Congress programme was expressed in a social-democratic Yugoslavism and a federal concept which was better founded, culturally and historically, than the AVNOJ concept. It envisaged for three federal units (Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia), but its Croatian borders did not include Dalmatia, Slavonia and Dubrovnik. Its definition of the national entity was not reduced to the Orthodox, Catholic or Islamic religious bases. It was not based on the new ideology, but was, rather, historically based.

The end of World War Two on Yugoslav soil marked the victory of the communist variant of Yugoslavism, the same that was being brewed in the Comintern offices according to the plans for breaking up Yugoslavia, and according to the anti-Serbian projects of Croatian separatism. In the main, the Serbian struggle and "revolution" were used in an anti-Serbian sense. The periphery of the Serbian nation, when it came to power, followed the logic of ideological consciousness, that which was subordinating all national interests to the private and "international" ones.

The end of the war brought victory to the Greater Croatian and Frank's separatist variant of social and state organization, which was only cloaked in the costume of communist internationalism. The Serbian communists were the unconscious followers of the goals of others.

In the name of "international solidarity" all Serbian historical "bumps" were "smoothed out" by creating new national entities, surrogate nations, actually. And their affirmation was based upon their anti-Serbian confirmation. In the name of "national equality" the minorities in the Serbian ethnic territories were given unlimited rights – at the Serbian

expense, which was especially characteristic in the case of the ethnic Albanians.

The political ideology of "internationalism" and "communism" in the Serbian lands expressed itself in a destructive way. It tried to make sense of the senseless. It was evident from the start that the chief direction of its application was to grind to dust by deceit the "federal" and "national" ruins (AVNOJ), based on the predominantly Serbian struggle (partizans). This was done first with the post-war carving-away of Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina from Serbia (as its autonomous regions), and later by making all the divisions absolute to a degree where they were confronted to the social and state whole. The 1974 Constitution served the purpose of these divisions. The prevention of every Serbian resistance to such policy in "Tito's Yugoslavia" was aimed at giving historical sense to the ideological concepts and constructions, at "nationalizing" and "internationalizing" them as real. The winner was the Greater Croatian policy which in the 90's made the biggest advance in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by again making use of the Moslems to do the dirty work in its anti-Serbian policy.

What is happening in Yugoslavia today is actually the Serbian answer to the final stage of the anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serbian strategy. Many facts indicate that its basic aim has been to create a "new world order" in which the breaking of the Serbs as the ethnic backbone of the Balkans is of vital importance.

THE EUROPEAN SCOPE OF PAINTING IN MEDIEVAL SERBIA

An assessment of the role and position of medieval art of the Serbian milieu, as well as of any other, taking into consideration its cultural surroundings and comparing it to the European art of the time with an aim to determine its significance in the past in more general terms, can be made from several valid standpoints. It is certainly most important to establish approximately its position applying the evaluation standards for that epoch, as well as the extent to which it had distinguished itself by its authentic or outstanding qualities to deserve to be included in the history of human spirit. Medieval painting in Serbia satisfies both of these requirements: from the 12th to the 15th centuries it was at the peak of European art and bears a clear Serbian mark by which it was and can still be recognized.

At this moment we shall try only to determine its universal values and its position in the epoch, leaving aside – for some other occasion – the discussion on its very important specific characteristics.

The history of Serbian medieval painting is well-known among Byzantinists, as well as the claim itself – which we shall open this discourse with – that it always followed the main artistic streams in the Byzantine world, having on several occasions accepted the dominant artistic course to take an active part in it. Besides, it experienced stylistic changes simultaneously with the chief spiritual centres of the Empire – Constantinople and Thessaloniki. In edifices erected by rulers and archbishops, in most instances it was the result of the work of the best painters of the epoch. In some periods, such as the most part of the 13th, or the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries, when, due to wars or political turbulences, the Byzantine Empire (at least its prominent aristocrats, the court and the Patriarchate) was not in the position to build and embellish large churches and monasteries and in such a way patronize leading artists, this role was being taken by Serbia, which was better-off or more tranquil. Thus, a current style

continued its development there, leaving inerasable traces, sometimes the most eloquent and sometimes unique, so that only through them we are able to reconstruct the idea of the art of that period and fully grasp the richness of its potential.

The 13th century was an ill time for the Orthodox world: the Latins routed Byzantium in 1204 and entered its big cities, Constantinople and Thessaloniki; knights from the West moved into luxurious imperial courts, and Catholic friars into big monasteries in imperial towns and on Mount Athos; some time later, Russia and Georgia yielded under the Mongolian and Tatarian whip; the old artistic heritage was disappearing in fire and plunder; Bulgaria, after a short glitter during the reign of Ivan II Asen, entered a long crisis. The only remaining Orthodox state was Serbia, making its appearance on the historical stage for the second time. Although being used now by Byzantium, now by the West, it nevertheless expanded its borders at their expense, and obtained, with their help, the royal and archbishopric titles for the members of the Nemanjić dynasty and the heads of its autocephalous Church respectively. All these events were taking place when the centre of Orthodoxy was suffering misfortune. There are no signs, however, not even secret ones, that would point to Serbia's wish to abandon its faith and the system of value, expressed through legal norms, religious literature or political ideology, adopted from the Byzantine world. The claim that the Serbs, having acquired strength, wanted to continue the East Christian traditions and Byzantine culture seems to be closer to truth.

Nemanja's sons, Stephen, who later became the Prvovenčani (the First Crowned King), and Sava, the first Serbian Archbishop, should be given the credit for introducing Serbia into legal, political, artistic and axiological systems of the Byzantine world around 1200, just before the disintegration of the Empire, and for striving afterwards to ensure their continuation after the decline of Byzantium. As patrons of large foundations – and Sava as his brother's learned adviser in questions pertaining to art as well (the fact that was discovered not so long ago) – both of them strived, starting from the adornment of churches in Studenica (1208/9) and Žiča (around 1220) with wall-paintings, to rely on the work of the best Byzantine painters that had been known to them and whom they could reach. Summoning them to Serbia, they paved the way for future patrons, both secular and religious. They were aware of the fact that Studenica, having the authority of the mausoleum of the first Serbian saint and miracle-worker, Stephen Nemanja, the dynasty founder, as well as the privileged position of the first among the Serbian monasteries in the Middle Ages, together with Žiča, the seat of the first Serbian Archbishop, i.e. the cathedral and "the mother of Serbian churches", would always serve as examples to posterity. When rising new edifices, these would be the ideals that future patrons would endeavour to reach not only in terms of aesthetic values, but of spiritual content as well.

If we place fresco-ensembles from the largest and most prominent 13th-century Serbian monasteries next to each other – i.e. those from Studenica, Žiča, Mileševa, Holy Apostles in Peć, Morača, Sopoćani, Gradac and Arilje – and examine them one by one, starting with the oldest and ending with the most recent, we can follow, from one stage to another, the changes in form and composition conceptions, the role of light and shade and space in a painting, typical of the style of only that period, about which so little evidence has survived in other lands of the Byzantine world. Having freed itself from hard outlines – its constraint at the end of the previous century – the figure on these frescoes started to expand in volume, losing its one-time immateriality and slenderness, whereas the drapery around it lost the former fluttering quality, as well as intended and broken surfaces. The more conspicuous contrasts of light and shade – shaded surfaces getting a

more prominent role with time – gave rise to the emergence of more plastic and showing human bodies, wrapped in heavy, tight and wide draperies. The former lively movements and elasticity of figures were replaced by serenity, restraint and dignified bearing. At the same time, the scene was filled with a larger number of figures, became more spacious, occupying larger surfaces than before. The scene was organized with a main character, Christ or the Virgin, being placed in the middle of the composition as a pronounced vertical line, representing its skeleton, flanked by other participants forming separate groups. In the previous stage of Byzantine painting, the composition was a carefully designed knot of bodies of a few chosen characters, gathered around the leading protagonist. In the 13th century, the space behind the scene became filled with architectural scenery, ranging from simple to complex, from barely visible to large, from that represented in a simple, orthogonal projection to the one shortened, by means of an “inverted” perspective. With time, a real stage emerged on frescoes, with solemnly arranged figures, “as if in a final scene of a great theatre”. The most mature result of such a stylistic development were the wall-paintings in Sopoćani, dating from around 1265, in which the victorious spirit of Orthodoxy incited by the entry of the Byzantine basileus into the liberated capital was probably manifested, together with a strong epic feeling of the rising Serbian court. Sopoćani is the embodiment of the monumental and plastic language of painting that had evolved during the whole century of preparations. After Sopoćani, the style gradually waned in the course of thirty years, living only on inspiration derived from this monastery.

With the new style growing more concise, the elements of splendour increased in number, to reach the peak in Sopoćani, together with the stylistic expression. In the 13th-century foundations, the icons of Christ and the Virgin by the iconostasis, some of which were done in the technique of mosaic, had stone or marble frames; the most respected saints could have the painted ones; golden or silver stars, as well as golden and ornamental inscriptions sometimes glittered on a magnificent blue background. The fresco background, predominantly blue or black in Byzantine tradition, underwent the most conspicuous modifications. A yellow background covered the altar and the surfaces around the iconostasis in Studenica, whereas in Mileševa it spread into the naos, to disperse over the whole church interior in Sopoćani and Gradac. From the very start, it was covered with thin golden foils with drawn squares imitating mosaic; the aim was to create the impression that the entire church was in mosaic, so that it would resemble those of the richest patrons in the Byzantine capital and the town of St Demetrius. Stucco cornices in various colours or lavishly painted strips embellished rich picture frames. Although the accepted system was characteristic of earlier Byzantine mosaics, it acquired a new meaning in Serbian monuments, where, together with the brightly coloured whole, created the atmosphere of merriment, as a reflection of Christian optimism. Similar tendencies in other Orthodox lands were rare: fragments of wall-paintings with gold foils were found in Russia, attempts of the kind were barely made in Georgia; in the monastery of Chilandari on Mount Athos, says the Serbian writer Theodosius, gold had glittered from frescoes before the church was replaced with a new and larger one by King Milutin. Serbia was the country in which gold shone from the frescoes in almost all churches.

The efforts made in order to discover creations closely akin to the 13th-century Serbian painting were rarely successful; only few isolated examples were found. Some details, extracted from two or three small Cypriot churches from the end of the 12th century, bear some resemblance to somewhat later Studenica; whereas Thessaloniki mosaics, made several centuries earlier, indicate that they could have inspired the Mile-

ševa painters, as well as their contemporaries who painted the church of Sts Peter and Paul at Tirnovo for the Bulgarian Emperor Asen II, the father-in-law of the Mileševa founder, King Vladislav. Sopoćani endeavours probably had no counterpart in Byzantium, because the achievements of the similar quality are very rare (for example, the miniatures in the monastery of Stauronikitas on Mount Athos, and the icon of St. Jacob from Patmos). The great mosaic representing *Deesis* on the gallery of St. Sophia in Constantinople, an outstanding work, has something of Sopoćani's figures only in respect to the types of saints' heads.

It is even less possible to find works with the same conception of form and value on the neighbouring Italian peninsula, which had often been pointed out in the past as a possible source of Serbian painting. The paintings of Giunta Pisano contain some elements resembling Mileševa, the icons from Tuscany from the mid-century seem to show some reflections from Studenica; a feeling for space, plasticity and monumentality, typical of Byzantine painting in the 13th century, still lives in the early works of Cimabue, Duccio and Cavallini, dating from a later period than Sopoćani, although Gothic elements already overflowed the Byzantine core. Italian painters of "manniera graeca", as called by Vasari, followed developments in the spiritual centres of Orthodox world and managed to blend Byzantine and Western features to the same extent as their contemporaries, Western painters in the Holy Land and on Cyprus during the Latin rule.

The grandour of Sopoćani as a whole has no equal; neither has the impression of monumentality gained while viewing enormous compositions and athletic figures, nor such a sublime atmosphere expressed by a painting, nor fresher colour hues, nor more skillful brush strokes, nor a more successful outcome! The complete history of the Byzantine painting in the 13th century could not have been established without Serbian monuments; they fill in gaps and enable the understanding of artistic streams. Without possessing basic facts, it is very difficult to ascertain who the painters in Serbia actually were. Judging by the signature in Studenica, Theodosius' testimony on Žiča and some indications in Mileševa – they were Greeks. Judging by the several decades of work of Morača masters in Serbia, it seems that some of them could have been Serbs or naturalized Greeks. Peć, Sopoćani and Gradac have no indications that would point to the nationality of their painters. Djurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje could have been painted by naturalized artists, in view of the inscriptions in Serbian, but with mistakes typical of Greeks. However, the nationality of a painter in the Middle Ages was not a decisive factor; it was the ability, talent and the Orthodox creed. The culture of a particular region was also important, together with its wealth, and the ability to comprehend, accept and cherish artistic trends that the time brings with it. These were the virtues of the former Serbian society and patrons of art, the features cherished in the period when most Orthodox states were on the decline. Unrestrained development of monumental painting was secured in Serbia, without which it would not have reached such heights; Serbia was its vital element.

The art in Serbia went through a short crisis in the last decades of the 13th century, during the first half of King Milutin's reign: building activity was very scarce, whereas painting was based on the former artistic conceptions, exhibiting an obvious decline in quality. Thanks to the court, Serbia became again one of the leading countries in Byzantine painting around the year 1300. The King put his relations with the Byzantine state in order, became the emperor's son-in-law, quietened the southern frontier down and revived the Byzantinization of the Serbian society. His activities as a patron of art were unprecedented for a Serbian king both in their scope and significance. In the last two or three decades of the 13th century, during the period of crisis in Serbia, the

Byzantine state regained its position. The development of the elevated style in painting, previously cherished in Serbia, was continued in it, so that the works of exceptional beauty were produced, such as the already mentioned mosaical *Deesis* in St. Sophia in Constantinople, the mosaic in the dome of the Parigoritissa Church in Arta, wall-paintings at the Metropolis in Mistra and some Constantinopolitan miniatures.

At the end of the 13th century the major Byzantine centres witnessed an abrupt change in the manner of painting – the monumental and solemn expression was replaced by the excited speech as if resounding with raised voices. Its initial stage is evidenced in the murals decorating the church of the Virgin the Peribleptos in Ochrid in 1294/95, commissioned by Progon Zgur, the Byzantine Great Heteriarch. The heads of saints, often having contorted expressions, and the exaggerated massiveness of their bodies, wrapped in large draperies with surfaces decomposed into fragments, imparted a pathetic quality to the overall composition and the details in it. The interplay of light and shade is manifested in a geometrical, almost “cubist” manner on discontinued surfaces. The majority of represented figures is strongly influenced by emotions, displayed in their agitated bearing and movements. Almost every composition is overfilled with figures in lively action or a commotion of masses. Edifices of large dimensions and fantastic shapes rise in a background; their walls and roofs get narrower towards the worshiper in the temple, not towards the depth, as was the practice of Western painters in their search for the three-dimensional illusion by means of perspective. The space in paintings was thus opening from the wall towards the church interior, enclosing the spectator as a witness of holy events. The former tranquility of self-confident optimism was disrupted in favour of, we would say, the combatant spirit of the Church militant. The earlier harmony of light and shade, warm and cold colouring, and parts firmly connected into a whole disappeared. One element always prevailed over the other, creating tension in the painting; whereas warm colours, with the dominating ochers and reds, made impact on the whole church interior.

In the first subsequent monuments, painted around 1300 – Protaton on Mount Athos, the chapel of St. Euthymius and the Church of St. Panteleemon in Thessaloniki, Holy Apostles in Peć and the Olympiotissa Church in Elason – the composition was appeased, together with the figures and shapes, the tension between light and shade lessened, whereas cold colours were increasingly introduced into predominantly warm coloration. Nevertheless, the size and types of many figures, and occasionally their iconography, still relied on the traditions inherited from the 13th-century painting.

An increasing tendency towards classicism, evident in a more balanced composition, more proportional figures and more harmonized warm and cold colours – the features manifested in the wall-paintings in the Church of the Mother of God Ljeviška and Žiča in Serbia, the monastery of Vatopediou on Mount Athos dating from the beginning of the second decade of the 14th century – marked the beginning of the classical period of the Palaeologan Revival in painting that lasted for about ten years. During this span of time, the Chora Church, the Pammakaristos Church, St. Theodore in Constantinople and the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, as well as several small icons from the imperial court, were successively decorated with mosaics, whereas the churches of St. Catherine and the Taxiarches in Thessaloniki, the churches of the Holy Saviour and St. Vlasios in Veria, the monastery of Chilandari on Mount Athos and the Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki (the latter two being the foundations of King Milutin) were adorned with frescoes. In medieval Serbia, wall-paintings covered the most beautiful foundations of King Milutin: the King's Church in Studenica, St. Nikitas near Skopje, Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica. All stylistic elements are brought into perfect accord

with the principles of classicism: symmetry, proportions, the balanced arrangement of masses, and of warm and cold, restrained gesture and the eloquence. The rational and emotional, cognitive and sensitive were integrated. Compositions containing a large number of protagonists got several planes divided by architectural scenery, and the entire *mise-en-scène* was conceived and realized on the principles of "inverted perspective", that grew into a system which culminated in the second decade of the 14th century. Later, it gradually faded away.

This classical period, the maturity of the Palaeologan Revival, has still not been given a name. At one moment, the term *narrative style* was in usage, referring to the works of art created on the territory of Serbia in a wider span of time, that ended with the dissolution of the Serbian Empire. It would mean that the narrative element – a literal illustration in painting – prevailed over all others, and became a chief means of expression. Paintings of the mature Palaeologan Revival could leave such an impression only at first sight: it is true that they illustrated Biblical events or told stories from the lives of saints based on hagiographies and liturgical services, but at the same time, they translated Orthodox dogmas and the poetry of Psalters or the Octateuchs into visual speech, transformed edifying orations of the Church Fathers into scenes or visually represented liturgy. Almost every painting surpassed illustrationalism by symbolic, metaphorical, allusive or prefigurative meanings; deeper and figurative meanings of a painting depended on theological speculations of the epoch, the understanding of the law, as well as on current ideas in religious literature and politics, or in some other spheres of spiritual life. Only with the help of iconographic analysis or scholarly disciplines close to the art history is it possible to comprehend how paintings were further interpreted in the minds of people of that time. The Palaeologan Revival was one of the most learned movements in Byzantine painting both in the breadth of knowledge and the richness of thought.

The role of Serbia in this great period of Byzantine painting in the first two decades of the 14th century differs from the 13th-century one. The 13th-century Serbia offered shelter to the best Orthodox painters; in the reign of King Milutin, Serbia's contribution to the stylistic shift was equal to those of Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Mount Athos; the works of art produced in it are in no way inferior to creations from major Byzantine centres. Artists whose names are known, whose destinies can be at least partly followed, travelled all over these territories, working for rich patrons. Manuel Panselinos, the mysterious painter from Thessaloniki, whose name was mentioned with respect even in the 18th century, seemed to have painted on Mount Athos, too, as could have been the case of Michael Proeleusis, coming from the same town. George Kallierges, "the best painter from Thessaly" as he called himself, possibly from Thessaloniki as well, was in Constantinople, worked in Veria, and perhaps also in Thessaloniki and Chilandari, whereas Michael, whose signature can be found in several places, came from the Thessaloniki family of Astrapas and spent several decades painting, together with Eutyhius, in Ochrid, in the vicinity of Skopje, in Prizren, and probably in Studenica. Their mobility points to the care that rich patrons from Byzantine and Serbian high circles showed for art, that finally brought about the internationalization of their ideas. If their work is assessed today in terms of artistic value and significance, it is obvious that they followed the main stream of stylistic changes in Orthodox painting and that there was not a single work that came into existence out of their circle that could outshine them either in effectiveness, the variety of expression, the perfection of work or the profoundness of meaning.

While this current in painting was being perfected in Orthodox world, West European painting departed from its previous trend: Gothic art spread over Catholic

countries. Nonetheless, some well-known artists were still bringing their work into accord with the changes in Byzantium. This tendency is evident in the creations of the late Duccio or somewhat younger Paolo Veneziano, who lived in Venice which remained faithful to Byzantine traditions for the longest period of time.

Up to the mid-14th century, the painting in Serbia was in the shadow of the great achievements from King Milutin's time. In the second quarter of the 14th century, during the rules of Stephen Dečanski and his son Dušan, painters began to waver – sensibility was a predominant characteristic of some artists, while the others suppressed it with strict academism. In spite of this, wall-paintings in some monasteries are among the most beautiful in Orthodox lands of the time, as is the case with the outstanding Banja Pribojaska, or the richly decorated Dečani and some other monuments of the kindred spirit around Skopje and in Peć. Dečani is undoubtedly the church with the largest number of cycles and saints in the whole Orthodox world. In spite of the artistic stagnation and crisis of values that took place not only in Serbia, the theological message transposed into a painting was, nevertheless, becoming more powerful.

Serbian painting was among the most significant artistic creations in the East Christian part of Europe for the third time in its history during the reign of Prince Lazar and his son, Despot Stephen, at the end of 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. The Byzantine state was shrinking under Turkish attacks, whereas the Serbian Empire disintegrated into smaller states, yet securing, after repeated defeats, the conditions for free artistic creation, mainly along the valleys of the three rivers Morava. The economic growth, the high cultural level of upper classes and relative security made the new Serbian state a refuge of cosmopolitan thinkers who had fled from the south, from Byzantine towns, Athonite monasteries, the conquered Bulgarian capitals, and the lost Serbian courts. They found shelter in newly built monasteries or capital towns up to the Danube. At that time, the type and appearance of the Serbian church changed, and the painting in it acquired a different stylistic expression. In scientific circles this art is known under the name of the Morava school.

The events in painting took a course similar to that at the turn of the 12th into the 13th century: the stream interrupted in Byzantium, more precisely in Thessaloniki at the time of its first fall under the Turkish rule in the eighties of the 14th century, was continued in Serbia. Painters from the second town in Byzantium sought refuge in Serbia just at the moment when some other artists, close to the court of the kings Vukašin and Marko, made their appearance. Only the painters from Thessaloniki schools of art and their Serbian disciples left a deeper and more important trace.

In workshops of St. Demetrius' town a new language of painting was being created, starting from the frescoes in the Holy Apostles, probably painted in the fourth decade of the 14th century, through the wall-paintings in Thessaloniki churches dating from the seventh and eighth decades of the 14th century – e.g. those in the New Monastery (St. Elias), St. Demetrius, the Vlatades Monastery – to the contemporary murals in the Athonite monasteries of Pantocrator and Vatopediu (Sts Anargyroi), or those in the Old Metropolis in Voden, and ending with the double icon of the Despotess Helen from Poganovo and the miniatures in the manuscript containing the theological works of Emperor John Kantakousenos. Its ultimate ideals – the aristocratic elegance of saints, their garments and physiognomies surrounding them, the decorative beauty of the whole, cold and warm colours based on the harmony of azure and gold, green and scarlet, with much of grey – reached in later works, grew into a distinct stylistic attitude only when they were implanted into Serbia. Thessaloniki traditions were continued in the monastery of Ravanica, the foundation of Prince Lazar, Resava (Manasija) – of the

Despot Stephen, and Sisojevac and Kalenić – of the Despot's contemporaries. Miniatures of a similar nature, found in several manuscripts from the time of the Despot, belong to this style as well. The harmonious palette, the atmosphere of gracefulness and happiness, the softly modelled heads of saints with a sleepy expression were incorporated into that painting thanks to the poetic taste cherished at the Serbian court, different from the one fostered in some monastic circles, where the predominant mystical atmosphere was achieved by means of dark colours, through which a highlight sometimes glittered, where dramatical moments suppressed the lyrical. A similar polarisation took place in Byzantium.

At the time when painting conceptions developed in Thessaloniki were transplanted into Serbia to rise to unknown heights, they were no longer present at the place of their origin, or their subsequent existence left no trace. The Serbs did not accept passively the instructions from the second town of Byzantium; moreover, they introduced a completely new geometrical, decorative system of ornamental framing, that was applied in the whole church interior – as in Ravanica, Resava and Sisojevac – or only in one important section (Kalenić, and some monuments that do not belong to this group – Ramaća, for example). Tulips connected with stems, stylized floral ornaments and designs covered the fringes of pillars supporting the central dome; iridescent colours were seen on the intertwining bands that form frames for medallions containing busts of saints. The achieved effect, enhanced by ornate garments of saints, furniture and architectural decorations in a scene background, gave the air of splendour and opulence to the whole church interior. This stage in the Serbian painting was therefore called the *decorative style*. The term itself does not cover the overall contents of this painting, because decorativeness is only one of its characteristics. The luxurious and adorned interior of the Morava-school church completely corresponded to its polychromatic exterior, with the interplay of light and shade on divided façades and shallow reliefs with geometrical, floral and figural motifs. The Morava church in its entirety is an expression of the same spirit, typical only of the Serbia of that epoch.

The sense of space is evident in these paintings, as well as panoramic views not seen before; the sense of light is also obvious – but it is not a neutral one, not coming from some source; it is natural light, coming from the atmosphere. Of course, these were only faint signs of the epoch, in which West-European painters began to discover the nature and its qualities and to transmit them to a two-dimensional plane, by means of new solutions. For the sake of comparison, it should be mentioned that at the same time when the last large foundations, like Kalenić and Resava, were being painted in Serbia, Masolino and Masaccio were already creating their famous frescoes, and Donatello modelling his unsurpassed sculptures, establishing together the foundations of the Renaissance art. This was the moment when the last traces of intertwined Latin and Byzantine forms in borderline areas of Catholic and Orthodox countries were lost from the works of great masters. Only Cretan icon painters and the Greeks in Venice tried to preserve these stylistic mixtures. If the works close to the most outstanding creations of the Morava-school painting cannot be found on the neighbouring Adriatic coast, or farther away in Europe, this can be done in Russia, where the painting flourished with the rise of the Moscow state, simultaneously with important provincial workshops, as was the one in Novgorod. It is in Novgorod, in the wall-paintings in the churches from the end of the 14th century, in Kovaljov or in the Church of the Nativity at the Novgorod cemetery, where art historians recognize brush strokes that could have been made by Serbian masters. In the elegiac sounds of icones and frescoes of Andrey Rublov and his disciples and contemporaries, in their soft modelling and transparent colours, they discern an

artist with such a taste and such aspirations as was, for example, the painter Radoslav from the monastery of Kalenić.

At the time when the stimulus from Thessaloniki had grown into *decorative style*, the best Greek painters scattered around the world, summoned by rich patrons, who admired their work and knowledge. Thus the two perhaps greatest Greek painters from the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries, left their works far in the north of Russia and in the south, in Transcaucasia. On the behalf of rich Novgorod citizens, Theophanos the Greek painted the Church of Transfiguration in 1378, while kyr Manuel Eugenikos decorated the temple in the place called Tzalendjiha by order of an illustrious Georgian prince in 1390. Both of them showed inclination to run away from reality, and therefore dematerialized saints: Theophanos by using mystical light and departing from real appearance of people and objects to the largest possible extent; kyr Manuel Eugenikos with the help of light and cold colouring that dissolved the matter to utmost transparency. If the spirit close to that of the Morava-school prevailed in Russian frescoes, then the two Greeks solved the same stimulus in a completely different way, but on the same high professional level, although the general atmosphere from Tzalendjiha is much closer to that in the Morava-school churches.

European medieval culture and art, as its component, have been divided, especially after the conversions of the Slavs to Christianity and the division of the Church, into Catholic and Orthodox spheres. The applied value criteria should, therefore, be of internal order for each sphere, although more general, European, are not to be excluded. The Serbian sacral architecture of the Raška and Morava schools, especially in regions with mixed population, produced authentic works based on the synthesis of Eastern and Western styles, or on dressing the Orthodox church space into garments imported from the Adriatic coast or Italy, and adapting it to local traditions. The religious painting in Serbia could not follow the same path because it was more restricted by the Orthodox ecclesiastical canons than architecture. It did not depart – except on few occasions, in coastal regions, at the end of the Serbian state independence, after the unionist Florentine council in 1440 – either from iconographical or stylistic principles of the Orthodox painting, because the painting was the most sacred cult object, recognizable in its overall appearance. Serbia and Bulgaria, as the closest neighbours of the Byzantine state at the time of the Comneni, Lascaris and Palaeologues, did not, for some reasons, develop alternative styles, parallel with the official, current, leading sylistic trends, adopted from Byzantine cultural centres, as did Georgia and Armenia, and, in its own way, Russia, achieving this on the basis of their strong local traditions. In assessing the value of a fresco or an icon the starting point should, therefore, be the artistic creation in the territories of all Orthodox countries, and then the one in Europe. The weakest results are obtained if the assessment is done only by local standards of a state or a region – then insignificant works receive undeserved praise. In this perspective, the Serbian medieval painting deserves the highest place in the 13th-century European art; it is of the same high value as the most significant creations in Byzantium and Italy in the first two decades of the 14th century and its contemporary East-European painting at the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries.

The choice that has been made in this assessment of the Serbian medieval painting is personal to the same extent as it is the result of knowledge and experience of previous and contemporary researchers of Byzantine art, or the Orthodox world. The great authorities in Byzantine studies and European historiography, intellectuals with broad horizons and experts in particular fields have already ranked the 13th- and 14th-century Serbian foundations and their painting among the most exquisite European achieve-

ments. Professor Dimitri Obolensky, one of the best connoisseurs of the Orthodox history and culture, is the strictest of all when convincing our contemporaries "that it can be claimed that the 14th-century Novgorod icons, together with the 13th-century Serbian wall-paintings, are the highest contributions of the Slavic nations in Eastern Europe to the art of Byzantine community of nations."

In the end, it is also important to mention this: if all Serbian specific characteristics were taken into consideration, especially those of the Serbian State and Church ideology – that found its expression in the concept of decoration, the figures of local saints and all-Christian protectors and patrons, in political iconography with the portraits of Serbian rulers and dignitaries, and the scenes from the Serbian history – the same results would be reached as when establishing the position and significance of Serbian painting on a value scale. Through the ideological layer of its art, too, Serbia wanted to become fully incorporated in the Orthodox world, taking as prominent place within it as possible. Political aspirations of similar nature are best embodied in Emperor Dušan: in the mid-14th century, this emperor of Serbs and Greeks strived to replace the weakened Basileus on the Bosphorus, not to alter the universal Byzantine values, but to strengthen and defend them.

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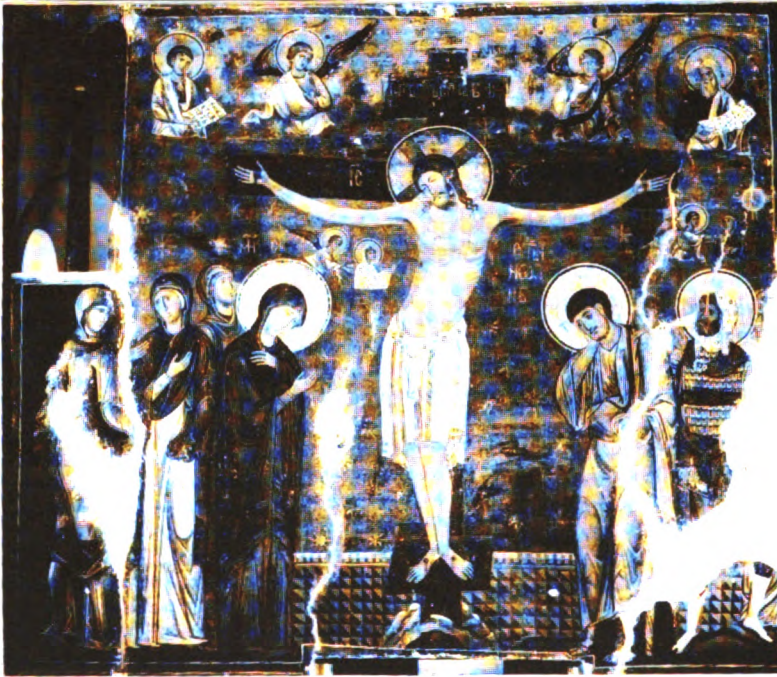
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Studenica, Church of the Virgin, the Crucifixion, 1208/9



Mileševa, The Holy Women at the Tomb, 1222-1228



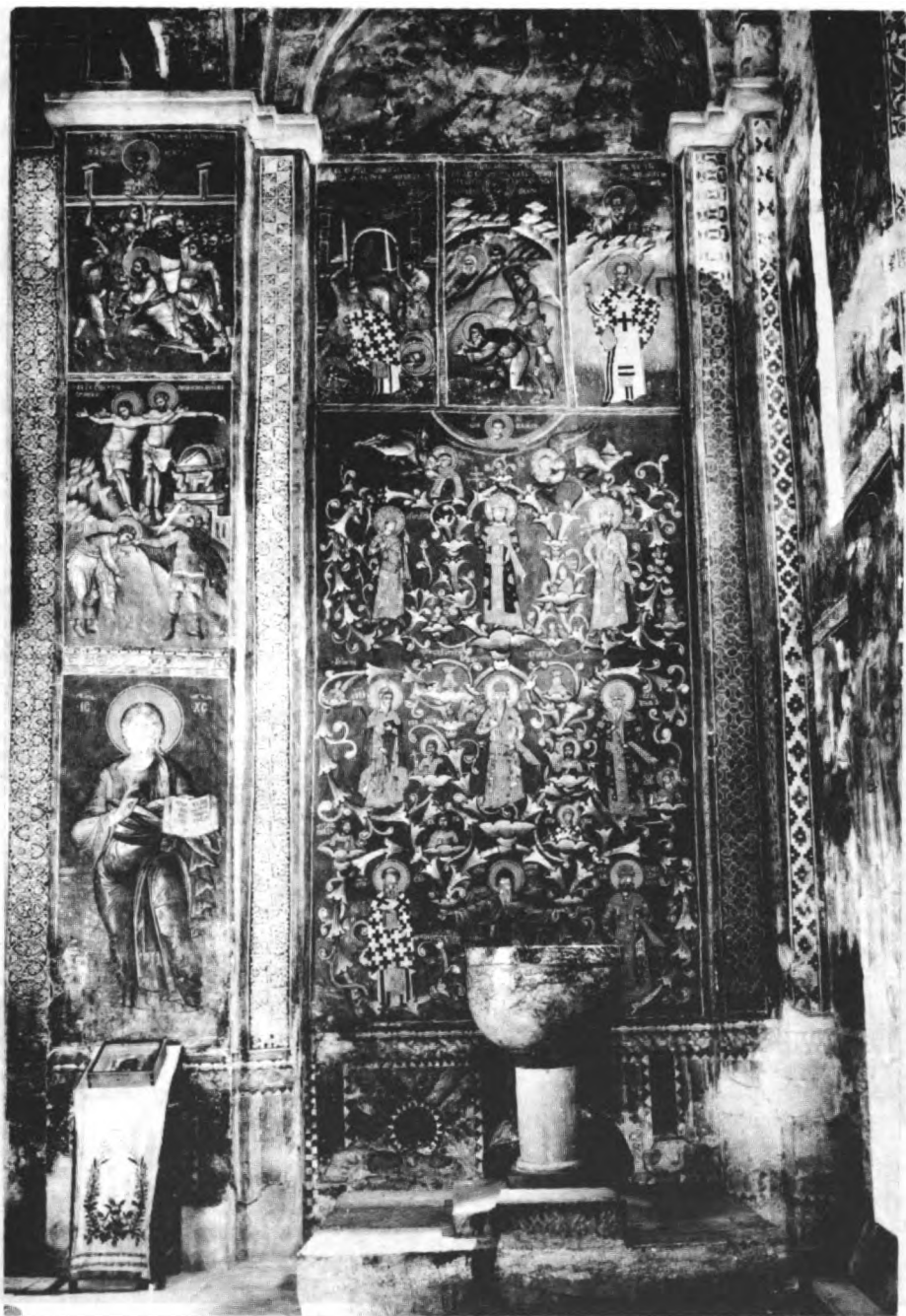
Peć, Church of Holy Apostles, The Ascension, detail, around 1260



Sopoćani, The Dormition of the Virgin, around 1265'



Studenica, The King's Church, The Presentation of the Virgin, around 1315



Dečani, frescoes on the eastern wall of the narthex, around 1347



Kalenić, Listing of Joseph and Mary, detail, around 1413



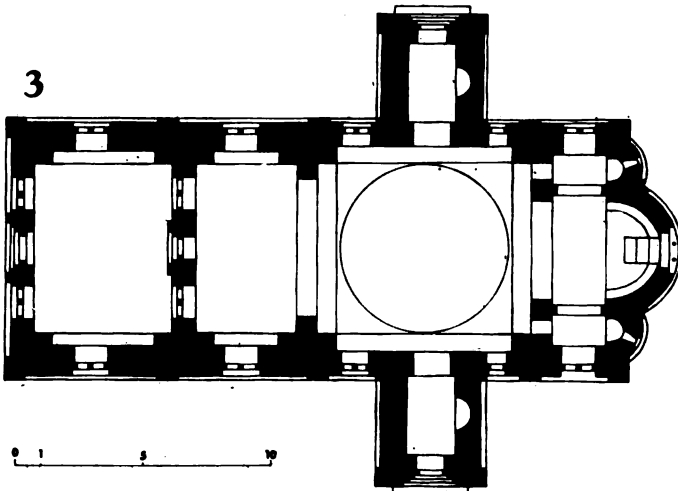
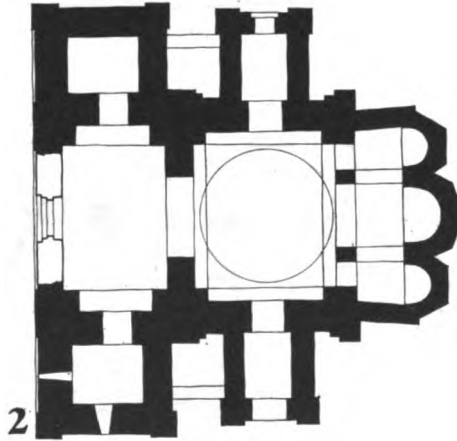
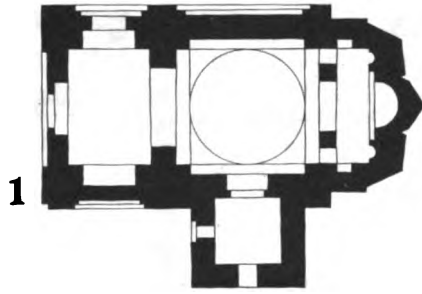
Resava, The Holy Warriors, northern choir, 1404-1418 .

SERBIAN ARCHITECTURE BETWEEN BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST

Two deciding qualities of the old Serbian architecture – its nature situated between Byzantium and the West and its high values – were infallibly noted in the earliest documents of the 19th century, whether in the works of professional historians or the amateurs. Knowledge of the preserved buildings gradually expanded, with the two essential terms of reference remaining constant. Even today, any attempt by an unacquainted scholar to classify a masterpiece of Serbian medieval architecture in one of the great stylistic groups in two neighbouring regions, fails spontaneously as soon as two inseparable components of the whole are placed into the field of vision: the concept of space and the overall appearance of the building.

Knowledge of Serbian architecture was introduced into European science in a similar way. It was initially presented by distinguished Russian researchers, and then by the renown French Byzantine scholar and art historian G. Millet. He most completely introduced key works and currents of the Serbian architecture into European science. It was, in fact, a presentation of Serbian art. And the architecture was synonymous to art. Speaking of architecture, G. Millet was referring to Serbian art as a whole. In his day, painting was less appreciated and studied. Architecture was identified with luxuriant details that adorn some grand monuments. Partly as an expert, and partly for sentimental feelings towards the Serbs, he chose for the motto of his book a line from the *Gorski vijenac*: “Vile će grabiti u vjekove, da Vam vijence dostojne sapletu” (The fairies will seize upon the centuries, to weave the wreaths proper for you). A critical researcher and a reliable judge of European art, G. Millet proved right. The specific trait of Serbian architecture – its position between Byzantium and the West – and its high values, have been appropriately evaluated in the subsequent studies of eminent European art historians.

The actual scale of the beginnings of Serbian architecture are a mere conjecture. From the period of Christianization, vestiges of sacral architecture in central and west-

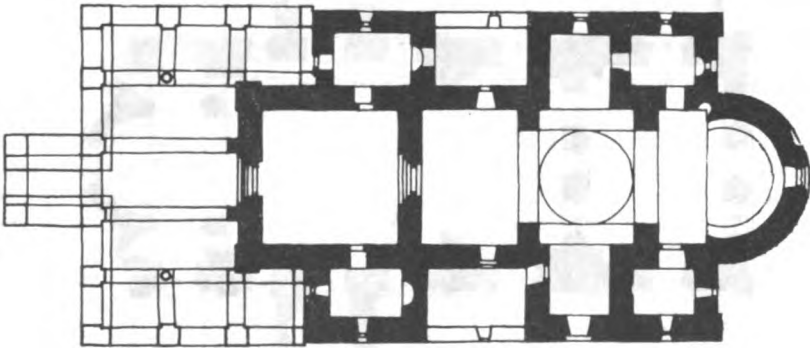
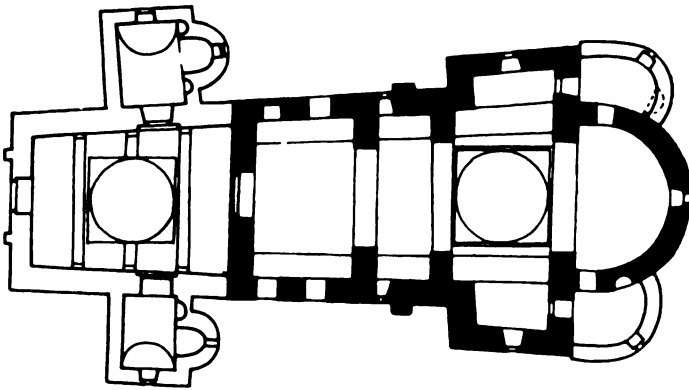
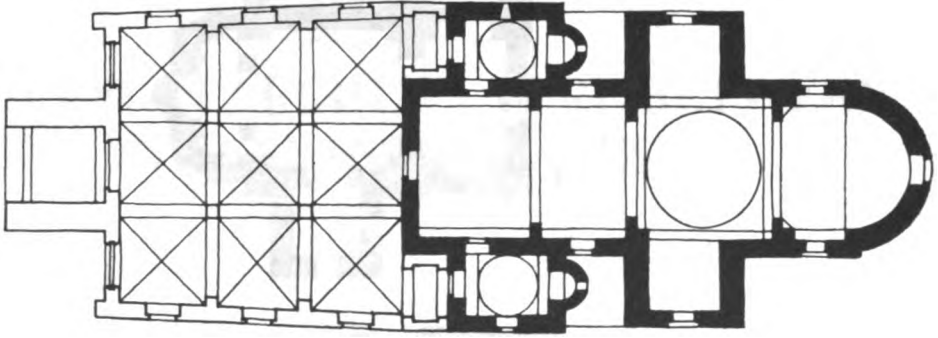


The churches in the region of Raška (Rascia):

1. St. Nicholas near Kuršumlija

2. Djurdjevi Stupovi near Novi Pazar

3. Studenica



13th-century churches of Rascia school:
 1. Žiža; 2. Mileševa; 3. Sopoćani

ern Serbian regions are practically all that remain of the monumental construction created at the time. Overall circumstances (in the 9th and 10th centuries) scarcely allowed for notable advancements in architecture, which has remained to the present day the sole token of artistic creation of that period. It involves developments in regions situated at the outskirts of the Byzantine world, only lightly touching what was taking place in the contiguous Italian domain. It should be added that, in the terms of material evidence, those were the times of modest architectural activity, even in these two neighboring areas, with the exception of the Byzantine capital, which was vigorous enough in artistic trends to ensure continuity.

Judging by our present knowledge, gathered mainly from archaeological practice yet to develop, notable architectural works first emerged in western Serbian regions. The mainstay for what was taking place in architecture, as in all other domains of culture, were several cities on the coast. Those were Kotor and Dubrovnik, where – judging by the most recent findings – urban life has been in continuity since the antiquity, then Bar and Ulcinj. Their population, Romance in the early Middle Ages, depended largely, in economic and cultural sense, on municipal centers on the other side of the Adriatic Sea. The cities recognized supreme Byzantine rule until close to the end of the 12th century, or the beginning of the 13th century. Early Medieval architecture there could not transcend the meager material potentials of the population. Notable buildings are small in size, modestly treated and lack the true elements of style. Conceptions of the ensembles or the fundamental incentive underlying these conceptions originated in the Byzantine world, while their forms, by overall structure and larger details, were halfway between the local Late Classical tradition and specific novel solutions. In Dubrovnik and Kotor, as well as in several monuments on the coast and in the interior, stone decorations appear, peculiar to the proto-Romanesque style of the eastern Adriatic, originating from Rome and northern Italy.

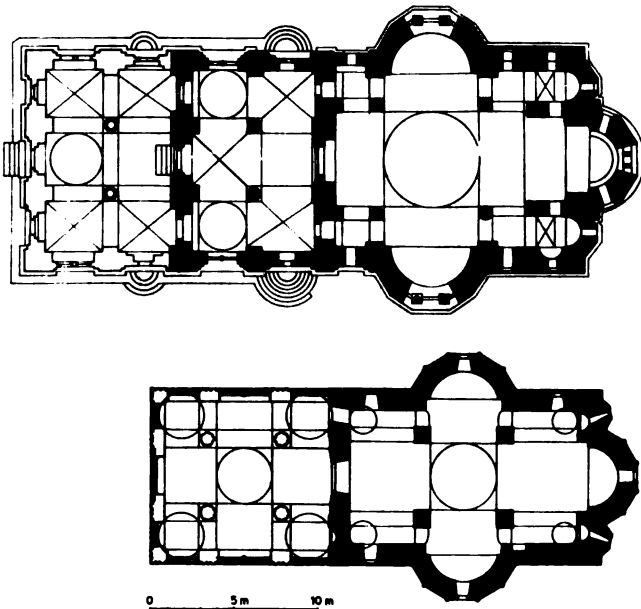
The leading social layer in Serbian lands – lands either politically semi-dependent upon Byzantium or completely independent – emulated the higher classes of Byzantine cities. Limited knowledge of the ecclesiastical and political administrative centers reveal monumental religious constructions with similar characteristics and two visible trends. One is based on Byzantine sources, the other encouraged by the solutions from centers of the Western church. (One should have in mind that Mihailo, the ruler of Zeta, received his crown from Rome.) Judging by negligible vestiges, forts and palaces, or residential buildings belong by their construction and overall conception, to the solutions of a more general nature, widely known in Early Medieval architecture. It could be said they were closest to the Late Classical architecture.

Few monuments mark the early period of our cultural history, including the history of architecture, up to the 12th century. In some instances, great distance separates the important works and their sources. Thus, it could have happened, sometime in the 10th century, deep in the interior of the country, in Ras, that an imposing building was erected, the church of Sts Peter and Paul, peculiar in material and form to the proto-Romanesque style of the eastern Adriatic. The material is stone, and the specific forms are the arched frieze under the roof and slightly projected pilasters. The conception of the whole leads indirectly to Early Byzantine sources.

In central Serbian regions, subsequently referred to as Rascia, Byzantine architecture sets an immediate pattern for almost all constructions. Several triconch churches and basilicas resemble vestiges of contemporary Byzantine provincial architecture in Greece. We know less about cities. We believe they were fortified feudal centers, mostly imitating Byzantine solutions.

The great era of Serbian architecture sprang abruptly, in the State that united central and western Serbian lands, thus becoming an equal partner to its neighbours. That was Serbia under Stefan Nemanja. Several monuments preserved from his days rank highly among other contemporary works. They testify that the ruler and his encirclement made serious investments and efforts to have the country introduced, in the spiritual domain as well, among the highly esteemed and important centers. In the same time, these accomplishments – architectural and artistic works in general – unequivocally bespeak of the sound culture of the milieu that had commissioned them. They were the result of a long cherished artistic tradition, that has reached us only in fragments.

At the forefront of the great architectural movement is the St Nikola church of Kuršumlija (built before 1168). Corresponding to mid-Byzantine architecture in its proportions, made of materials characteristic of central Byzantium, with large forms and details, the church comes nearest to contemporary works in the Byzantine capital. The monumental central dome dominates over its organism, simple in terms of space, while the façade is covered with the stereometric drawings reflecting its internal structure. The architects might have been from a Constantinopolitan atelier. The concept of space, determined by cult needs, was typologically similar to the domed churches with one nave, also of Byzantine origin, by then having been built for nearly two centuries in western Serbian regions. Nemanja's next construction, Djurdjevi Stupovi (Djurdje's Pillars) in Ras (near Novi Pazar, 1171), easily effected the concept of Nemanja's previous construction in function and space, but its forms, material and craft followed the works of Romanesque art. The masters who built Djurdjevi Stupovi applied certain solutions very similar in some details to somewhat earlier Catholic cathedral in Kotor.



Plans of Chilandari and Ravanica

Shifts from Byzantine to Romanesque conceptions and practices in Nemanja's first two constructions ended up with the unique interweaving of the two crafts and two artistic conceptions in his chief donation – the church of Studenica monastery (1183–1196). The functional and spatial designs of the two preceding works attained in Studenica to a monumental creation of high architectural craftsmanship, lofty artistic elaboration, luxurious materials and perfect formal geometry. It is a single-naved domed church, with barrel vaults and semicircular arches, with sliced calotte covering the twelve-faceted drum of Constantinopolitan origin. Its exterior was walled with marble blocks, like the most magnificent Romanesque churches in Italy. Its façade, with certain Romanesque details, reflects the internal structure of the space beneath the dome, drawn in the Byzantine fashion. A rather large edifice, in comparison to similar constructions of the Byzantine world, Studenica ranks among the most valued works of its period by the beauty of its relief decoration, and the geometry of harmonious treatment of its façades. The interlacing of Byzantine and Romanesque styles in iconography and forms, in original solutions, is particularly prominent at the main portal and the tripartite window in the apse. The construction of this unusual edifice, which immensely influenced subsequent developments in Serbian art and architecture, was the concerted work of architects and masters of Byzantine and Romanesque schools of art and craft. The architect-protomaster, acquired his skill in one of the leading workshops of the Byzantine world, and the designer of the façades, portals and windows competed with the best creations of south-Italian Romanesque art.

Monasteries in Serbia dating from that period were settlements resembling small cities. It is interesting to note that peasants beneath Golija mountain even today refer to Studenica as a city. Buildings for residence and other purposes were, for various reasons, most vulnerable to decay over the centuries, thus only a vague picture of the original whole can be obtained. Thanks to some preserved details, we have determined the monastery's defense from external peril, the look of the chief defense tower and residential quarters, and how buildings for different purposes were linked into sequels. Most information exists on the spacious dining rooms which were carefully built and decorated. The purpose and concept of Byzantine monasteries served as the model for Serbian monasteries. Architectural forms, materials and the building techniques were, as with churches, the works of masters trained in both domains.

In the Žiča monastery (1207–1219), at one time the see of the Serbian archiepiscopate, the concept of space was rounded off in the sense that the adopted pattern became a longterm basis for churches typical of Serbian architecture: the single-naved domed church with a low transept and smaller special-purpose churches added at its sides. Parts of the whole built subsequently, also for special purposes – the two-storied exonarthex and the belltower – were reproduced in several instances. Masters who worked on the Žiča monastery were also trained either in the Byzantine or in Romanesque manner. The whole is characteristic of Rascia school. Knowledge interlaced with skill brought forth a new understanding of architecture, which most highly esteemed the tradition of its own practice. The program, in the hands of distinguished, and most certainly, learned, commissioners, prevails in the architectural, and every other aspect, as the factor that necessarily guided the protomaster and craftsmen regardless of the origin of their training. Those churches the construction of which St Sava, as the first Serbian archbishop, had to have influenced, are largely similar: Mileševa (third decade of the 13th century), the endowment of King Vladislav and subsequently Sava's mausoleum; the church of Virgin of Hvosno, the episcopal see, and The Holy Apostles in Peć (probably the third or fourth decade of the same century), Pridvorica, of an unknown founder and unknown

purpose. Built evidently for the needs of the Church and the ruler's house, constructed in a brief time span, they were built judiciously and sparingly – no more walls of luxuriant stone, such as the façades of Studenica; while only a few details aspiring to lofty artistic values, emerge here and there: chiefly the main western portal and a window or two. Even then, it is only an architectural frame made of decorative stone. Relief decoration, if there is any, is reduced and modestly applied. The luxuriant materials of the exteriors were replaced by color, which was easily acceptable by the local milieu, as the interior surfaces were generally covered with color, i.e. painted with frescos of high artistic value. Testifying to this are the magnificent frescos of Mileševa, as well as fragments of frescos in some other monuments.

Architecture in the 13th century fully observed the concept of space and the architectural conceptions adopted during the days of St Sava. The ensemble of 13th-century monuments has been known in science for a long time as the Rascia school. However, the monuments are not typologically identical in their schemes of space. This particular concept, essentially different from typical works of contemporary West-European or Byzantine architecture, gave possibility to every commissioner to realize some special purpose. The craftwork was effected by artisans who either came from or were trained under the influence of the centers where Romanesque or Gothic styles prevailed. These centers are the aforementioned local (littoral) cities. The orientation of Rascia-school architecture towards Romanesque and Romano-Gothic styles were the result of two circumstances. The first was the fact that good artisans, in particular stonemasons, were more easily to be found in western cities that nurtured craftsmanship, and where the practice and knowledge were nearest to West-European practice, precisely, to the workshops of the near Italian cities. The second reason was that it was harder to find good masters and reliable building skill in the toppling Byzantine Empire, itself partly under Latin rule. In other words, the leading social class in Serbia was apt to turn to the sources in the western parts of its own country, thus giving preference to one of the two traditional trends in craftsmanship and art on which it was shaping the architectural picture of its own cultural surroundings.

The monastery of Morača was built in the mid-13th century (1252). The founder was Stefan, son of King Vukan. Romanesque influence is particularly apparent in the exterior: flat façades, built in lines of stone, with slightly projecting pilasters and arcaded friezes in the upper part. The volumes of the building were drawn with sharp edges, in the Romanesque manner. The Sopoćani monastery, an endowment of King Uroš I, was erected in the seventh decade, as was the Gradac monastery, the endowment of Queen Jelena. The church of Sopoćani has clearly defined scheme of space, and is distinguished by its outer form, which largely approaches a Romanesque basilica with one nave and two aisles. It is also marked by an open exonarthex, Byzantine in concept, as well as by the high belltower. Although the church was built under the strong influence of mature Romanesque, its interior space is very similar to the monumental interiors of mid-Byzantine architecture. That the founder took particular care of its endowment is evident from the monumental frescos and marble frames of the portals and windows. The same could be said of the founder of Gradac. The peculiar trait of the church of Gradac lies in its Gothic elements: ribbed vaults, buttresses, and pointed arches. Viewed as a whole, though observing the concept of space of the Rascia school, the Gothic masters found it difficult to cope with a geometry of forms alien to them, which suggests their origin. The relatively small, one-naved domed church of Davidovica was erected in 1281, by Dmtar, son of King Vukan. King Dragutin erected in 1296 his mausoleum Arilje. With slight modifications, the Rascia-school concept of space was effected in

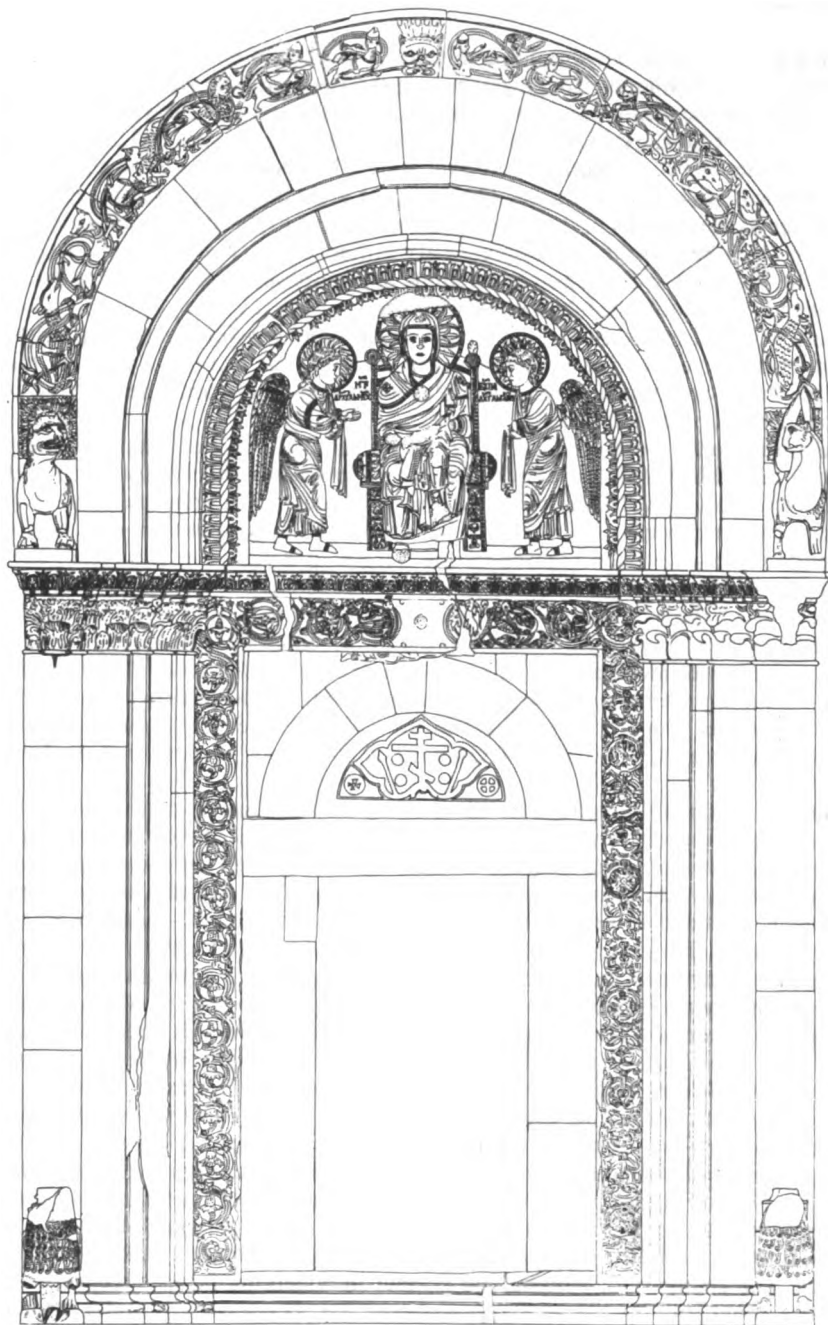


Gračanica, longitudinal section, isometry. Details are drawn schematically

Romanesque forms, with the facades made restlessly by deep decorative arches.

The array of Orthodox churches and monasteries of the Rascia style would be incomplete if we were to disregard the many Romanesque and Catholic churches built in Zeta. They are characterized by one-naved structure and a dome. Although they pursue the tradition of the already mentioned, earlier single-naved domed churches, they are a part of the Rascia-school architecture, which encouraged and sustained their existence almost to the mid-13th century. An extraordinary example is the Benedictine church of St Mary in Mljet, which practically repeats the forms of the Church of the Virgin in Studenica. The rest are monuments in Kotor. Romanesque influence from Kotor is evident on Djurdjevi Stupovi near Ivograd, and in the churches of Morača and Sopoćani. On the other hand, the construction of Studenica influenced the conception of the dome of St Luka's church, while the solutions of the Rascia school were indirectly affecting the monuments in Kotor until St Paul's, presented as a gift to Dominicans.

The political and cultural changes in Byzantium and Serbia in the late 13th century wielded enormous influence on trends in Serbian architecture. The ambitious King Milutin firmly turned to the Byzantine world, which was experiencing another artistic revival after the expulsion of the crusaders from Constantinople. The identification of the ruler and the state with Byzantium's political ideology and Byzantine civilization directly affected cultural developments in Serbia. "Byzantinization" was particularly noticeable in architecture, the more so as the King built much more than his predecessors. Following the monastery of Chilandari sprang one edifice after another, until his death. Let us mention only the preserved monuments erected in the then Serbian lands: St Nikita in Skopska Crna Gora, the St Mary Ljeviška in Prizren, Staro Nagoričino, the King's Church in Studenica and Gračanica. With the exception of Banjska, where conceptions characteristic of the Rascia school were observed, the forms, materials and interiors of the above edifices belong to the manner of Late Byzantine architecture. Chilandari is close to the Constantinopolitan solutions; St Nikita's plan is the inscribed cross with the dome in the so-called provincial variant, whereas the St Mary Ljeviška and Staro Nagoričino represent specific solutions, complex schemes of space, perhaps originating from Salonica. Both of these five-domed churches heralded the key architectural creation of King Milutin's – the church of Gračanica. Architects and artisans alike were trained in the Byzantine world manner. There is more than one reason inducing art historians to refer to the architecture of Milutin's times (till the second half of the 14th century) as the Serbo-Byzantine school. The well-known Byzantine solutions were usually carried out with new formal and spatial details and with different understanding of proportions. An exceptional creative act underlies the best accomplishments. A new conception of harmony was added to the traditional domed organism of the Byzantine world. Let us rest on two examples. The small King's Church conveys in reduced dimensions the image of an ideal church according to the notions of the Early Byzantine spiritual world, and its exteriors repeat, in color and drawing, the costly façades of St Mary's church. With Gračanica – typologically, a five-domed church – a unique and unrepeatable composition was achieved. It contains several domed volumes composed into a whole, the symmetry of which is not geometric but organic. Although picturesque and decorative in its exterior appearance, it comes the closest, together with the King's Church, to the vision of an ideal church. It is easy to remove the material of Gračanica to get to the core of its enclosed space. Mutual relations of proportions within it transcend the importance of true proportions. The best architect in Byzantium happened to be at the building site of King Milutin's church. He achieved a masterpiece where the old organism of a domed church has been unimaginably multiplied.



Studenica, main portal. Drawing by D. Todorović

The inevitable idea of a special architectural workshop established at the court of King Milutin has developed from awareness of the freedom with which the architectural compositions of the masterpieces were created. To mention but a few: the western part of the Church of St Mary Ljeviška, the King's Church, Gračanica, and the ensemble of the Patriarchate of Peć, in particular its exonarthex. Neither true analogy nor sources for the mentioned works can be traced. The group of architects, and, of course, those who commissioned their works built in Serbia from the first to the third decades of the 14th century what is best in the contemporary Byzantine world. The work of that group is marked by boldness in finding new solutions and by pronounced sense for the harmonious arrangement of forms into complex wholes.

Many works of architecture were created in the southern Serbian regions, as a result of the country's overall orientation towards Byzantium. The fact that Byzantine tradition was alive in the newly conquered lands played an important part. The activities of the new founders followed it directly.

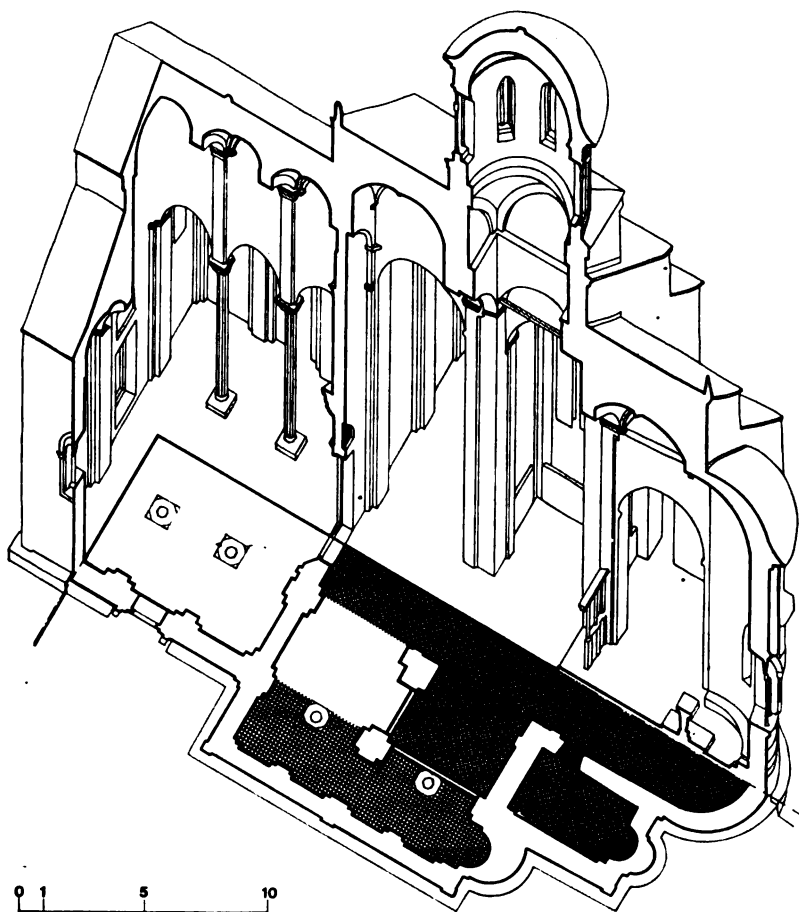
Valuable works were attained to in the Patriarchate of Peć: the churches of St Dimitrije, of St Mary and the narthex; then the endowments of feudal lords in Metochia – Budisavci, Mušutište, Rečani, the Church of the Redeemer in Prizren etc.

Many buildings were erected by feudal lords in regions of present-day Macedonia. To mention but a few: the Church of the Virgin in Kučevište, Ljuboten, the Holy Archangels in Štip, Lesnovo, St George in Pološko, Marko's monastery etc. Should a brief account of the architecture discussed be required, it may proceed as follows: the inherited spatial and structural solution of the inscribed cross with a dome, in its widespread variant, with the treatment of forms and details on the model of the architecture typical of the Byzantine capital. The transformation of the basic volumes into firm wholes of slender proportions is a debt to the tradition of earlier Serbian architecture. Several achievements of the Serbo-Byzantine school belong to the best Late Byzantine works.

The orientation of the Serbian architecture towards Byzantium did not sever the generations-long ties to the developments in the western parts of the country, to the West-European Romanesque and Romano-Gothic world. Figuratively speaking, one might say that Serbian architecture retained its other face. King Milutin erected his major endowment, intended as his sepulcher, on the model of Studenica – said his biographer. Although the main reason for such an attitude was admiration for the mausoleum of the founder of the dynasty, in contemporary developments the construction of Banjska meant abiding by the artistic and architectural trends prevalent in the western regions of the country. In terms of religious architecture, in the Littoral, Catholic churches were almost only ones built; however, the King, whether directly or indirectly, through his mother, Queen Jelena, certainly contributed to the successful expansion of churches of new and very active Catholic orders, and, it seems, to the construction of some other buildings, perhaps the new cathedral in Bar and the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus by the Boiana river. Milutin nevertheless remained unwaveringly devout to Orthodoxy, thus his sepulchral church was built strictly by the standards of the Orthodox Church. Of comparatively large dimensions, the Banjska emulates the elaborate pattern of a Rascia-school church, with two representative belltowers, solemnly flanking the western entrance. The geometry of volume, the manner in which the façades were treated, and the entire conception of the whole, reveal that Banjska was built under strong High Romanesque influence, and may thus be compared with a renown east-Adriatic or, perhaps, north-Italian domed basilica. It was a debt to the desire to emulate Studenica. The architect of Banjska carried out his project in line with his training, which was evidently

of western origin. In order to achieve the full emulation of the imposing original, Banjska needed representative portals and windows. Since the church sustained heavy ruin, we are able to present only a rough outline of the three portals and the tripartite window of the main apse. It is not difficult to conclude that Studenica was indeed the model for the architect of Banjska.

Like all great accomplishments in architecture or art, the emergence of Banjska in Serbian surroundings affected in itself certain artistic trends. Vestiges tell us that the churches of the Banja monastery and of the Patriarchate of Peć repeated upon their painted façades the motifs from Banjska. Even more important is the high probability that the architecture of Banjska gave fresh impetus to, or partly served as a pattern for the next great royal mausoleum – Dečani.



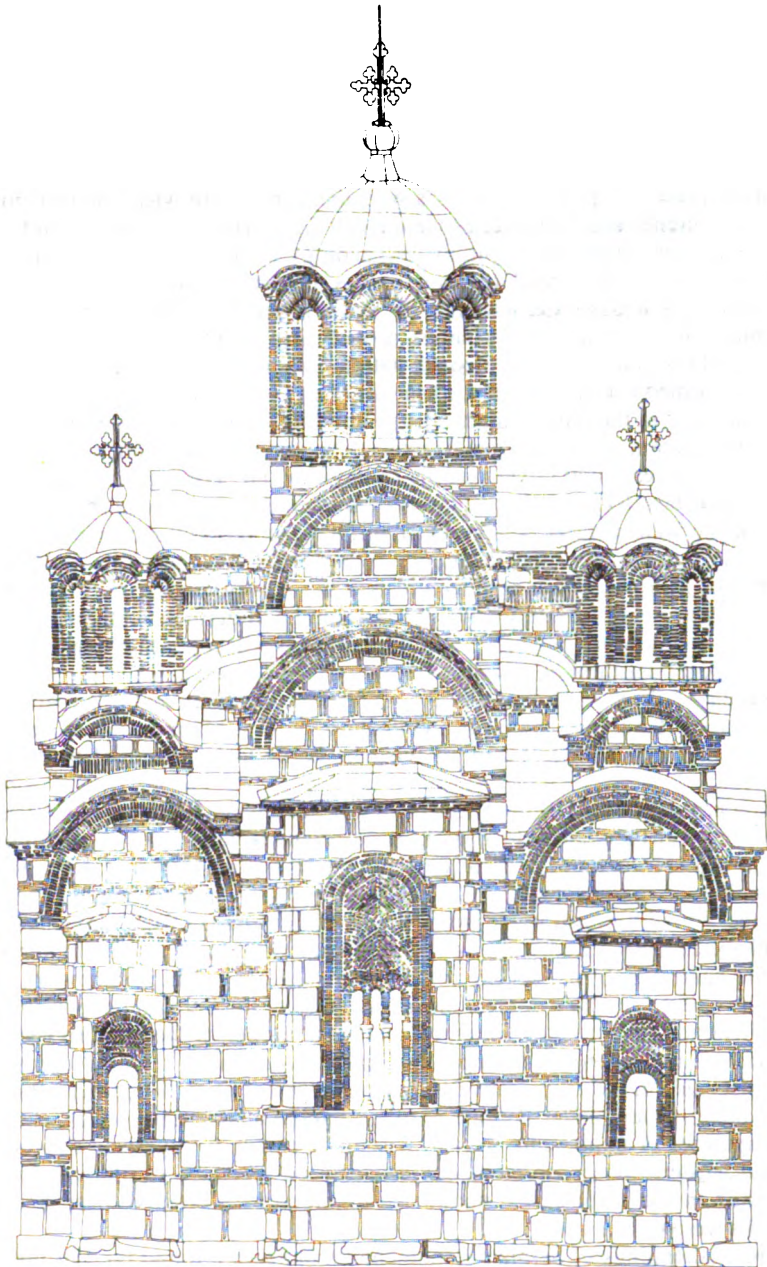
Dečani, isometry. Shaded surfaces represent the elements of Rascia-school plan inserted into the plan of Dečani

Deep loyalty to dynastic tradition and admiration for Nemanja's mausoleum were doubtless the chief reason for King Stefan III to decide to erect Dečani as the specific architectural arrangement we know today. An Orthodox church, having all sections of space contained in the architecture of Rascia, the Dečani presents the greatest breakthrough of contemporary western Romano-Gothic architecture into the mainstream of Serbian architecture. The church of Dečani as a whole, particularly its central part, could be moved into a contemporary Catholic milieu without any hesitation. Such combinations is in itself an expression of a careful quest for appropriate solutions, which is best proved by the fact that the rich relief decoration more or less duplicates the accomplishments of Studenica.

The Dečani offers good ground for making a special kind of comparison between monumental Serbian architecture and contemporary West-European architecture. It is the comparison in terms of dimensions, which are an often object of reflection among amateurs in cultural matters. Although in principle the system of values could not bear such a comparison, with this monument in mind, it is worthwhile recalling the folk poet who speaks of the High Dečani in the well-known poem "Miloš among the Latins". He was well aware he was not exaggerating. The church of Dečani is larger than the littoral cathedrals, including the one in Dubrovnik. Let us add that the church of Dečani was built in eight years, while it took over 150 years to build the cathedral in Dubrovnik. To the poet's picturesque comparison should be added another controversy of actual life in contemporary Serbia. We know that the architect of the church of Dečani was a Franciscan. In the preserved inscription written in the Cyrillic alphabet he stated with pride that he came from the "royal city of Kotor".

Written sources, preserved buildings and other material evidence tell us that Kotor in the 14th century was a regulated city, with a population holding urban occupations, and with all public buildings proper to such a city. Similar assumptions could be made about Bar as well. Dubrovnik, which was strongly linked to Serbian history, also bore the characteristics of a city. In the interior of the country, settlements formed around the mines and markets were assuming the aspects of a city, though material evidence is scant for more reliable judgment.

The third 14th-century mausoleum continues in its own manner the architecture of the previous mausoleums of the ruling house. The Holy Archangels of Prizren, chief endowment of Stefan Dušan (the fifth decade of the 14th century), built as the founder's mausoleum, unites in a unique fashion two components of art and craftsmanship that persisted in Serbian lands. As it is known, the Holy Archangels monastery was destroyed. The stone from its ruins was used for the construction of Sinan Pasha's mosque in Prizren. Basing upon the vestiges of the building situated in Prizren and in Kuršumlihan in Skopje, an ideal model of the mausoleum was reconstructed. It was a cruciform domed church characteristic of Late Byzantine architecture, built in large dimensions, with façades of hewed blocks of decorative stone. Fragments of stone reliefs show that the building was decorated in conformity with the Rascia school's tradition of sculpture and architectural decoration. Its style corresponded to the time the edifice was erected. Judging by the possible solutions for an ideal reconstruction, the façades were treated architecturally according to the leading conceptions of Late Byzantine architecture. The mosaic floor, emulating the Constantinopolitan floors, contributed to the solemn appearance of the interior. All these facts lead to the conclusion that the probably five-domed Holy Archangels of Prizren was the most stately and most solemn edifice erected in the contemporary Byzantine world. Its magnificent exteriors and interiors were enriched by stone decoration, bearing in its thematic and artistic bases the tradition of Rascia school.



Gračanica, east façade

Therewith the founder had fulfilled his debt to his forefather, the founder of Studenica.

The economic and cultural flourishing in the last autonomous Serbian state found expression in art as well. The country of that period is usually referred to as Moravian Serbia (the center of the state being in Morava valley), and its architecture, sculpture and painting – as the Morava school. Architecture thrived in Moravian Serbia. Forts were built as a result of perpetual clashes with the Turks. Life was sustained in several cities. Many churches and monasteries were erected. As with the earlier periods, most of the then erected buildings are a topic for archaeology today. We appreciate the Morava school of architecture by several key monuments, the best known being: Ravanica, Lazarica, Ljubostinja, Resava and Kalenić. The basic program of space continued the previous architecture of the Serbo-Byzantine school. Strong influence wielded by monks from Mount Athos introduced the triconch pattern in a traditionally domed building, and the plan thus formed became one of the traits of churches of this period. Earlier architecture was respected in the type of material, the building techniques and in the basic compositional articulation of the façades. However, the overall appearance of the architectural whole was an essential novelty in the Morava school. The monumental conception of volume in the best Byzantine tradition was enriched due to the need for the decorative treatment of the wall surfaces. Elements of surface decoration were two types of stone or two colors of mortar and stone decoration in low relief, also, as a rule, painted. A distinctive trait of Morava school architecture was the decoration in low relief, predominantly of geometric motifs, rarely with stylized floral and quite exceptionally with figurative motifs. It was developed and persisted in local workshops. The impetus evidently came from a general aspiration towards decorative expression.

The author of these lines, necessarily scant in comparison with the immense and complex subject of Serbian medieval architecture, feels it his duty not to end up with usual conclusion, but with a review of what he holds to be essential to the selected theme.

The longterm adaptation of the Serbs (tribes, tribal alliances, states) to Christian civilization on the soil they had settled took place during a period not abounding in new works or in old spiritual and cultural centers that encouraged medieval renewal. Only the faint echos of the spectacular Carolingian revival, which disrupted the cultural repose of the West-European world, reached the western parts of the Slavic world. Two regions inhabited by the Serbs, the southern Dalmatian littoral and its hinterland, and lands in the central Balkans, became and remained a geographic framework of many events in the culture and, to a degree, the architecture of the Serbian people. Products of urban civilizations seem to have emerged somewhat earlier in the western regions than in the interior. In addition to the impulses from the remaining, restored cities, another factor consists also in the comparatively easy communication with southern Italy and its urban and other centers under Byzantine rule for quite a long time – thus, the sources, ideas or impetuses in architecture were of Byzantine origin. Comparison of works in the eastern and western Serbian regions could hardly be taken as a criterion. Everything accomplished in the early period should be regarded as a creative base upon which future works were to be built.

The great beginnings of Serbian monumental architecture found the European encirclement of Serbian lands spiritually and culturally divided into the eastern and western worlds. The leading part of the Serbian society, the one that determined the history of the people, remained deeply linked to the eastern world, with full awareness of another civilization in its own milieu. The architectural solutions that emerged in such circumstances were neither ephemeral nor fortuitous. New values were created on them. The

Rascia architecture remained the only permanent and self-consistent architectural movement on the long line of contact between eastern and western architecture. With an equally good reason, it can be concluded that it was not by chance that the most beautiful Romanesque portal was built in the Studenica. Only a deep devotion to the best traditions of Late Classical idea of beauty, preserved in the Byzantine artistic world, could produce a true harmony of theme, structure and form in a Romanesque portal. In the model, presented by the Dečani, of West-European origin, deep in the 14th century was preserved an unclouded space of the other origin, whereas West-European architecture shed its Byzantine loans early and swiftly.

The return to the Byzantine world, conditionally speaking, produced masterpieces inspired by King Milutin and the subsequent works of the 14th century. Let us employ a figure of speech once again: the church of Gračanica would be a real treasure of architecture in the Bosphorous or in any town of the then great world. If we take freedom of creation as an essential condition for the birth of a masterpiece, then the previous stage would be respect for one's own cultural traditions, and that respect was the decisive factor in the spiritual world of the important founders.

The Morava school is the final architectural renewal in the Byzantine world. In the period its masters were building, nothing was taking place in Byzantium. Relying upon the funds sustained for centuries, the Morava school of architecture deserves the attribute of renaissance in the true sense of the word. It should be placed among the several great cyclic renewals, in which new conceptions were affirmed within the frames of old forms. In the architecture of Morava school, solutions established in the Renaissance of the Palaeologues were upheld, however, in the treatment of architectural surfaces and the understanding of proportion prevailed the old idea of monumentality and consistently implemented rhythm and symmetry. The Rascia tradition also played its part in finding new solutions, and it was confirmed in several programatic details. The most important contribution to this tradition was the stone architecture of the Resava.

Let us resort to a figure of speech to conclude with. Both the churches of Lazarica and of Kalenić would find a high position in any review of Byzantine or European architecture. This will suffice to redeem the entirety of a great creation in dramatic and tragic circumstances symbolically marked by two dates: 1389 and 1459.

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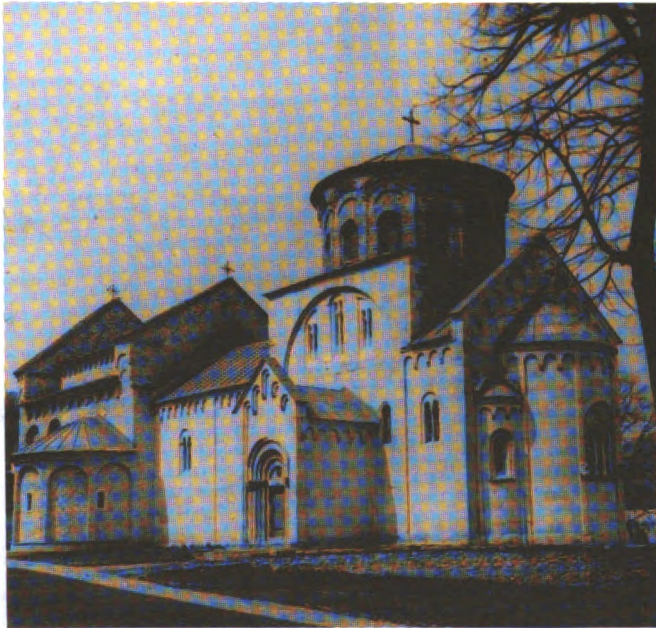
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St. Michael near Ston, northeast view



Studenica, southeast view



Patriarchate of Peć, southeast view



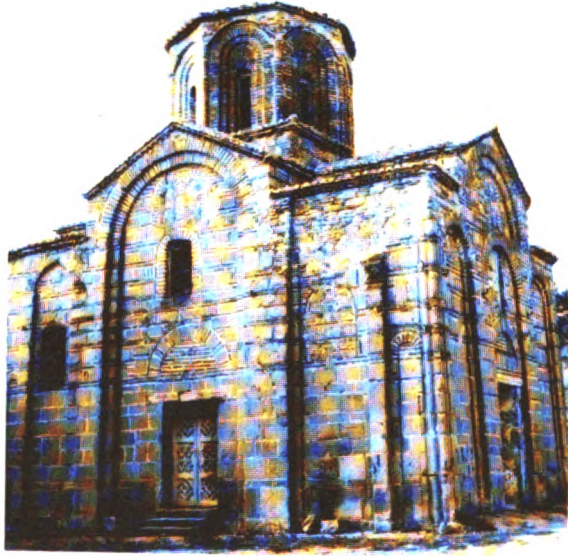
Sopoćani, southwest view



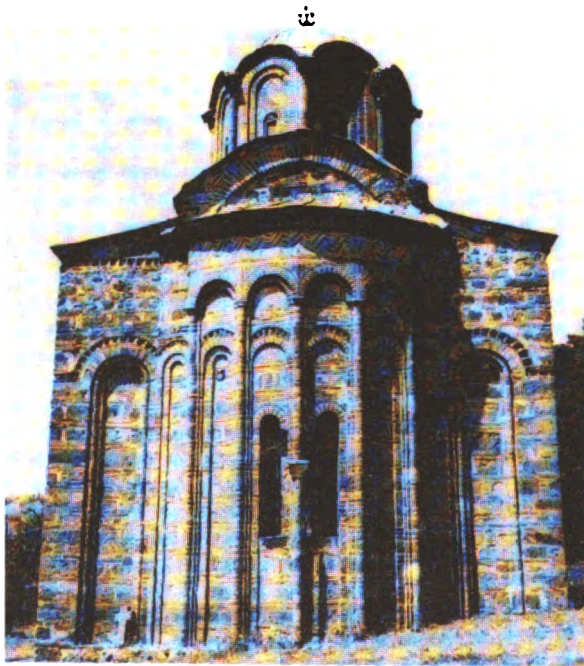
Chilandari, view of the church from the northeast



Chilandari, catholikon and the south part of the architectural ensemble



St. Archangel near Štíp



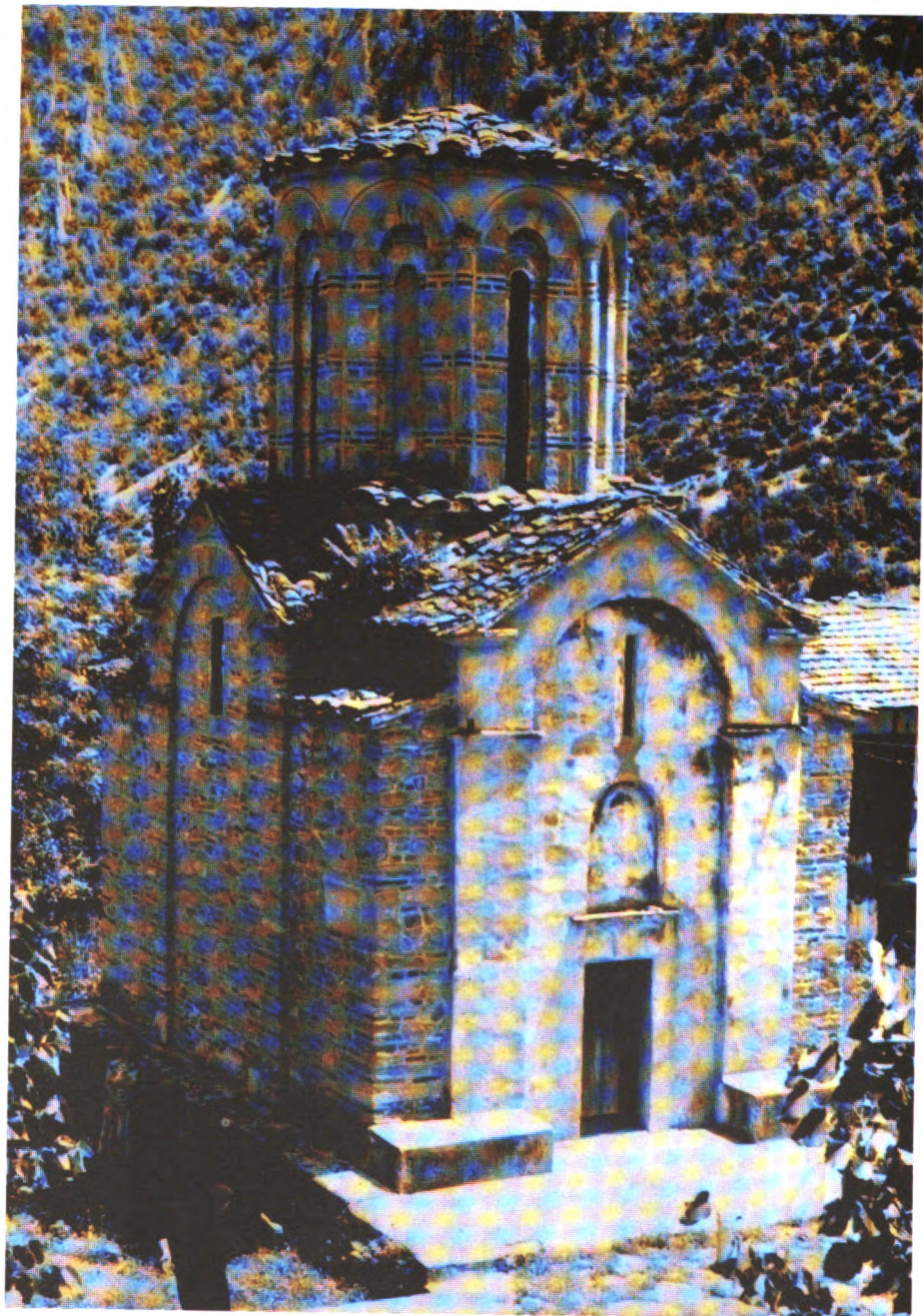
Lesnovo, east side



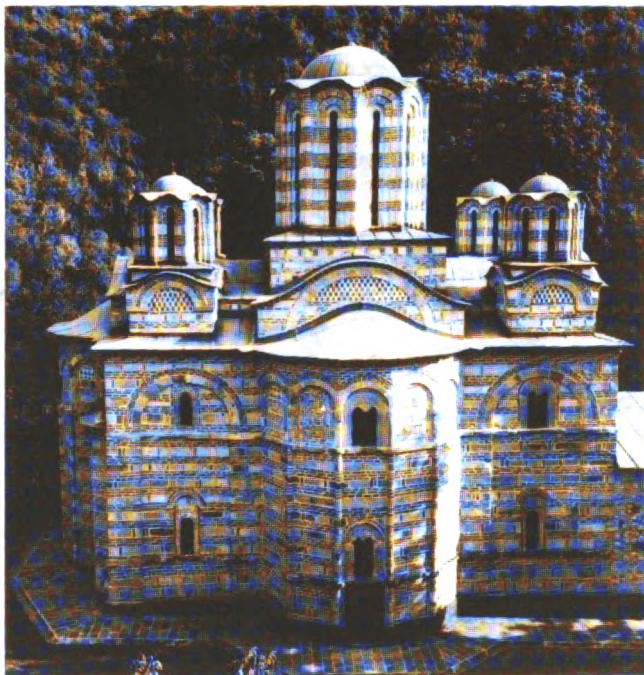
Matejič, upper part of the church, northwest view



Marko's monastery, southwest view



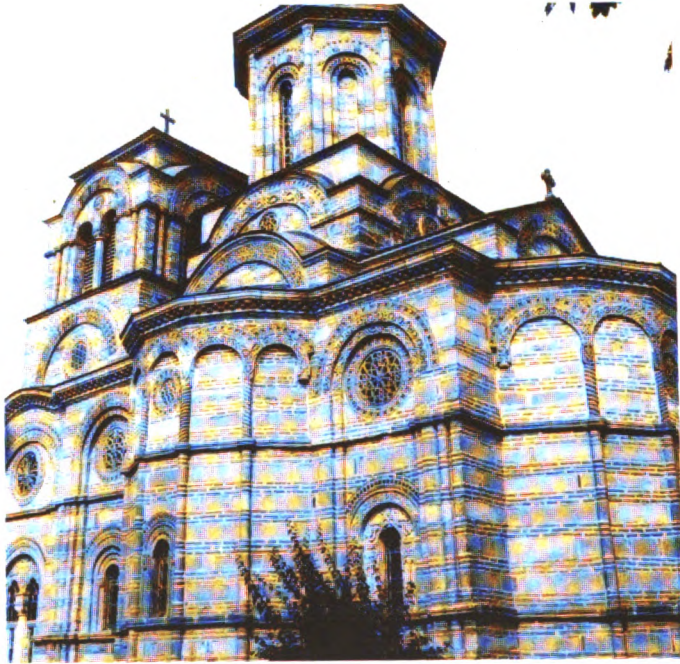
Andreaš on Treska, northwest view



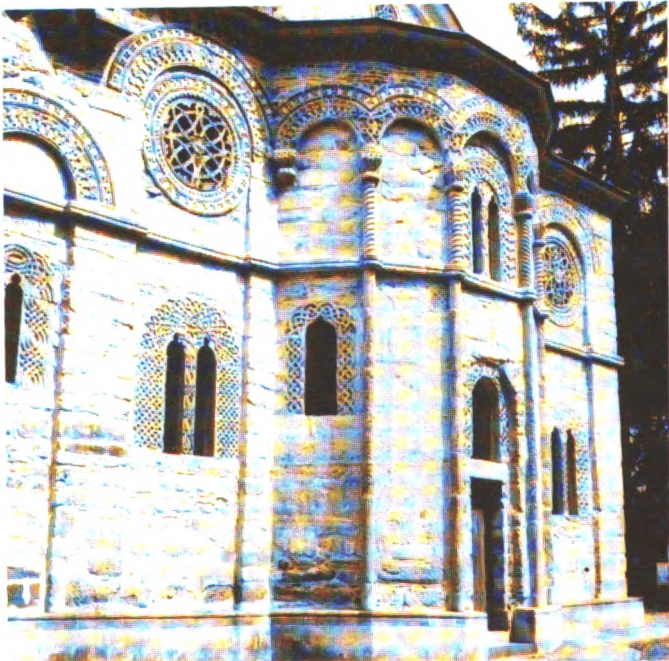
Ravenna, north view



Ravenna, tripartite window in the west wall of the church



Lazarica, southwest view



Ljubostinja, south façade

Dinko Davidov

REVIVAL OF SERBIAN ART IN THE 18TH CENTURY

*“...the Serbs rose the highest, when they seemed
hopelessly divided and forever imprisoned
in alien states”.*

(Radovan Samardžić)

The late 17th and early 18th-century migrations of Serbs from the Balkans to the state territory of the Habsburg Monarchy – to the regions of earlier Serbian despots and cities by the Danube – were of crucial import to the nation, whose destiny from then onward was more frequently recorded on the pages of central European historiography. The migrations were a long stride taken by part of the nation to Pannonia, to become there a subject of the “Home of Austria”. Everything the Serbs achieved in the age of Enlightenment was bred in that state, where a social transformation took place, and a renaissance of their culture and art.

The centuries-long bondage of the Serbs under Turkish rule narrowed the possibility for the further development of the once glorious medieval civilization, and isolated the nation from mid-European impulses, which proved fatal to its spiritual and creative life. Therefore, one might say that the compulsory migrations, which followed the Austro-Turkish wars in the Balkans, opened unforeseen potentials for the revival of national culture.

In the Balkans, and under Turkish dominion, Serbian literature and art could never really attain to the stylistic forms of Baroque, Rococo and Classicism. Under such conditions, the Serbs would never have received the powerful Russo-Ukrainian, and subsequently Austrian, impulses. Understandably, they would not have produced the middle-class with its then liberal views, men educated at West-European academies and permeated with ideas of Enlightenment and rationalism. They also would never have had the nobility and soldiery, high-ranking officers in the Austrian and Russian armies, celebrated benefactors, donators and founders. Altogether, they would not have had such cultural, artistic and scientific workers whose efforts and actions substantially altered the intellectual and spiritual traits of the nation, who, thanks to the migrations from Balkan Turkey, leaped over its centuries-long backwardness.

Demographically and socially, the image of Hungary in the early decades of the 18th century was quite picturesque, reflecting rough contacts of Balkan and West-European civilizations, but also some colorful contrasts of peculiar and unique complexion. Here is where that color was most apparent: owing to the long Osmanli dominion, Hungary exhibited Levantine traits for some time after its liberation in 1686. Of those reminded not only many mosques, Moslem secondary schools, spas, cobblestone roads and forts, but also the settled Serbs and Tzintzars who brought Balkan crafts and trades into Hungarian towns, as well as their religions, customs and habits. At the same time, the Austrian administration, military authorities and Catholic Church were introducing contemporary western standards of urban life and behavior. However, the peculiar social genre-painting of this clime soon faded. The Serbs were compelled to adapt; wisely, in order not to become lost and melted in the alien land that had become their reality. To retain religious and national autonomy.

Dramatic events taking place on the Hungarian stage considerably determined the position and future of the Serbs.

- Austro-Turkish wars still raged in the southern regions, with the Serbian settlers fighting on the Christian side.

- The Hungarian insurrection of Ferenc Rakoczy was in full swing, wreaking much evil upon the Serbs; in Baranja it almost led to another displacement of the population.

- Persistent pressures were exerted by the Roman Catholic Church; practicing the Orthodox faith was perilous, attempts were made at conversion.

- The plague raged from time to time, recently built villages by the Danube were inundated.

However, other phenomena and events were also occurring.

- Privileges conceded to the Serbs by the Habsburgs, were not always a firm guarantee of officially granted rights, but were often a Serbian stronghold in the struggle for their implementation.

- The restoration of the Military Frontier with special regulations for Serbian soldiers and officers.

- The founding of the Metropolitan See of Karlovci, as church organization of Serbs in Hungary, which had a national as well as spiritual mission, and a diplomatic and political role at the Vienna Court. This institution, well-conceived and managed, was crucial to the survival of the Serbian people in Hungary.

The elaborately worked out hierarchy, personified by the rights of the patriarch (metropolitan), whom the Court formally received as the only legitimate representative of the Serbian people, ensured the Metropolitan See of Karlovci important political, educational and cultural responsibilities.

From Arsenije III Čarnojević (late 17th and early 18th centuries), to Štefan Stratimirović (the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th centuries), several very important church and national leaders succeeded one another at the Metropolitan See of Karlovci. They exhibited exceptional talent, knowledge and skill for conducting the intricate political affairs within the state administration and the Illyrian Court Deputation. They are credited with ensuring religious inviolability and consolidating eparchies and church life in general, including, of course, attentiveness to its art.

They were not only patrons and commissioners of art, but steered with determination the development of church art from the retarded Late Medieval manner to Baroque. Their ideas were extraordinary, the conditions and possibilities very modest, and the path laborious; however, the ultimate objective fortunately coincided with the initial will.

In view of a complex dependence upon the Habsburg Monarchy, which implied military and combatant duties, the recently settled Serbian population was compelled to start afresh in many educational and cultural aspirations – from elementary schools in the Serbian language. Finding themselves in a mid-European civilization foreign to them, which shortly obliterated, with swift urban, economic and administrative measures, the image of the thereuntil Osmanli Hungary, the Serbs could perceive their backwardness. Precisely at that moment, the Serbs strove intensely and with incredible vitality to restore their loss. With exceptional spiritual zeal, characteristic of nations struggling for survival, the migrant Serbs, despite unfavorable conditions, nevertheless mustered the strength for such a feat. Owing precisely to the intrepid efforts of the people and its clergy, necessary yet beneficial changes could take place: the acceptance of the idea of Enlightenment, initially of the East-European – Russian, then the West-European, cultures. However, the beginnings of cultural life in the earliest years following the great exodus gave no promise of a high rise.

The conditions for the development of art in the early decades of the 18th century may be discussed only as endeavors stirred by urgent ecclesiastical and popular needs. The reason should be mentioned, that the Serbs in their new settlements were compelled to build hastily their temporary shrines made of wood, sun-dried brick or earth. It is for these churches that traveling icon-painters painted entire iconostases. Those were the first, seemingly unsteady steps in recent Serbian church art. Forms of the complete enfeeblement of traditional painting were still present, since the icon-painters followed older models. The following generation of icon-painters gradually abandoned the old and rigorous formal dependence, exhibiting unexpected pictorial imagination.

In contrast to their predecessors – traditionalists – the latter painted with more boldness and freshness in color, with more taste for stylization in drawing and decorative relations. Insufficient technical knowledge was compensated with a truly innate talent; their icons radiate with the beauty of spontaneous and autonomous pictorial expressiveness. Unknown icon-painters heralded a new understanding of icon-painting. Parting with the Late Medieval models, these autochthonous painters abandoned the strict canons of the old art, becoming engaged in quests and witty improvisations where coloring was brought to sonorous, sometimes rustic play, effective, decorative and unique. Thus, quite spontaneously, the icon-painting of the unknown icon-painters was included in the process of social revival of the Serbs in the Danube Basin. The icons rendered the process more spiritual, perhaps even stimulated it, and, in a way, embellished it and ennobled. I believe that the icon-painters depicted, in their own mode, the vitality of a waking nation. Their icons reveal signs of artistic unrest in anticipating novelty, the advent of time bringing unforeseen and swift changes in style. However, the further development of events – the stylistic restoration of Serbian painting – was the task of another generation of painters, properly trained and oriented towards modern currents and impulses. The Metropolitan See of Karlovci saw to this.

The right time for changes of style in church painting came after the second exodus of Serbs to Hungary under the leadership of the patriarch of Peć, Arsenije IV Jovanović, the patriarch of the Metropolitan See of Karlovci from 1739. Under the influence of young clergy, educated at the famous Academy of Kiev, the patriarch demanded a speedy revival of painting according to the Russian model. He did not flinch from bringing rigid administrative measures.

In 1743, the church hierarchy began a drastic settling of accounts with the so far only icon-painters. They were forbidden to work from the very top – the patriarch. Among the many to whom the severe words of Arsenije IV pertained were very gifted icon-

painters who painted remarkable works of late Serbian icon-painting. The most magnificent samples of these icons, collected in the Gallery of the Matica srpska in Novi Sad, come from parish churches and monasteries throughout Srem, Bačka and Banat, though the icons of the Serbian church-artistic collection in St Andrea and in the Bishop's Court in Temesvar also have historical and artistic value. In his circular, the patriarch referred to both the known and unknown painters of those icons as "scribblers". He had the younger icon-painters, who wished to improve their skill, sent to Sremski Karlovci, to the workshop of a Russian – Jov Vasiljevič. Thus the Metropolitan See of Karlovci renounced its icon-painters, in whose works the breath of the artistic past was still felt, giving precedence to the Baroque religious painting of Russo-Ukrainian origin. The way to the West led the Serbs via a roundabout path, over southern Russia and Kiev. It was followed by younger Serbian clergymen and painters.

The Spiritual Academy of Kiev was an important center of Orthodox theological thought, pedagogy, publishing activity, oratorical and translational literature. The revival of traditional artistic conceptions was also in swift process. From West-European painting, by mediation of graphic arts, various iconographical solutions were taken over and soon stylistic traits as well. That is where "Slavic Baroque" was born. The term is to be considered, as church painting both in southern Russia and with the Serbs in the Danube Basin belonged to that specific style.

The church hierarchy in Kiev directed the course of artistic ideas, and, from the second half of the 17th century on, not only that it did not flinch from the new, "Baroque" style, but deliberately, even exclusively, with its power and through ecclesiastical executives, imposed it as a program for the School of Art. Soon, the School was supplied with illustrated Catholic and Protestant Bibles serving as models for the practice of drawings of religious compositions. The illustrated Dutch Bible by Johannes Piscator and the Bible of Ektip Johan Christof Weigel were very popular. In addition to books, other graphic supplements were in pedagogical use, studies of anatomy, especially of composition, and the works of famous graphic artists and illustrators. They include Gale Cornelis, Melhior Küsell, Jeremias Wolff, Johan Daniel Hertz and J. Christof Schmidhamer. Thus, through reproductive graphic art, the Kiev School of Art successfully acquainted its students with works of the Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque, and subsequently with Classicism. Novelties thereuntil alien to the Orthodox comprehension of the icon, were accepted in iconography.

The studies of 18th-century Serbian art so far lead unequivocally to the conclusion that it had solid and fruitful contact with the Kiev School of Art. What attracted the Serbian clergy, patrons of art and painters to the Russo-Ukrainian art was primarily the rejuvenated appearance of the pictures and icon-paintings, which produced sensitive effects, introduced likeable preaching themes, a loose narration and an interesting *mise-en-scène* of religious compositions with several participants. Serbs were elated at the time, by the "Orthodox origin" of the new icon-paintings, as many were ignorant of the fact that it was an adapted, Baroque, Catholic art practised in Russia; a West-European iconography full of symbols and allegories.

However, the first messenger of artistic change was not from Russia, but a painter of icons and frescoes, Hristofor Žefarović, who had come to the Metropolitan See of Karlovci from Dojran, in the South, only a few years before the orientation towards Kiev was decided. It is true that Žefarović was trained by an unknown artist, relying on the artistic manual from Mount Athos. But, while painting a fresco in the church of the monastery of Bodjani, he was confronted with a number of demands set by bishop Visarion Pavlovič of Bačka and the prefect of the Latino-Slavic college in Novi Sad,

Dionisije Novaković, both theologians who graduated from the Kiev Academy. The learned commissioners of the frescoes offered him some richly illustrated books brought from Kiev, above all the Bibles of Piscator and Johan Ulrich Kraus. A traditionalist by his southern artistic experience, Žefarović created an artistic symbiosis by meeting the demands of the learned milieu, making use of graphic models and his sense of iconographic compilation. The symbiosis of contradictory aesthetic conceptions: of post-Byzantine tradition and a naive reception of Baroque. In this monastery, Žefarović left a peculiar piece of work which was said long ago to represent the "last page in the history of Serbian traditional art", but also that the "church of Bodjani is one of the places where modern Serbian painting was born". Anyhow, the frescoes, dating from 1737, heralded the historical orientation of the Serbian Church towards a controlled modernization of painting. Only two years later, following the second exodus of Serbs in 1739, Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović sent his well-known circular demanding training in art. He became the commissioner and patron of many works of art and graphic works performed in the new spirit.

At the time, without following the usual path of development, which implies gradual changes, an iconographical and stylistic restoration of Serbian art was implemented off-hand, by the will and order of the Metropolitan See of Karlovci.

A real triumph of Kiev Baroque with the Serbs are the frescoes at the monastery of Krušedol, the endowment of the despots of Srem, the saintly Brankovići, erected in the early 16th century. The frescoes were created as a logical consequence of the insistence of Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović to have the famous church painted in the manner of Slavic Baroque; to have the old and damaged frescoes repainted. Two years after the death of the patriarch in 1749, extensive artistic works began under the vigil eye of the new hierarch, the determined Pavle Nenadović, a great admirer of Baroque painting and graphics. In 1751, the narthex and the altar were painted, and the nave in 1756. The artist of the first two ensembles is held to be the Russian Jov Vasiljevič, a court painter of the Metropolitan See of Karlovci, whereas the nave is the work of a more skillful, yet anonymous painter of Russian origin, probably from Kiev. The assumption that Serbian painters took part in these extensive works is acceptable – but only as assistants to the Russian artists. The most striking compositions at Krušedol observed separately, especially those in the nave that depict scenes from the life of Christ (*Nativity, Baptism, Entry into Jerusalem, Ascension, Driving of Demons, Wedding Feast at Cana, Prayer at Gethsemane, Parable of the Sower and Acts of Mercy*) are masterpieces of the monumental art of Slavic (Kiev) Baroque, created in Serbian monastery in Srem.

The church of the monastery of Krušedol having been painted, the conditions were created for the stylistic innovation of the other monasteries at Fruška Gora which bore the traits of Late Medieval art. The then erected belfries and dormitories, architectural adaptations of churches and newly created or acquired works of art, furthermore changed their initial appearance and sacral inventory. In some churches, old frescoes were painted over, and almost all received storeyed iconostases with Baroque compositions, choir lofts, chandeliers, as well as movables, book-stands, candlesticks, banners, crosses, fans and costly attire woven with golden thread. Certain Late Medieval churches were pulled down in order that new and larger ones be erected. Thus, in the latter part of the 18th and the early 19th centuries, the ancient monasteries of Fruška Gora received traits of Baroque and Neoclassicism. They were followed, without lagging behind, by newly erected parish churches, in towns and bishopric centers as well as in villages.

Essential changes in architecture, painting, graphic and applied arts sometimes preceded contemporary social developments, or accompanied them directly, affecting the

consciousness of the Serbian middle-class which accepted Baroque as the style of its youth and élan. With bounteous contributions, the townsmen helped Serbian church art flourish, especially when artists came down from Kiev School of Art or from School of Jov Vasilijević in Sremski Karlovci – such as Stefan Tenecki, Jovan Popović, Dimitrije Bačević, Vasilije Ostojić and others. They primarily painted the religious compositions for the newly erected, multi-storeyed iconostases. They changed radically the former structure of the icon – from the formal foundation, drawing and composition, up to its artistic essence, pictorial quality characteristic of Baroque painting. Thus, the name by which this pleiad of painters is frequently referred to – “artists of transitional style” – is unjust and wrongful. They are painters of mature Slavic Baroque, as were their models and teachers in Kiev.

This specific style failed to endure for long in the Serbian artistic-clime, but it left behind valuable works of recent Serbian art. If the peculiarities of Baroque in some European milieus are the issue, then they are convincingly expressed in the works of Serbian painters, representatives of Slavic Baroque.

The following artistic orientation of the Metropolitan See of Karlovci became Vienna and the Austrian masters in whose ateliers bishops commissioned representative portraits. At the time, again on the initiative of the high clergy, influences and artistic models changed – Slavic Baroque made way for West-European Baroque. Let us add, though, that both manners were present simultaneously for a while; some artists would even begin in one manner and end in another. A good example provides the leading Serbian painter of the latter part of the 18th century, Teodor Kračunović, who in his youth was swayed by Slavic Baroque, creating lyric works of refined Rococo at his mature age.

As compared to painting, Serbian graphic art pursued a somewhat different path, though with the same aim. In the early 18th century, artists produced mainly woodcuts. They sprang mostly from the ranks of monks or priests and belonged to the artistic circle of icon-painters from whom they appear to have borrowed certain iconographical ideas – thus their woodcuts are referred to as “icons on paper”. The group of unknown contemporary wood-engravers includes a priest, Stefan Likić, singled out for his endeavor to break loose from the older models. However, knowledge of copperplate engraving was necessary for stylistic change to take place.

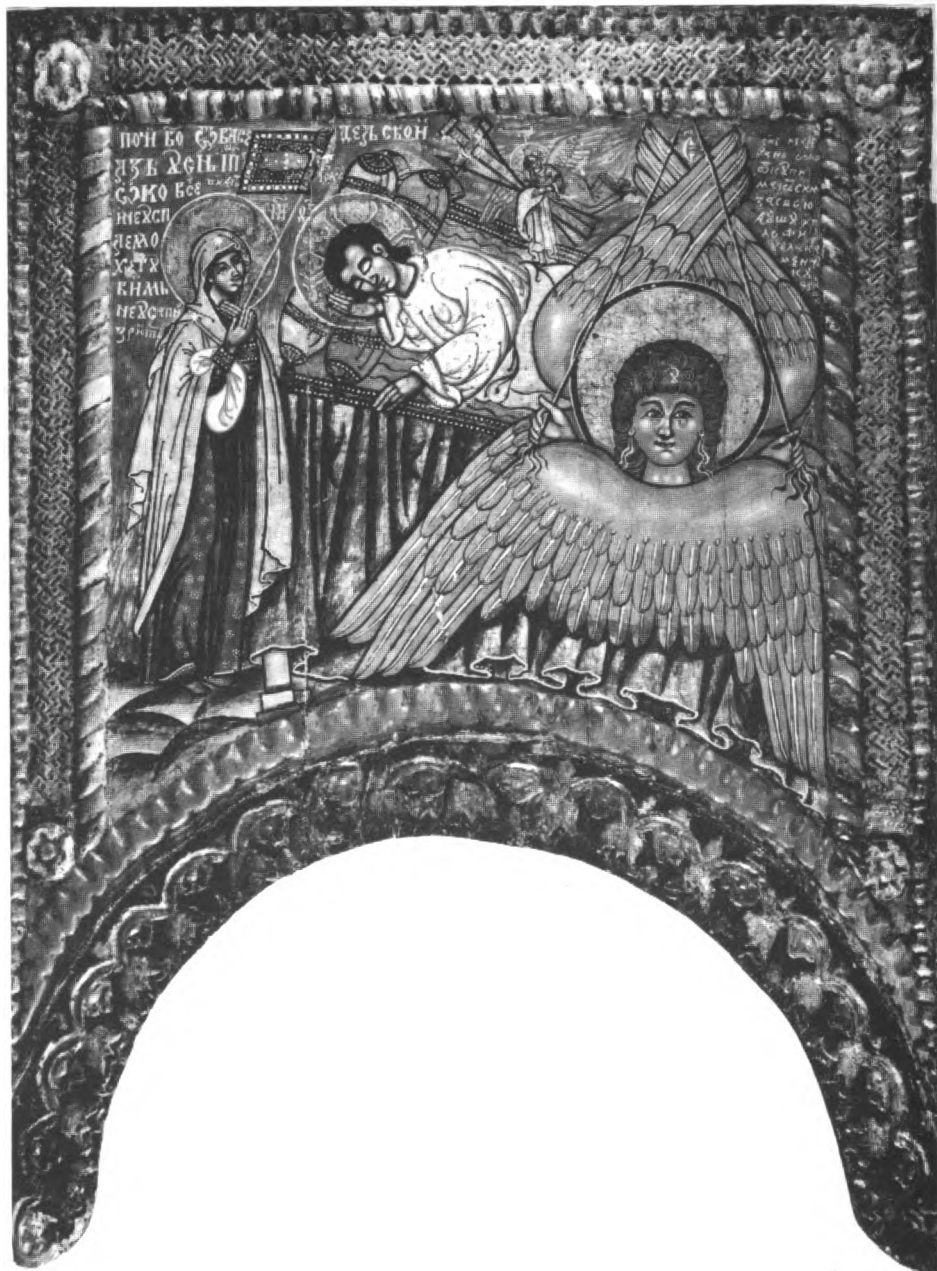
Certain Serbian dignitaries turned to masters from Vienna for utilitarian engravings. The energetic Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović, the reformer of Serbian church art, wished that the copperplates be engraved by local masters, and thus sent the well-known icon-painter Hristofor Žefarović to Vienna to acquire proper technical training. In 1741, Žefarović, together with an engraver from Vienna, Thomas Mössmer, engraved the earliest Serbian copperplates and the book *Stemmatography*, done and printed in the technique of copper engraving (*livre à gravure*). From 1741 to 1753, Žefarović devoted his time to copperplate engraving and drawings for church embroidery. The figures of Serbian medieval holy rulers, done by Žefarović, are of exceptional value, expressing the idea of the revival of their cults in the 18th century. The group portrait of “St Sava with the Serbian Saints of Nemanja’s House” is thus the foremost. Its artistic conception and verse, engraved in the lower part of the composition, reminded the Serbs living in the Habsburg Monarchy, of the glorious members of the saintly Nemanjić house. The group includes individual figures such as the “Holy Tsar Uroš”, “Holy Prince Lazar”, “Holy Stefan Štiljanović”, as well as the copperplate “Holy Despots the Brankovićs”, whose holy relics are preserved in the monasteries of Fruška Gora. Their revived cults were the framework of a religious and national ideology of the Serbian Church in the

Habsburg Monarchy. Copperplate engravings offered ideal possibilities for such a role. Many of printed "icon-portraits" were given away as gifts to believers largely affecting the national consciousness of the Serbian people subjected to alien rule.

Zaharija Orfelin succeeded Žefarović in graphic skill. Exceptionally talented and versatile, a historian and a poet, he mastered the technique of copperplate engraving early, and began engraving book illustrations. He opened an engraver's workshop in Sremski Karlovci, but he moved from one place to another, working in Novi Sad, Temesvar, Venice and Vienna. He produced a series of engravings, mostly commissioned by monasteries of Fruška Gora. He achieved great success as the author of several calligraphies, thus modernizing the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet. The calligraphies were awarded by Empress Maria Theresa and acknowledged by Jacob Schmutzer, the director of the Art Academy of Engraving in Vienna.

In the eighties of the 18th century, Serbian painting and the art of printing were entirely in line with West-European conceptions. The engraver Zaharija Orfelin and the painters Jakov Orfelin, Teodor Ilić Češljarić, Teodor Kračunović, Stevan Gavrilović and Arsa Teodorović, were students of ateliers or the Art Academy in Vienna. They are representatives of a moderate Baroque-Rococo style in painting, which in the final decade of the 18th century, gradually adjusted to the demands of Neoclassicism. Religious paintings of iconostases, especially compositions depicting scenes from the lives of Christ and the Mother of God, iconographically depended largely on West-European graphic models. However, the colouring and pictorial material of their compositions betray recognizable and peculiar artistic individualities. In addition to icon-painting, they were engaged in portrait painting, thereby furthermore asserting their stylistic orientation, which permeated the entire Serbian culture in Pannonia. It was the period when Serbian writers and other learned men, along with artists, introduced Serbian culture into Europe.

Finally, let us conclude. From the icons of anonymous icon-painters to the Baroque iconostases of Serbian academic painters, only a few decades passed. Distinctions in style best reflect the rebirth of art. It was a stormy and fertile era of Serbian Enlightenment.



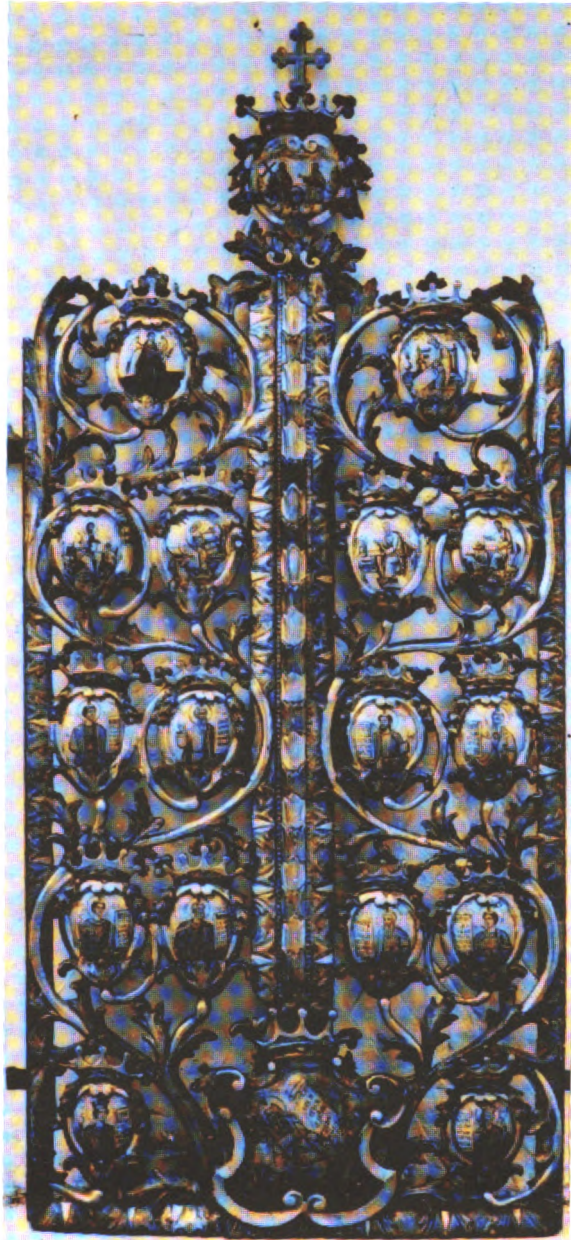
Anonymous zograph, The All-Seeing Eye, the icon from the former iconostasis of the Church in Stari Slankamen, now in Gallery of Matica srpska (1726)



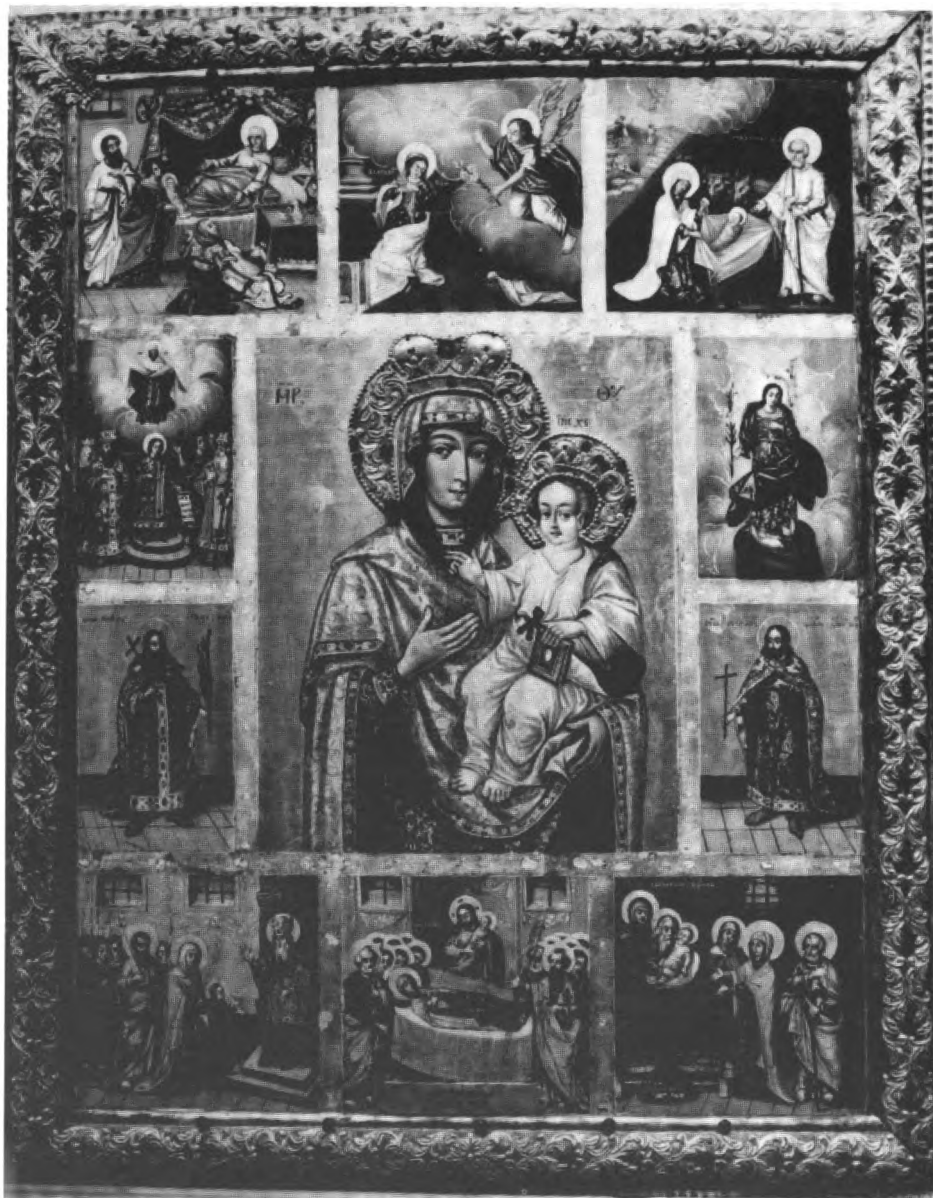
Stanoje Popović, The All-Seeing Eye, the icon from the former iconostasis of the Church in Neštin, now in Gallery of Matica srpska (1741)



Stanoje Popović, The Assembly of St Michael the Archistrategos, the icon from the Church of the Pribina glava monastery, now in the Gallery of Matica srpska (1748)



Royal door. The iconostasis in the Church of St Archangel Michael in Sentandreja (1746)



Dimitrije Bačević, Mother of God with Christ, from the Šišatovac monastery, now in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade (1767)



Jovan Popović, Nativity of Jesus, the iconostasis of the Church in Aleksandrovo (1761)



Jovan Popović, Ascension of Christ, the iconostasis of the Church in Aleksandrovo (1761)



Jovan Popović, St Peter the Apostle, the iconostasis of the Church in Aleksandrovo (1761)



Zaharija Orfelin, St Demetrius Martyr, copperplate engraving (1764)



Zaharija Orfelin, The Annunciation, detail from the copperplate engraving „Krušedol Monastery” (1775)



Dimitrije Bačević, St John Prothomos, in the Gallery of Matica srpska (1762)



Stefan Tenecki, Resurrection of Lazarus, Krušedol monastery (1766)



Teodor Ilić Češljarić, Josif Jovanović Šakabenta, in the Episcopal Palace in Vršac (1788)



Teodor Kračun, St Jeremiah Prophet, in the Gallery of Matica srpska

SERBIAN ART AND EUROPE: ETHIC AND AESTHETIC ALTERNATIVES

Today, towards the end of the century, in the postmodern era of the transavantgarde, "deconstruction", "leveling", neologisms, "retro-attitude", "voids" etc., several problems may be singled out as constants of Serbian 20th-century art. They emerged at the very beginning of the Modern art and were being resolved from one decade to another, always in new circumstances and under fresh strain. Their import is so immense that without following them, it would be impossible to conceive a modern art history. Their complexity can be simplified and reduced to three interdependent themes: the theme of the autonomy and self-being of art and its relation towards academism, norms, and the "sacred"; the theme of national art and its relations towards European art; and to the theme of the position of an artist, of freedom of artistic personality in terms of the logos and ethos of artistic development.

Over the past nine decades, Europe has influenced Serbian art with crucial processes in its own culture. Above all, through the relativization of Greco-Latin and Christian humanism and of the rationalistic philosophy of Enlightenment, through an abruptly expanded scientific and artistic consciousness and through the altered ideas about the world, man and society. Thanks to this, Serbian art abandoned the academic variant of imitating nature, of what the eye sees, and the chimerical idea of the ideally beautiful and eternal; even the cynical idea that art is only a schematization of something previously schematized from the ideological, political or ethical standpoint. It thus anticipated its own independence, the difference between the painted and a painting, between the theme and content. It discovered that the structural elements of a work – its form, color and line – were in fact its foundation, its conceptual instrument, the source of its meaning. That it should not be subordinate to other spheres, but that it should exist and act simultaneously. – Since, for the academism of the period, everything created by imagination and emotions had to be made *lege artis*, logically, and to be extant in nature. – On the other hand, the art itself emerged by fulfilling a practical purpose – as an

unsought and often unnoticeable supplement. Therefore, as soon as the art of painting displayed its traits more openly, with more self-consciousness, demanding a social role, misunderstandings arose and fierce opposition, leaving it without much support in the small Serbian milieu. Its practical purpose became vague, its position increasingly dependent upon fluid factors: taste, beliefs, cultural level.

Because of these limitations, the basic approach of early 20th-century Serbian artists to the painting differed from the European approach. Maurice Denis' well-known maxim that a picture, before being a war horse, a nude woman, etc., is essentially a flat surface covered by colors arranged in a harmony of relations – might be referred to them almost in the opposite sense. This is obvious even in Nadežda's writings, in her ecstatic analyses of the artists she loved. Despite her distinctive creative act, prophetically expressed truths, and instinctive sense of value – nowhere is there a trace of more delicate formal and structural analyses, of the philosophy of pure visibility or at least of the aesthetic positivism from the end of the last and the beginning of this century. The uncertainty of critical judgement and the limited consciousness of a painting as a world of organized phenomenon, independent in its relationship to the everyday, empirical world, is best shown in the well-known negative evaluations about Nadežda herself. The old utilitarian conception failed to understand the being and self-consciousness of painting, and still expected its part to be a consolidation of a certain spiritual state and social model. It demanded an immediate visual transposition of one, another, or third objective, neglecting it in favour of religion, national myth, ideology and politics. It deduced the nature of art from a task previously set, rather than deducing the task from the nature of art.

Although she could not be understood and accepted immediately, Nadežda could appear and grow in Belgrade, which was most important. Serbia was undergoing an unprecedented cultural and intellectual concentration and dynamism. In May 1911, Jovan Skerlić noted that 135 newspapers and magazines were being printed in Serbia, of which 89 were published in Belgrade – 15 political dailies, 15 literary, scientific and political magazines, and 44 specialized newspapers! This, on the other hand, means, that the Modern art could have emerged in Belgrade, but only in a determined form, scope and course. Above all, in the form of expressionism striving towards secrecy, towards peculiarities of the native soil, vivacity of ethnography, the expressionism which would be continued even after Nadežda, by Bijelić, Dobrović, Zora Petrović, Šumanović, Konjović, Job, etc. And it means that, inversely, Cubism and neutral geometric form in general, as a form and conjunction of sensitivity and intellectuality of different, highly urbanized milieus, had no solid ground in Serbia. Nor Fauvism, for that matter, because of its aesthetic universalism, hedonism and rational harmony. How else could one interpret the fact that Picasso and Matisse were always greatly appreciated with us, but have never really, or only rarely, inspired us? And, inversely, why did Van Gogh have so many followers? The reason lies in our cultural mentality and the social situation that conditions and sustains it. In the fact that, simply, at a certain point and moment, certain things are absolutely impossible and – at least in that negative sense – categorically determined. It would be superficial to speculate where else the theory of relativity, Cubism or Futurism might have been born, but it is known where they could not have come into being. One of those places was Serbia at the beginning of the century – the fatality of determinism was proportional to its development. (This explains why Serbian Impressionism, in its evocations, sensitivity and thematic register, remained within modest Serbian, Belgrade, and in a certain manner, patriarchal frameworks; why it had failed to attain to the ultimate, opposite points: Monet's antiform, cosmic monism in

light-matter, or Cézanne's form and structure, his reduction of everything perceived down to ideal geometric forms, to a picture-world in itself; and, above all, why it stopped short of finding some new option. Compared to French Impressionism, there is no feeling, there could be none, of the rapture of a metropolis, its rumble and rhythm. Instead of a dashing vivacity and enthusiasm about the world, there is a fragrance of basil.)

The essence of the phenomenon may be compressed (should we remain within the framework of fundamental dichotomies) with the observation that all new, modern variants of romanticism – of expressionistic, symbolistic or oneiric qualities – were accepted more readily in 20th-century Serbia than new and modern aspects of classicism. Conducive to this was the belief that art is above all an expression of personal feelings, not a structural and symbolic representation and molding of them: more intuition – expression, than discovery, dissolution in values and essences. The classical – which, according to Valery, follows the romantic as the second stage of creativity, as a contemplative crystalization of all experience – often had a form of academism, with its more or less altered, revived and extended rules, and not a form of modernism. Thus the essential foundations were not always vital, and the existential echoes feebly resounded. The state subsequently changed and their unity was established in moments of climax.

The naissance of the autonomous, liberated art, was accompanied by polemics on national art and the national in art. By a conflict between the opinion of the majority that art is national only when it treats folk motifs and myths, depicts national life and history, and the opinion of the minority that national art, regardless of the themes it deals with, can only be an individually transformed artistic reality of an epoch, not a repetition, but a revelation. The first thesis betrays fear from the flows and influences of large milieus, a complex that sublimates into self-consciousness, understood as a measure of all values, the refraining from and rejection of novelties. Contemporary movements were thus mostly interpreted without true understanding, even with hatred. An article dating from 1913 says that “futurists remain delusive and pathological dilettanti,” and that, consequently, the world is expecting Italy to give better artists. Bristled up against contemporary stylistic diversity was also Milovanović, an impressionist who was in favor of concerted work, collective efforts, and united national art... Actually, patriarchal mentality was confronting with the urban, modern European mentality, and the ideal of simplicity, ingenuousness and purity of the rural, ancestral idylla with the still weakly felt sensitivity of modern civilization which was seen as a peril for everything “national.” The representatives of the advanced minority noted, however, that advocating Rousseauism in a Rousseauist milieu was illogical, as illogical as the struggle against the aestheticism, sophistication and affectation of contemporary culture, and they found convincing answers: “We should never fear,” wrote Milan Šević in 1904, “that the foreign will suppress our own in ourselves, and if it does, then there never was anything our own, otherwise a natural reaction to an impetus received cannot fail to come”, and that “to be national in terms of subjects chosen does not yet mean being truly national.” Although with more restraint, and a touch of irony, Bogdan Popović agreed: “A more general characteristic of our painting and all our arts is our habit of borrowing subjects for the artistic treatment from our past. Heroic folk poems of ancient times, our earlier and later histories, players of the gusle (one-stringed Balkan folk fiddle) and the gusle still offer to our artists the subjects for their creation; our art is, patriotic’.”

In order to explain such subject-matter, one should bear in mind the perpetual political turmoil and restlessness, the wars and aspiration towards liberty and unification.

Every Balkan nation, in quest of identity, ecstatically saw its history and its legends in the bright light of myths in order to resist the aggressive empires. Hence a certain reconciliation of advocates of Modern art to academism: a constant interweaving and blending of political and artistic aims can be found in the numerous reviews of the First and Fourth Yugoslav Exhibitions – a reviewer begins with the former only to end up with the latter. Common aims and the struggle for sheer national survival stood above aesthetic differences. However, though their sense of duty was the same, their experiences and languages differed. That is why Nadežda saw more clearly the dialectics between the individual and the national. “In so far as art is individual... it carries a national character profoundly and in all its details”, she wrote, offering the French impressionists as an example. The problem was later summarized by her brother Rastko Petrović, in the famous lines: “The age of nationalism in our art through the export of false national temperament and the deeply moved diplomatic philanthropists created nothing with us, as it failed to deceive the world. Meštrović rode ahead only on the back of his genius, and not on the back of Marko Kraljević. Until we recover from Europe, and learn to speak like Europeans, we shall not be able to find what is valuable in us, let alone express it so as to be of value to the world.”

Thus, parallel to the evolution of artistic expression evolved a more lifelike theory of the national. In the attitude of Bogdan Popović, for instance, one is able to discern the refusal to appreciate poor poetry and poor painting out of pure patriotism; an adherence to absolute values which, he said, were marked by two asterisks in the guides of important museums. National art was perceived as dynamic, not static, not closed but open. It became clear that national art is everything that our best artists created; that its qualities were not determined *a priori* but could be defined only *a posteriori*; that tradition, like the “most perfect essence”, if separated from the present, was never a positively and creatively comprehended tradition – such separation takes away from it its greatest attribute: a message to posterity. Without a modern understanding of tradition, there would be neither a Brankusi nor a Malevich... Thanks to such anticipations and views, Serbian painting was saved from the romantically comprehended “national.” It replaced the spirit “of its milieu” with the “cosmopolitan spirit.” It turned to the greatest cultural and democratic centers in Europe, Paris first of all, in keeping with the principles of the national foreign policy set out by Ilija Garašanin in the *Načertanije* (1844), which remained valid for a whole century with occasional modifications. A major part in this was played by the elite educated in Europe and in a European way – politicians, scientists, writers, painters or critics who shared the high achievements of the epoch, and therefore were beyond, i.e. above, their small, recently liberated milieu. As the only ones having a conscious relationship towards it, they were also the only ones who were firmly and patriotically trying to make it a part of the contemporary culture and history. The latter, more modern national culture, strengthened the cultural prestige of Serbia in Europe and of Europe in Serbia.

Understandably, a gradual acceptance of the self-being of art, the relative victory of idealism over the pragmatism of its task, a modern, nondogmatic and open idea of national art, were as much the cause as the consequence of the artist's liberation. Although his ability to choose his destiny and commitment was objectively limited amidst the drama of perpetual liberation struggles, the secularization of the highest values, commenced by the French Revolution, expanded the spiritual sphere of his freedom in Serbia; since there where all is divine, sacred and canonized, a few things are human, democratic and free. True, originating from a milieu of constant war and poverty, where everything was at stake in any moment – and yet feeling a natural craving for the reli-

able and permanent – an artist often accepted the classical, encyclopedic ideal of European culture, and therefore, in the beginning and as a rule, any brutal action to its destruction seemed to him as subversive and alien. Besides, he became encaptured by this ideal at the very moment of its stratification. Struggling against it, he built a mechanism of self-defence and sought security, which influenced his artistic attitude, the system of his emotional and formal reductions, the method of filtering and synthesizing his experiences; thus, it is within this circle that we may find the reasons for the presence, or the absence, of certain contemporary trends in our art. Limitations existed not only in his creativity but also in his understanding of the created. Leaving the small Balkan milieu for the “big world”, he returned an enlightened man, after obtaining an education and working in Paris; a European, with a desire to develop his surroundings. However prudent, his modern artistic Europeanism made him lonesome, almost banished. It conflicted him with local customs, temperaments and situations, against which Skerlić inveighed. First, his retarded milieu would not allow him to equate his views with the world into which he was going, and then, the developed world to equate with the undeveloped milieu to which he was returning... Despite the duality and loneliness, pioneers of the Modern art were determined. Enamored of high causes of their people and conscious of the current situation, they rejected the dictate of “common” taste, “because that which one would like” they said, “depends on one’s moral, social and intellectual perfection, as well as on his particular ability to apply the aesthetic”. Reading the most profound authors, we see love without courtship: idealism regarding tomorrow, realism in stating facts, the existing state. Nadežda personifies this ethics, dying on the front, near the first lines; a Nietzschean aristocratism in promoting the historical mission of an artist implied the aristocratism in understanding of duty, one’s own self-sacrifice. Future was romanticized, very often the past as well, but the present was viewed soberly. The enlightened and liberated individuals constituted the small in number elite belonging to the “peak of the epoch” which, it was said, had the “advantage of taste, but not the possibility to anchor in some economically and politically powerful layer of society.” By releasing their imagination and thought, they transformed Serbian art and culture. Their status of escort was replaced by the status of participants. This was their way to move from the margins of history into its center – conscious that being on the Balkan crossroads and scaffold, they were physically much too present in history, and spiritually often too briefly. Fortunately, they understood the inevitability of cultural polycentrism, and perhaps consoled themselves with it. They understood that it was not so important whether they were on this or that geographic point, but on which point of the spiritual, axiological coordinate system; that to be a part of history meant above all to be in the emotional, moral and working prime of contemporaneity, and being in it – to be not in its layer that belongs to the past, but in the one that incorporates the past and future into the present.

In addition to this, the freedom of the artist’s personality was influenced by the apprehension of the logic and dynamics of artistic development. Early 20th-century Serbian Impressionism and Expressionism were abruptly replaced in the third decade, without transition, by the opposite “constructive” and “synthetic” painting. An unexpected conjunction of the “return” and “progress” also took place – deliberations on the recently abandoned tradition, which, after the initial modern experiences, offered as much a harbor of “security” and “salvation” as challenges and discoveries... Then the fourth decade denied the third, appearing therefore both as a “return” (compared to Nadežda) and a “progress” (compared to the traditional trend of the “synthetic” and “constructive” painting): marked by the second vitalistic ascent of expressionism of co-

lor and gesture (J. Bijelić, I. Job, P. Dobrović, M. Konjović, etc.) and by another, intimistic impressionism (M. Tartalja, I. Radović, I. Tabaković, etc.). When this cycle ended around 1950, together with socialist realism (which employed their syntax), the avant-garde experience, forgotten in the war, was revived in a vast range from new expressionism (P. Lubarda, M. Konjović), and figurative geometry (the December Group) to the informal (Branko Protić, Zoran Pavlović, Mića Popović) and lyrical abstraction (Bata Mihailović etc.). The Mediala responded to this impact of modernity with its post-modern retro-attitude, its idea of the entirety, wholeness and synthesis of historical experiences. During the 70s, incorporeal art (Antiart) – in order to bring the process of “progress” to its logical end: “death” – has preached iconoclasm and, consistently, the idea that art is an attitude, turn and incision in life itself, or in thought, a behavior and a word – not a reified act with special ontological status. This challenged the emergence of postmodern Body art – iconoclasts were replaced by iconodules inspired with the experiences ranging from French Fauvism and German Expressionism, seasoned with Latin American folklore and “pompiere” naivety, to “anachronism”.

Naturally, such dynamic succession of opposites has influenced, and still do, the fate of the artists in a small milieu, as the Serbian was, where their balance is rarely achieved spontaneously. After World War One, they moved from one poetics to another “inversively, from Abstract Expressionism or Cubism to traditionalism, abandoning individually and at various moments one trend to join another”. The fact that the followers of Cézanne and Cubism became expressionists, the expressionists and cubists turned neo-classicists, and the bearers of the “constructive” the bearers of the vitalistic anti-attitude, could have been viewed as a quest for one’s own way, a temporary wandering. Today, however, this nomadism is regarded as a trait of modern creation, as the artist’s need to express himself in the rift of his time and within the limits of his own contradictions, often independently of the sway and pressure of shortlived tastes. Since, with the “acceleration of history”, the cyclic succession of the opposites – “progress” and “return” – within one’s lifetime is no longer only an archaeological and scientific discovery, but a direct, existential cognition, it had to provoke an explosion of consciousness, an “epistemological cut,” and to lead to the conclusion: “return” and “progress” are no longer axiological antinomies, nor departures and incidents, but laws of mankind and artistic development. To the conclusion that every experience, regardless of its limitations, is within reach of human thought and sensibility not in line, one after another, but simultaneously, at every moment. That we no longer live in a monotheistic culture, and therefore, there are no moral, let alone artistic reasons that the artists (let us remain conditionally with the basic opposition), whose spiritual framework makes them natural bearers of classical properties of the human (a sense of proportions, order, beauty as an objective trait, knowledge, projectivity, utopia, etc.) should wait for the opposite cycle of romantic energies to pass (feelings, imagination, individualism and subjectivism, revolt against order and rules, etc.), and reversely. With such self-punishment, or, particularly, by accepting, simulating and theatricalizing an opposite attitude, everyone loses, the artist and art, the epoch and society. With a return to the axiom: science progresses, art develops, to pluralism, to the original ethics of the Modern art, an unidirectional and unambiguous culture becomes untenable, at one moment marked by “return” and the other by “progress”; the same applies to the forcible reduction of the complex reality of time, man and creation to a simple and unique sign and phenomenon.

In this dialectics two alternatives emerged before the artist: the first contained in disputing and overcoming the existent; the other, more modest, in the personal contribution to what had existed, still existed and persisted, in offering as much as it was received.

Should the artist replace the act of participating with the act of merely following, he would lose every chance in large milieus – models. And also the possibility of genuinely belonging to Europe and the world and of preserving a creatively apprehended identity. The principle of authenticity evidently implies freedom and opposite creative wills: it implies one motive by the side of another, and that one exclusivism meets not as much the response of a submissiveness as another exclusivism. Conciliatoriness is not to be exhibited in the creative drive, but in the reception of the created, in dialogue with “another”.

The understanding of these basic phenomena increasingly demanded inversions: a dynamic rather than static understanding of national culture; an engagement which encourages the being of art instead of one that checks it; the authentic, individual, instead of the general property of a work of art; personal freedom as a condition of achieving suprapersonal discovery; stylistic variety... The contemporaneity of these turns enabled dialogue, the presence of Europe in Serbia and of Serbia in Europe...

Let us underline an interesting paradox: European art entered Belgrade collections before entering Belgrade artistic life: King Milan, for instance, is considered as one of the earliest buyers of Toulouse-Lautrec and French impressionists. Prince Pavle, an Oxford student, and a true connoisseur, had created a collection of the old masters: the capital work of El Greco *Laocoon* from his White Palace is today in the Washington National Gallery; but, with M. Kašanin, he also had shaped a collection of modern art (today in the National Museum). Naturally, European and world art, thanks to a more developed artistic life, cultural links and initiatives, was most present at exhibitions, often with its top values. Ljubomir Micić, for instance, organized in Belgrade in 1924 the First International Exhibition of Modern Art. The Museum of Prince Pavle, i.e. Prince Pavle himself – two unforgettable and so far unsurpassed exhibitions: the Italian portraiture through the centuries in 1938, when many famous works were exhibited, for instance, Michelangelo's *Brutus*, Raphael's *Pregnant Woman*, *Fornarina*, and *Pope Julius II*, Titian's *Man with Blue Eyes* and *Pope Paul III*, Giorgione, Tintoretto, Tiepolo – a total of 115 masterpieces; and the exhibition of French 19th-century painting, in 1939, with 166 works, where masters of Modern art were represented extensively and with paradigmatic works: Cézanne with six works, Monet with four, Renoir with nine, etc. The revival of cultural links was severed first by the War, and then by socialist realism. But it was resumed after 1950. Let us recall the exhibitions of French art in 1951, Moore's in 1954, and later, among the many, Van Gogh's at the National Museum and after 1965, dozens of great exhibitions in the Museum of Contemporary Art – Picasso's (prepared by Kahnweiler), Klee's, the exhibition of *Blaue Reiter* (with 28 works of Kandinsky, among others), the exhibitions of Yves Klein, Mayakovsky, of American, German, French, English, Italian, Swedish, Danish art... Not to mention two international triennials in the Museum of Contemporary Art which gathered under its roof some thirty of the world's greatest museums as selectors... These randomly chosen examples testify that Belgrade, Serbia and Serbian institutions were a stage and part of European cultural life. However, since the beginning of the century, the artistic presence of Serbia in Europe and the world has been prominent as well. Let us mention the 1911 Universal exhibition in Rome, then the participation at the biennials in Venice, and after 1950, in Alexandria, Tokyo and Sao Paolo, then hundreds of exhibitions worldwide – in the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, Tate Gallery in London, in the Gallery in Rome, in the United States, everywhere. On the occasion of the opening of the Beaubourg, the works of Dado and Veličković were also exhibited... However, let us not forget to emphasize the most important: receiving much through the European education of its artists, on the

one hand, with their immediate participation in important artistic movements, Serbia, on the other hand, contributed somewhat: to Expressionism, Dadaism, Surrealism, to Lyrical abstraction, to the Fantastic and New figuration, "parallel art". These contributions have been increasingly mentioned, though still insufficiently, in magazines, reviews and art histories. It is for certain that the more thorough studies become on the artistic development of art in European countries, the more realistic these reviews will be, supplemented by authentic contributions of our artists. In that view, our efforts are necessary. There can be no excuse that some of our best artists, Lubarda and Tabaković, for example, have no monographies.

I was speaking of the permanent problems of Serbian art which have been, in one way or another, posed and resolved in almost every decade of its development. I opened with its autonomy and mission, and closed with its European reception. We have seen that there has been an interdependence between the art, the social milieu and the historical moment. And that, regardless of the often tragic limitations, one cannot deny that the ideas which corresponded with the epoch and the cultural development gained prevalence, while others, the opposite ones, declined... If historical epochs are particular and irreducible, the schematizations of questions, which kept being raised in them, contain something similar, even identical; this goes for this moment, too. It implies not only the constant dilemmas of a small milieu, but the possible alternatives of a vast sphere in which certain moods and ideas follow one another in cycles. But, it also implies a bitter conclusion: the major development of artistic creation, aesthetic reasoning and the organization of cultural life over these ninety years was achieved in Serbia chiefly by the efforts of individuals – the state sometimes helped with its cultural policy, at other times, it was indifferent, or destructive. The role of an artist and an intellectual was decisive – often amidst disintegration, ruin and struggle. We must remember Nietzsche's and Heidegger's pathetic oratorio: When the gods die and only the night remains, the poet (and artist) is at his peak – he stirs the people to commotion. I wish that today's existential restlessness would subside into the essential, tragedy into harmony – even if it means that in a normal world the artist would lose his sublime role, and replace it with another one, more quiet, but equally vital and profound.

SERBIAN MEDIEVAL LITERARY LANGUAGE

The title of our exposition clearly reveals its content, a discourse on language in Serbian medieval writings. However, an explanation regarding the terminology is due at the opening.

The topic of this paper has been called "literary language". Viewed from the aspect of linguistics, objection might be raised to this term, as today, many experts consider a literary language to be a supra-dialectal and standardized form of communication, employed and expanded by majority of less intellectual speakers, which was not the case with the language to be described here in short. Even if we were to decide on the title "language of literature", the only one equally suitable to the content of the exposition, we would again be at fault in terming the material being examined, as it includes more than literature alone, as we understand the term. The syntagm "literary language" is, nevertheless, more to our satisfaction, indicating in its concatenation the philological problems involved, and the fact that we are dealing with the written inheritance of a culture. It corresponds the moreso, as the given survey will mention works of different genres and different provenances, which is concordant to the fact that contemporary literary language, as defined earlier, is applied more widely than merely in literature, and, of course, more broadly than is the original local opus.

The history of the Serbian literary language during the medieval times is far from being merely a linguistic discipline. It represents just as much a branch of history of literature and culture within a national science. Serbian literature, with its language, adjusted in its nascent stage to a separate linguistic ideology, prevalent in the Christian world (and farther in some remote, ancient cultures). It was a widespread phenomenon of bilingualism, a peculiar language duality. Speaking generally – where written records existed, the language differed from the one spoken. Clearly, literacy had to develop from speech. However, with limited literacy and the existence of books of sacral content

only, or (with previously quite literate users), in areas of the Christian preaching, this skill was understood as somewhat secretive and magical. It became a centuries-old custom that literary writings must retain the language of the earliest religious books. Over centuries, such language became with every nation increasingly archaic – the case of the *Koine* or early Slavic literatures – or, else, it became inapprehensible, as in the instance of the Latin writings among the Catholic nations. Those books, with their resonance, and backward and inappropriate orthography, even their general appearance, helped create a mystical disposition, they effected an iconic rather than rational acceptance, which was one of the chief purposes of the holy books, of their projective rather than objective narration. In addition to this, Christians believed that the liturgical language was consecrated merely through its purpose of communicating with the divinity. The linguistic medium of the book, with its grammar and lexis, acquired canonical sacredness. All this could be largely applied to the old Serbian literature.

The history of language of Serbian books has primarily a philological dimension.

The language of Sts Cyril and Methodius that became the language of the Church and literature during the Christianization of Slavs, was the language spoken by Slavic tribes living in the vicinity of Thessalonica, known by science today as Old Slavonic. As no pre-Christian written tradition existed in this language, and since it spread among the population without appropriate education and its own “book-learning” (even among the privileged classes), it lacked certain necessary factors. It lacked the lexicon – abstract and spiritual, which, from the beginning of Christianization, was often compelled to be presented in the form of invented and polished derivative and complex words. It lacked developed mechanisms for coining complex words, i.e. a grammatically established syntax, which was also necessary in creating correct translations and for further education. In those fields, namely, in the creation of the lexis and syntax, this language (which subsequently branched off into several Church Slavonic types) was partially Grecized. It is known that translations then were done from Greek.

Individual contemporary dialectological knowledge, as well as theoretic reconstruction, indicate that the Serbian color of the earliest written Slavic language (referred to as the Serbo-Slavonic variant), developed early, in the 10th century, when the first semi-autonomous Serbian state (possibly, the epoch of Časlav Klonimirović, in the second quarter of the 10th century) was created under the supreme rule of the Byzantine Empire. The emergence of Serbian traits from the Old Slavonic, in our opinion, may be linked with large probability to areas north of Skopje, with radial expansion further north, to which testify several facts from the history of ecclesiastical organization. The fact that until the close of the 12th century almost no preserved written record exists to the advantage of such a claim, need not mean that Serbianization began only after this period. There is no reason for it to have begun subsequent to some small yet noticeable differentiations in the Ohrid and Preslav schools of writing, which scientists situate in a somewhat earlier period. The explanation lies elsewhere: in the probable destruction of the written heritage of our lands towards the end of the 12th century or before. Byzantium had reasons for this, thus a peculiar cultural “re-Byzantinization” was taking place. Therefore, early Serbo-Slavonic literacy, the way it was created, was certainly passed over, developed and somehow preserved through those 200-250 years of darkness, serving its basic purpose – the consolidation of Christianity and Orthodoxy. Thus, the monumentality, rigorous calligraphic and orthographic standards in such a Serbian monument as is, for instance, the Belgrade Book of Prayers, dating from the first quarter of the 13th century, would be hard to explain otherwise (regardless of traces of support and influence from abroad). Such traces are characteristic of all medieval translations and tran-

scriptions as an almost obligatory phenomenon: they testify to the threads and networks of venues between spiritual centers in the Balkans, and to their large number.

From the Nemanjić epoch, we have before us Serbian books as items enabling more accurate research. The earliest recorded signs of the Serbo-Slavonic variant concern certain changes corresponding to the štokavian vernacular, implications in the field of vowel pronunciation, and in the nominal and verbal morphology. Of course, we should be aware that the idea of Serbianization must not be comprehended as a direct approach to the Serbian we speak today. It is evident that in the times in which we observe such signs, the Serbs did, in fact, speak in a similar manner. But in centuries when Serbianization – as we understand it today – began to be more noticeable, living Serbian speeches were, in fact, undergoing rapid and diverse development. However, life brought new needs, thus written language gradually became doubled, as, in addition to the religious literature which was to endure in its cited forms, a need arose for communication in realistic and practical matters; the aureole of sacredness was unconsciously being obliterated from the notion of literariness. Genres of writing were distinguished depending on their “higher” or “lower” subjects, whether they treated verified and timeless subjects, or the earthly and ephemeral ones. In the Byzantine Empire, popular demotic was introduced in the *Koine* writings, whereas the Catholic world, after the stage of the Vulgar Latin, allowed writings in various vernaculars.

Relations between content and linguistic appearance are also discernible in Serbian writings. In liturgical, and then generally in the textually “inviolable” layer, Serbo-Slavonic Church Slavism became prevalent. We will note here that this type of literature along with its linguistic expression was reflected somewhat more strongly with the Serbs for various reasons: owing to the considerable fusion of Church and State interests, due to greater religious caution (the latter, among other things, because of the proximity of Catholicism, and the diffusion of Bogomilism). Such a situation hindered a more rapid approach towards semi-apocryphal, folkloric, legendary and other laic literary themes, and incapacitated greater freedom in writing, which was, for instance, more typical in the Russian lands. However, in Serbian secular legislature, in business prose, and subsequently in narrative and private correspondence, the element of speech was compelled to make a gradual yet increasingly forceful breakthrough, along with a more spontaneous grammar and demotic vocabulary.

A Serbianized aspect of the Serbo-Slavonic literary language was expanding. Through a closer study of the orthographic and other characteristics of the texts, of the established signs of speech authenticity in them, and of the errors in transcription, researchers are able to determine the locality of the origin of these various books: whether they were written in Eastern lands, or in central Serbian territory (where the so-called Rascia orthography was most prominent) or whether they were created in areas closer to Hum and Bosnia, and so forth.

Dwelling some more on the philological examination, let us state what is most important. The aforementioned manner of writing prevalent in Rascia was characterized by the reduction of two inherited semi-vocals to one, then by the regulated use of the vocals with the property of a pronounced *iota*, the rejection of Greek letters and by some innovations in the morphology. At quite an early stage, the orthography in Rascia was replaced (though not entirely and without inheriting the previous consistence), by a somewhat different one prevalent in Resava, linked most markedly to the period of Constantine the Philosopher (Kostenečki), on the turn of the 14th to the 15th centuries. The return to both semi-vocals was insisted on, and new rules on denoting or not denoting the softened consonants and on the softening of consonants were introduced; Greek

letters, in particular Greek accents and spirituses, were used more often, and forms of nominal and verbal changes improved according to the theoretically most correct grammar.

The first written word intended for the Serbs was a translation, ecclesiastical in the broader sense of the word. In the early textual sources accessible for study, the researcher may observe the gradual bridging over of boundaries between the translated and local works, and, abreast with this, the emergence of the above explained written duality, subsequently even more complex. Questions pertaining to originals and translations belong, essentially, to the history of literature, and not to the history of language. The history of language is, one might say, reflected on the history of literature. Therefore, some data regarding the further development of this specific connection will be cited here merely as rare instances.

St Sava translated his Kariai typikon from the Greek model, while his two other typikons, for Chilandari and Studenica, exhibit signs of certain adaptations, both in content and language, and his celebrated Letter to Spiridon contains a predominance of the then popular language. St Sava penned the Hagiography of Simeon Nemanja, the beginning of our hagiographic literature; the literary branch of liturgies and eulogies to the local saints developed as well. Serbian hagiographies and biographies stand also as historical documents, together with documents from the translations of Byzantine chronicles. A local historiography evolved, necessarily permeated with secularized turns and supplements. Regarding the legal literature, it acquired, in addition to significant translations, an important branch: local secular law. This genre may be followed through contract texts, beginning from the times of Nemanja, through charters and letters, acquiring in Dušan's Law Code a swift rise to autonomy and the demotic tongue. The same genre and language development is noticeable in other domains as well. Thus, there is medical literature translated from Greek (originally of Hippocrates and Dioscorides), and the one inspired by it; or cosmological, mainly Biblical, and folkloric. Geography was divided in the same manner – the translated Cosma Indicopleustes, and linguistically independent travelogues of Serbian pilgrims, etc. There are also novelistic materials – short stories of the Oriental origin written in pious spirit and in higher linguistic layer, and the secular novels from the West, quite demotic in expression, though also translated or rewritten.

In addition to the above outlined inclusion into overall developments regarding the relationship between "higher" and "lower" writings, we will draw our attention to another similarity between the Serbian and generally European spiritual climate, when the Serbian cultural bloom and freedom was coming to an end. It involves novel orientations in expression and orthography, as well as a style named *pletenije sloves*, linked mainly to the aforementioned Resava school and the activity of Constantine the Philosopher. A more superficial analysis sees in this a turning back to that which was overcome in language, a cloudiness and unnecessary embellishment. However, this considerably altered situation in Serbian literature testifies to the harkening of Byzantine and West European trends. Both Greek as well as Romance literatures, even before the epoch we have designated, were afflicted by neo-classical rhetoric, and some universal Gothic amplification. Panegyrics, posthumous speeches and various other literary compositions became even obscure owing to the abundance of words. At the time there was a growing taste for mysticism, thus the intention was to gather concealed messages from the sums of words, and not from straightforward literalness. Symbols and implications were aimed at compelling a quest for unchanged truths, thus the repetition of common places from the sacral world of ideas, imitations and variations were introduced into the

writings, insertions which might even appear as a digression from the subject. The then Serbian literature had the same orientation which was expressed to the fullest during the reign of Despot Stefan Lazarević and Djuradj Branković, assisted then by a large number of new translations. An orthography joined such desirable suggestiveness, entangled in places, though enabling one to express the most delicate thoughts. A somewhat more liberal comparison already made by science says that in all this a turning back to archaic forms may be defined as a reflection of Humanism, and the search for subtlety, as an announcement of the Renaissance.

In the following centuries, centuries lacking political freedom, Serbian writings, though still numerous, were reproduced according to the old models, taking over any novelty in the linguistic sense, while fresh laic literacy sprang forth in a language quite noticeably similar to the spoken language.

Let us look back once more to the basic characteristic of linguistic expression in Serbian mediæval creativity. We will agree that even today we might comprehend the marked distinction between the seen and the visionary: in some books language should be functional, in others supra-functional. Man perceives not only that which has been said, but often more than that – the manner in which it was said. Empathy is achieved through associative values, almost more strongly than through nominal ones. Writers and poets are aware of this today, and, judging from everything, the mediæval writer also accepted it when treating important and eternal themes.

SERBIAN FOLK POETRY AND EUROPE IN THE LATE 18TH AND THE EARLY 19TH CENTURIES

The great and, we may now say it without fear of exaggeration, glorious entrance of Serbian folk poetry upon the European stage, which occurred in the second decade of the 19th century, owing to the efforts and merits of Vuk Karadžić, did come about neither suddenly nor accidentally, nor without its weighty and true reasons. On the contrary, there was a whole series of events which had led up to this entrance and somehow paved the way for it. There were, also, persons, numerous and diverse, both our own and foreigners, who had written down poems and many other creations of oral literary production of the people; some published them either in their original form or translated into languages known and read in the world at the time, and thus helped shape an idea of those forms of our folk poetry. There existed then, especially in the times next to Vuk, a strong feeling and an awakened interest in the word poetic of peoples yet unknown, distant, unlettered and simple, still untouched – and, it was believed: unspoiled – by civilization; and whose word was felt to be an authentic and true expression of people's spirit. The history of the gradual and, at first isolated and rare and, eventually, sudden and all but general, reception of Serbian folk poetry in the European world of the day must be kept in mind in its entirety when this matter is considered and judged, in order that it may be seen the better and evaluated the more accurately. After such a comprehensive insight into the developments in that segment of our literature and culture – which actually means: in our history – Vuk's role and place become in no way diminished, nor are in any way eroded his enormous and unquestionable merits.

The numerous travellers and accidental visitors – who, since the late 15th century and for centuries to come, kept passing through our lands as merchants, reporters for the Holy See and its missionaries, or as envoys of European rulers to the Sultans in Istanbul, or as their secretaries-companions – had, on those travels, all kinds of encounters with our people, their life-styles, customs and beliefs, and unavoidably with their language and their oral poetry. All this they recorded in their diaries, and subsequently put in their

reports, and not a few among them wrote true accounts of their travels to have them published on return from their journeys. Among the rich and diverse information about our lands and people, their records contained poems by our people, the epic and heroic, but those as well which were a lyric view of certain moments in the people's life. One of such travellers, Slovene Benedikt Kuripečić, as a member of the legation of King Ferdinand to Suleyman II and as his interpreter for the Latin language, was passing in 1530 through Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Roumelia; he recorded what he had seen and heard in his *Itinerarium*, which was published in German as early as 1531. He referred there to our epic poems and gave interesting information about them, which indicates that he must have heard them. In a small Bosnian town he was greeted by the Turkish commander (subash), member of the then prominent Malkošić family, of whose heroic deeds, as the learned Slovene of thoroughly German sentiments sought to assure us, much was sung "in Croatia and in Bosnia". In the vicinity of Rogatica, the legation saw tombstones over the graves of Voivode Radoslav Pavlović and his "faithful servant", with the inscriptions engraved "in the Serbian language and with Serbian symbols". Their loose translation into the German language, nonetheless here and there reflecting the lyrical intonation well-known from similar inscriptions, he published in full, with a remark that the heroic deeds of the unnamed courtier and "servant" of Voivode Radoslav "are much sung about by the Bosnians and the Croats". In Kosovo, again, he listened to legends and poems about the heroic deeds of the "old Serbian knight Miloš Kobilović by name", which were at that time recounted there and sung about "also in those parts and among the Croats". The *Itinerarium* of Kuripečić, even if it had had its readers, did not live long in memory, and certainly no immediate or subsequent echo was produced by his reports about Serbian and Croatian folk poems. Anyway, the climate was not propitious for this in the Europe of the day, where similar references to the poetry of uneducated people were still few and far between. Equally unnoticed and provoking no further interest among the learned Europeans were many other records and testimonies of the oral epic and lyric poetry of the Southern Slavs, Serbs among them, by the subsequent travellers, ethnographers, historians and various other writers, who in later decades found their way through our lands, or from them came, and put them in their books which they published in Latin and other world languages in various parts of Europe. Similar fate befell, for instance, the recorded memories of the Hungarian poet and chronicler, Sebestyén Tinódi, in his *History of Erdely*, published in 1554, about the famous bard Dmitar Karaman and his able singing "in the Serbian manner", which made a profound impression on every listener. In the same way, chiefly unnoticed in their time, went passages about lamentations for the dead and funeral dirges, full of moving poetry, heard in Jagodina in 1555 and Smederevska Palanka in 1573 by the Flemish Busbecq on a diplomatic journey to Istanbul, and the German Stefan Gerlach en route to Turkey in the same capacity. Both presented their notes, the former in a letter in Latin, reprinted several times (1581, 1582 and 1589) in Antwerp and Paris, and the latter in his traveller's diary kept and then published in German.

From the long list of references and testimonies to the oral poetry of the Serbian people it would be possible to mention many other examples, offered to the European readers in their respective tongues, and all of which are, without exception, picturesque and expressive and, without a doubt, accurate; but they still produced no great effect or visible response. Lorenzo Soranzo, who in his book *L'Ottomano*, published in Ferrara in 1598, mentions *i canzoni schiavone* (Slavic songs) in which the ill-fated Đurađ Branković was described as the "Infedele" (infidel), failed to arouse interest in these poems; just as Europe read without much of a reaction, in the book of *Annali di Ragusa* (Annals

of Dubrovnik) by Dubrovnik Squire Jaketa Lukarević (Luccari), published in Venice in 1605, that "Serbian poets" (*i poeti serviani*) in "touching rhymes" sang about the "ill fate" of the Hungarian kings, which was obviously a reference to *bugarštice* (folk epics deriving their name from *bugariti* = to sing), which lamented for the "Ugričići" – the collective name for the heroes of the Serbian folk poetry of that type – and which have since disappeared without trace. Nor was Europe's interest aroused by the copious book, luxuriously printed in Venice in 1663, in confirmation and support of the genealogical ambitions of the Ohmučević family from Dubrovnik, in which the texts in Latin and Italian spoke of poems in the "Illyrian language – and this, in fact, is our language! – known as *popijevkinje*" – which are in fact the abovementioned *bugarštice* that sing about the heroic deeds of the celebrated Relja Krilatica who was, certainly, according to the same book, a predecessor of our equally celebrated seamen from Slano near Dubrovnik.

If the educated spirits of the Renaissance and Baroque and, to a considerable extent, Enlightened Europe of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, passed without interest over so numerous and so specific information about the existence of a rich and diverse folk poetry of the "Sclavonia" or "Illyria" – as the Slavic and in them, of course, Serbian lands, were largely known then – which was given in their own languages and printed in their own cities, and thanks primarily to the efforts of their men, how much easier it was for them to ignore books from our soil which were published by our men, in our language though in the Latin alphabet, and which did not give only short and casual descriptions or just an evidence of the folk poetry in our lands, but contained individual poems, often of incomparable beauty, and not merely of significance. If the former want of Europe's interest can be explained with an absence of the necessary mood and a certain general climate, as well as with the philosophy and the aesthetic taste of the times, the reason for the lack of reception of and response to our books and the poetry in them cannot but lie in the total and impenetrable ignorance of the language or languages in which they were written. This alone can be the reason why the otherwise beautiful examples of our older oral poetry which Petar Hektorović, a squire and poet from the island of Hvar, incorporated in his epistle *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (Fishing and Fishermen's Disputes) – conceived in the Renaissance style, written in double-rhymed dodecasyllables and in the Chakavian dialect, and printed in Venice in 1568 – produced no answering echo. These examples were, as is well known: three charming "*počasnice*" (praise) depicting scenes and moods from our feudal times, two *bugarštice* in the "Serbian manner" – one about Marko Kraljević and his brother Andrijaš and the other about Radoslav Siverinac and Vlatko Udinski, both about unhappy and fateful conflicts and full of sombre and mournful notes – and finally, a lyrical lament of a "proud beauty" on the banks of the "white Danube" about the tragic blinding of the two sons of Despot Đurađ. All these poems had been sung to the "lord" from Hvar to amuse and please him, by two fishermen, "the best in Hvar", but the heroes and the themes of the poems, as well as their language and other features, including even their undoubtedly Christian Orthodox characteristics, clearly revealed their Serbian origin. All the undeniable beauty of these noble and truly anthological poems was powerless to penetrate to the minds and souls of the European readers if they were unable to read and understand that foreign and to them totally unknown "Slavonic" language. Even if, by some miracle, they had been capable of doing so, the time for such poems was yet to come and the chances that someone might enjoy them – despite all exceptions, from Montaigne and his *Essais*, to Molière and his *Le Misanthrope* – were slight. However, when the time drew near and finally came and when, thanks to the writings, views and teachings of the European

thinkers – from Bodmer and Bretinger, through Gianbattista Vico and his *Scienza Nuova*, to Rousseau – interest was aroused in the “primitive” and “barbaric” peoples, their unspoilt, simple and natural life-style, their customs, beliefs, morals, languages and poetry, preserved in their authenticity and purity, the way into Europe was not immediately clear, due to linguistic barriers, even for such a work as *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (Pleasant Conversations of the Slavic People) by the Franciscan, historian and philosopher but, above all, bard, Andrija Kačić Miošić of Makarska. His work may be said to have appeared in Venice at the right moment, and on two occasions, in the 1756 and 1759 editions. It brought straightway an abundance of poems of a “Slavic people” who to the Europe of the time appeared to belong to a world which had just been placed in the centre of general interest, study and a kind of fashion in the literary circles of the society. It was not of crucial importance for the destiny of the book that most of its poems were in fact a mystification or, better still, an extraordinarily apt imitation of the authentic oral poetry of the simple and uneducated people. It was done by an educated and even highly learned poet, though, it is true, deeply imbued with the spirit, expression, poetic modes and language of the authentic folk poetry; a poet strongly determined to base the poems about the glorious and great past of his nation on historical truth and reliable sources, to purge them of fabrications and lies and cleanse them of a view of life, events and people which he considered as being at odds with the moral of the religion to which he belonged. Only a handful of genuine folk poems he allowed to find their way into his extensive collection, overwhelmed, perhaps, by their beauty, but even then with characteristic additions which were the expression of his reservations, such as: “they are pretty to listen to, even if they cannot be quite true”, or: “who will believe them, let him believe; who will not, let him be”. For a reliable differentiation between true folk poems and their more or less successful imitations it was too early in those times, when their collecting was only beginning, and their thorough study was really far off. To the people in general and not only to the narrow circle of educated men Kačić’s *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* was at that time, and would for that reason long be, a collection of authentic folk poetry, and not some kind of its substitute. It is well known that, on the first steps of his venture into folk poetry, though only for a very short time, Vuk Karadžić himself was a victim of the same error. Primarily because of the language in which it was written, and not because of its insufficient authenticity, Kačić’s book – which remains for us of the utmost importance – could not, in terms of celebrity, influence and reverberation in the world, come even close to the books of the famous Scotsman James MacPherson and his allegedly English translations of the lyric and epic poetry of the non-existent Celtic bard of the 3rd century, Ossian. Presented as “fragments from ancient poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland and translated from the Gaelic”, these poems were, in fact, a magnificent counterfeit by this learned poet; it was ridiculed by few Englishmen, such as David Hume, for example, or it angered some, such as the famous Dr. Johnson, but Europe greeted it with admiration and enthusiasm, and immediately set to translating, interpreting and evaluating it, and then took it as a model and made it a source of a powerful stream of literature and culture of the time. The cult of folk poetry, as the true expression of folk spirit and surviving memory of nation’s past life and traditions, which was created in the epoch and which marked the epoch as Pre-Romanticism, caused in a way, and made possible to an extent, the first steps of our folk poetry into Europe. Kačić’s *Razgovor ugodni* played a certain part in this, though only indirectly and without itself appearing on the scene.

The decisive action in this respect, at least in the beginning, and the biggest merits, pertained to Alberto Fortis, a learned Italian naturalist, diverse writer and tireless trav-

eller, who was a true gallant abbot of the 18th century to boot, the bright figure that graced many a salon of that time, with a lust for life and a love of ladies. His best works appeared as a result of his research travels in Dalmatia, the surrounding hinterland and the islands. On these travels, Fortis was in a position to get to know at first hand the life-style and customs of our people, not only those in the cities and on the islands, but also those deeper inland, of almost all confessions and nationalities, who were there and elsewhere vaguely referred to as the "Slavs" and "Illyrians" or, even more vaguely as "Vlachs" and "Morlachs"; to get an insight into their morals and to know their beliefs and superstitions, to listen to their legends and their poems, stories and adages. In the first and less important of his books, which he titled *Saggio d'osservazioni sopra l'isola di Cherso ed Ossero* (Observations About the Islands of Cres and Lošinj), which he published in Venice in 1771, he spoke, among other things, about our folk poems (*poesia nazionale, pisme o canzoni*). In an attached letter to John Simonds, who had accompanied him on the journey, Fortis sought to assure the latter – and from this it would appear that he had carefully studied MacPherson's "translations" of Ossian's "poems", which had been translated into Italian by their great admirer, the famous Italian Melchiorre Cesarotti – that, particularly among the peasants, like among the "Scotch Celts", there could be found "many unusual and interesting parts of those poems". Fortis had no special illusions about their poetic quality, and stressed that the esteemed Englishman would not find in them either any "great power of imagination" or "anything wonderful" or yet "empty adornments", but that they had "a knowledge of man and of nation's character" and, which he considered of the utmost importance, "a historical truth". As an example of this poetry, Fortis took excerpts out of Kačić without quoting his source and gave somebody's translation into Italian of the poem about Miloš Kobilić and Vuk Branković and their tragic quarrel (*Canto di Milos Cobilich, e di Vuko Brancovich*), which was, however, not at all a folk poem, but only an artificial creation made in the spirit of folk poetry by the bard of Makarska. Of incomparably greater value and influence, both in general and in the history of our folk poetry and its debut in the world, is Fortis's book *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (A Journey in Dalmatia), published in Venice in 1774 and soon translated into all major European languages. Fortis's book is of great and manifold interest, in every respect, and above all because it earned world renown for our folk poetry, primarily for the superb poem *Hasanaginica*, about the tragic fate of the beautiful wife of Hassanaga. Fortis brought out the poem according to somebody's record – obtained from who knows which one of his Dalmatian friends and published from the manuscript – both in the original form and in his own – or perhaps somebody else's? – Italian translation. Thence this great poem of ours – somewhat under-rated and occasionally difficult to penetrate, majestic in its noble beauty and sublime in its pathos and dignity – has been translated for years and decades by many, even the greatest, world poets, who endeavoured to express in their languages that which had been unattainably expressed in this language of ours. From Fortis, *Hasanaginica* was later taken up by Vuk, himself, who included it into his collection, which was foreign to his usual practice, but was in this case forced by the fact that he had never, despite all efforts, managed to hear this extremely rare poem in the field. It would not appear, however, that Fortis was fully aware of the exceptional beauty of the poem, of which he only said that it seemed "well performed and interesting", but then immediately stood to defend himself in advance from the idea which someone might arrive at that he had printed *Hasanaginica* as though he meant to put it side by side or compare it with the "poems by the famous Scottish bard". In several places elsewhere in his *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, speaking about the "Morlachs" and some of their customs, and also about the

borders of individual regions in Dalmatia and about cities in it, Fortis mentioned folk poems – which he described as “old Illyrian poems”, “heroic folk poems of the Morlachs”, “traditional poems” or, simply, as “poems ancient” – and in substantiation of his statements or in illustration thereof, he quoted short excerpts from various poems by Andrija Kačić, always in their original form and their Italian translation, but, surprisingly, always omitting to mention whence he knew them and whence he was quoting from. Fortis paid his dues to Kačić in even poorer fashion: after he had mentioned him among the writers from Makarska and said that he had published “a collection of heroic poems” – which *Razgovor ugodni* was really not – he added, as his very own vitriolic comment, that the Franciscan from Makarska had chosen the poems “with little good taste” and in his book “included, with even less criteria, many unnecessary and false things”. Fortis devoted a separate chapter to the presentation of our folk poetry, and there, fortunately, spoke with greater reliability and more true information. He informed his reader first that the heroic poems were always in the decasyllabic line, that they were sung to the accompaniment of the *gusle* (folk fiddle) and that their text was often improvised. In keeping with the spirit of the ideas of the time, he stressed in particular that in them one “can find the simplicity of the Homeric times” and exalted them also not only because they contained a presentation of ancient customs, but because they contributed to their perpetuation.

The service of Alberto Fortis to our folk poetry does not stop here. The famous German Johann Gottfried Herder – who had long and earnestly admired *Ossian* and whose ideas about folk poetry as a true and the most faithful expression of the folk spirit and as a model of the national language and literature had so strongly influenced the literary conceptions of the latter half of the 18th century – introduced, through Fortis’s mediation, four “Morlachian” poems into his great collection of poetry of various nations and lands (*Volksliedersammlung*, 1778 and 1779), composed after an example of the famous collection of ancient English and Scottish ballads *Reliques of English Poetry* (1765) by Bishop Thomas Percy, better known for its subsequent 1807 edition under the altered and highly characteristic title of *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (Voices of the People in Poems), given by its editor and Herder’s follower Johann von Müller. Herder’s collection had a tremendous, virtually global influence on the entire literature of the time, and it was certainly an honour for our literature that the collection included four poems from our soil in their German translations. Three of the poems were from Kačić’s *Razgovor ugodni*, and had reached Herder in Fortis’s Italian translation – one from his book on Cres and Lošinj, and the other two from a manuscript sent by the Italian to Germany through an English friend – and the fourth was the unique and unsurpassable *Hasanaginica*, taken from Fortis’s *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. The first three “Morlachian” ballads, of which only the one about the Dragoman girl and Sekula, nephew to Voivode Janko, was authentically a folk poem, were translated into German by Herder himself, and *Hasanaginica* was translated by the then young Goethe, delighted by folk poetry. The encounter between the greatest German poet and the one of our best folk poems was achieved with the help of a previous, Wertes’s translation of the poem into German, since the budding poet of *Faust* knew no Serbian, but tried, as he was translating the poem, to divine the rhythm and discern the arrangement of the original lyrics, and, furthermore, he translated it in the decasyllabic line and not, as his predecessor had done, in lines of eleven syllables.

Between Herder’s collection, which could essentially be regarded as only a rather narrow anthological choice, and Vuk’s many beautiful and rich books, which came shortly after and which finally brought Serbian folk poetry, as well as the Serbian lan-

guage and history – through and with the whole-hearted support of the then truly hospitable Vienna and its famous Slavists, who at the time enjoyed the extreme benevolence of Germany – to the attention of Europe and the world and their literature and culture, there was the Dubrovnik interlude, brief both in terms of duration and of its influence. In it, the central figure was an old poet from the “Slavic” Dubrovnik, known in his city and outside it, by the name of Đuro Ferić; imbued with the Dubrovnik tradition and ossified in classical Latinism, but equally ready to rise in his own way to the call of the times and the encouragement of his literary acquaintances, Johann Müller of Germany and Melchior Cesarotti of Italy, famous precisely for their endeavours in the collection and study of their own folk poetry, as well as that of other nations. In a thin volume, dedicated to Müller and issued in Dubrovnik in 1798, Ferić published his Latin translations of thirty-two folk poems, both epic – including the ballad about *Hasanaginica* and a poem about Banović Strahinja – and lyric, of all types and from the most diverse environments, but each of which, following some strange reasoning of his, was represented with only two original verses. Meant only for the most highly educated of the European elite, Ferić’s tiny collection, apart from the motivation and sincere enthusiasm of its author for this kind of “natural” poetry, was a pure anachronism and, due to both its language and the rigid Latin hexameter in which the folk verses were translated, it never reached any wider circle of readers. Some of the poems Ferić had collected himself but most he had received from his friends, primarily from the naturalized Frenchman from Dubrovnik and his one-time student Marko Bruerević, who had recorded them while in consular service in Travnik, and also from the physician, poet, polyhistor and musician frequently and warmly welcomed in the “Slavic Athens”, Julije Bajamonti of Split, who had earlier accompanied Fortis on his travels in Dalmatia and was certainly his collaborator when collecting and translating the folk poems, and who had also recorded those poems in Bosnia on one occasion. Certainly not without Ferić’s influence, Bajamonti had prepared and published in the Italian language in Padua in 1797 a treatise on *Il Morlachismo d’Omero* (Morlachism in Homer’s Verses) in which, following the contemporary thought on Homer and the Homeric question, he indicated an affinity between the spirit, nature, manner of creation of his epics and the Morlachian ones, i.e., our folk poetry.

The great introduction of Serbian folk poetry to Europe, begun in 1814 with the publication of Vuk’s *Mala prostonarodna pjesnarica* (Small Volume of Simple Folk Poems), and continued with all his later books, and their enthusiastic reception, had necessitated the fulfilment of several preconditions: that Vuk should, after the defeat of insurgent Serbia, come to Vienna, that he should chance in Vienna upon Kopitar, that the latter should accept him, win him over for the recording and collecting of folk poems and, besides them, of all other forms of oral poetry – because Kopitar had tried it with many others before Vuk, but could never meet with success and, then again, Mušicki had tried the same with Vuk without success – that this highly educated, hard-working and patriotic Slovene should train Vuk for the job and then, from the very first steps of his on this road, guide him and direct him, encourage and support him, help him whole-heartedly in every way, and establish for him connections with writers and researchers, first and foremost in their time, review and promote his books and then, self-effacingly and anonymously, translate from them into German certain excerpts or integral texts, in order to have them reach the desired or influential hands. All this somehow happened to coincide and all this was fortunate for Vuk, for Serbian poetry and for our literature in general, and also for their place, role and success in their time and in the Europe of that time. Kopitar’s invaluable contribution to all this should never be forgot-

ten, and he can never be too much praised and recognized. For at first ignorant and in all ways needy and only endlessly gifted Vuk, Kopitar represented an entire university, so it can rightly be said that the diplomas and doctorates he subsequently acquired, and memberships of European academies and learned societies conferred on him, were not unearned. None of this would have been possible, of course, had not Vuk been what he was and what eventually granted him the highest place in the history of our literature and science. The Serbian people and culture will remain forever indebted also to the great Germans Jacob Grimm, whose instructions guided Vuk into the worlds of folk poetry and its poetics, who greeted his books with the greatest acknowledgements and enthusiasm, and also judged them with the widest knowledge and who had for Vuk not only true respect, but also devoted friendship; and then also to the poet Goethe, who translated Serbian poems and wrote magisterially about them, and who cordially gave Vuk a helping hand as well as an acknowledgement not only for what he had done for his people, but also – which the greatest German poet regarded as the most important – for world culture. Everything else, however, Vuk had to do on his own, and he did do it in the best and the most brilliant way. Karadžić put before the world Serbian folk poetry – finally, he was the one to name it as Serbian, giving to the notion, as was his wont, its broadest meaning – in its best examples, its highest values, so that his books can be taken for what they truly are, for *florilegia* – which was the name for anthologies at the time – of that poetry. It is therefore no wonder that, ever since the days of Vuk, his collections of Serbian folk poems have been a powerful attraction for numerous translators – among Germans, among Englishmen, among Frenchmen, among Italians and among Russians – and continue to exercise their spell even today, in ever widening circles and are quite certain to continue to do so in the future. Since the beginning of his work in this domain, Vuk was guided by a firm conviction that he would serve his people in the right way if he acquainted the world with the highest and most valuable products of the spirit embodied in the folk creations, in the language and in all other expressions of its spirituality and creativity. Just as Dositej, shortly before, believed that it would be best and most useful for the Serbian people if he brought Europe, with all its values, over to the Serbs, so also Vuk held that time came for the highest values of the Serbian people to be taken out before Europe; these two approaches seemed to be opposed only on the surface, while in actual fact they were complementary. For this reason could Vuk, when on one occasion he made public reference to the road he had traversed and the work he had done, with peace in his heart say of himself: “I could say with pride that almost everything that the world has that is worthy of knowledge about our people today it has learned from me or through me.”

MAJOR TRENDS IN RECENT SERBIAN LITERATURE

I will attempt to draw a rough outline of some of the major trends in latter-day Serbian literature, which I aim to do by maintaining in my approach a not very popular, though, I should say, acceptable, mode. I shall speak as if I were addressing an audience who is to be acquainted with the broadest developments, listeners whose attention should be drawn to the strongest trends and the most important phenomena in contemporary Serbian literature, accomodating, of course, those contributions into a broader European cultural and literary context. In other words, I shall try to point out the works and accomplishments of recent Serbian literature which, in my opinion, have offered something new and valuable to the European spirit and culture.

In reference to "recent Serbian literature", I shall confine myself to the last twenty-five, or thirty, years. The stylistic and aesthetic pluralism of recent Serbian literature is part of a legacy from three great cultural epochs, three powerful cultural spheres active in 20th-century Serbian literature. Those three spheres comprise the patriarchal, bourgeois and revolutionary cultures. The term "revolutionary" refers here to the entire process of revolutionary turmoil that has taken place almost throughout the 20th century, acquiring a more or less poignant connotation, depending on the period. The pluralism of form and orientation, the multilayered quality and diversity in approach and expression, or in the creative mode, were the chief trait of recent Serbian literature in the early 20th century. The so-called "golden age" of Serbian literature (1892-1918) witnessed a parallel flow of different cultures and parallel literary trends. At the time, we still had a strong and pronounced patriarchal legacy, but also a growing bourgeois culture which developed rapidly and rose high. We had Balkan and European cultural impulses, a modernist and traditionary culture, the pan-Slavic and Mediterranean sentiment – one might say, full cultural stratification, a multi-culture which is peculiar to all rising nations and cultures, in particular to cultures and civilizations which, as is the

case with the Serbian and generally Southern Slavic cultures, receive impulses readily and easily, adapting, absorbing and turning them into their own values.

In addition to these diverse cultural spheres and impacts, we had several parallel stylistic formations or movements during the entire 20th century. First, we had a type of descriptive, naive realism, with strong folkloric elements; its most prominent representatives were also the best writers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, narrators such as Milovan Glišić and Janko Veselinović. Then we had somewhat subtler, nuanced, realistic tones, a sort of critical and psychological realism, created by writers such as Svetolik Ranković and Milutin Uskoković. I recall works such as the *Seoska učiteljica* (Village Teacher) and *Gorski car* (Highland Tsar), *Porušeni ideali* (Topped Ideals), *Došljaci* (Settlers) and, in particular, *Cedomir Ilić*, which contains several themes that have re-emerged in our present-day culture and civilization as general and yet unsettled issues. Among them is a key question we face today: is political freedom more pressing to the Serbs than cultural enlightenment? We also had a kind of psychological naturalism in the works of Borisav Stanković, and a poetic, modern realism in the works of young writers, at the head of whom stood Veljko Milićević, then a young writer who commenced his literary career with a story oddly entitled *Mrtvi život* (Dead Life).

At the time, poetry had a strong romantic heritage, Parnassianism and early Serbian symbolism; beginnings of the literary and poetic avant-garde, abstract expressionism which subsequently transformed into a social revolt. The earliest impulses of futurism were present in certain programmatic texts. All this took place in a brief period which was the scene of profound change in the content and language of early 20th-century Serbian culture, caught in the vivid and rapid process of urbanization. This was the basis on which has been built and rests the aesthetic and stylistic pluralism of contemporary Serbian literature at present.

The inter-war period left a deep trace of spiritual and cultural division as the chief characteristic of that epoch, which I dare refer to as the epoch of schism. The inter-war period bore within itself not only a clash of the old and new poetics, especially expressionism and symbolism, avant-garde and the bourgeois tradition, but also expressed and pronounced antagonisms between the bourgeois and revolutionary ideologies, between the individual and collective spirit. Revolts and challenges of the twenties turned in the thirties into a clash between literary ideologies of the left and right bourgeois provenances, into a clash that continued or, better yet, grew more intense in the so-called clash at the left-wing prior to World War II. The clash clove further, reaching its peak during the war, and when it ended, it had split the entire Serbian culture and civilization, turning it into a tragedy of contemporary Serbian spirituality.

The tragedy was conditioned and defined above all by political and ideological divisions, which continued throughout the postwar party monism from 1945 to 1950, perhaps 1952, and even later, through a conflict of the so-called modernists and realists. Speaking conditionally, the dispute lasted from 1955 to 1965, till the emergence of the new postwar literary generation, to which belong Danilo Kiš, Borislav Pekić, Mirko Kovač, Slobodan Selenić, Dragoslav Mihailović, Živojin Pavlović and others. This generation of narrators took over from poets such as Vasko Popa and Miodrag Pavlović, priority in the literary restoration of the spiritual and stylistic potential of recent Serbian literature.

From this extended and clarified expanse in Serbian spiritual culture, which I endeavored to outline through the first half of the 20th century, several fresh, dominant literary orientations developed as a specific form of literary pluralism. A number of literary generations worked side by side in postwar poetry, some of them inclined towards the

19th-century tradition and the golden period of Serbian literature, and others linked to the surrealist and avant-garde legacy of the interwar period. We belong to the very few literatures in which writers have met and established not only physical, but spiritual ties as well, in a manner rarely noted in literatures with a less dynamic development. As fledgling writers, we have spoken to fellow-writers who had been contemporaries of Laza Kostić, and one man alone, such as Veljko Petrović, was able to link Laza Kostić (doubtless the greatest Serbian lyric poet of the 19th century), with Branko Miljković, who rose to the peak of one stage in the advent of Serbian postwar literature.

These parallelisms and synchronicities, stylistic, spiritual, cultural and formal overlappings, are quite normal and customary with us. Frequent generational complementarity was almost the common place of Serbian literary development, thus the diversity and variegation of our poetry is best viewed in the parallel presence of Veljko Petrović, Desanka Maksimović, Tanasije Mladenović, Vasko Popa, Miodrag Pavlović, Ivan V. Lalić, and somewhat younger poets such as Ljubomir Simović, Matija Bečković, Branislav Petrović, Slobodan Rakitić and, in the third wave, Rajko Petrov Nogo, Raša Livada, Gojko Đogo and those who ensued. In this poetic circle expands an intricate network of diverse transformations of poetic language, poetic sense and poetic expression. On the one hand, there is the apparent aspiration to fit into the traditionary culture with a strong national theme and a powerful national color, and a sort of renewal of the epic language and heritage; for instance, in the poetry of Matija Bečković, expressed primarily in the language of the thereuntil checked and denounced national mythology. A fresh quest for spiritual identity emerged in the same poetic orientation as an expressed tendency towards the renewal of historicism, the turning towards historical topics. The tendency commenced not only with the patriarchal and in many ways exceptional poetic personality of Vasko Popa, but also with the celebrated book of poetry by Desanka Maksimović, *Tražim pomilovanje* (Seeking Pardon), in which the collocutors of contemporary Serbian poets are men from medieval times, Kosovo, holy men and even an old legal document such as Dušan's Code.

Along with these tendencies, a strong desire to the full freedom of poetic individualism can be felt in Serbian literature, a kind of opposition by the poet's personal attitude and morale to the overall social disposition.

The expressed revival of reflective lyricism (with Stevan Raičković) is noticeable, as well as a break towards metaphysical poetry, which the Serbs were not inclined to develop. The striving towards reflective abstraction, the inclination towards the metaphysical perception of the world and life, acquired the most expressed and resonant sound in the collection *Sporedno nebo* (Secondary Heaven) by Vasko Popa. However, the inclination was brought to the dense concentration of discursive poetic expression by Miodrag Pavlović, whose poetic register of topics, ideas and forms extend over an almost incredible space, so far unnoted in Serbian literature: from pre-mythical times – which he shapes in his *Pevanja na viru* (Songs by the Whirl), or in the *Divno čudo* (Marvellous Miracle) – to the definition of the highest, ultimate metaphysical projection which makes up a new and so far unseen contribution of Serbian literature to European culture and civilization. A similar contribution was made somewhat earlier by Vasko Popa, in his transposition of the oral popular heritage, fortune-tales, dances, riddles, whereby he created as much a fresh language as a new poetic expression. In the Balkan substratum, which he endeavored to reveal as the root of contemporary poetic language, Miodrag Pavlović established a kind of spiritual vertical, a blend of Mediterranean and Mid-European outlook – a unique poetic experiment which, as far as I know, is unrecorded in Slavic and European literatures of our day. For purposes of illustration, the

significance and character of the poetry of Miodrag Pavlović may be compared with that of Zbignyev Herbert and Joseph Brodsky, poets who emerged from the same Slavic sphere. Compared with them, Miodrag Pavlović sounds very, very different as a Balkan writer.

In prose, which is currently the leading force of contemporary Serbian literature, several clearly defined orientations can be singled out. On the one hand, a strong aim towards coarse naturalism which doubtless represents a form of discontent with the world which, out of ideological reasons, cannot be challenged from the outside, but from within, by liberating the language, not by liberating ideas. The tendency has been noted in other literatures that have been exposed to the radiation of the monistic theory and aesthetics of socialist realism. One might say that the phenomenon of the so-called "realistic prose" was a form of silent and tame cultural revolution, which stopped halfway without ever reaching its ultimate revolutionary goal. Disputing the world with which the writer is dissatisfied, doing it from within, through language, could not relieve the internal tension rising and mounting in postwar culture and civilization.

However, one should acknowledge that such a naturalistic tone introduced into Serbian literature a daring and talented generation of writers educated on a dual experience – on the aesthetic heritage of prose pluralism and, on the other hand, on the heritage of ethical mimicry, the moral concealment until natural and pure literary conditions were ensured for the development of internal ideas and orientations. Writers characteristic of this sphere of "realistic prose" were also its most talented representatives, such as Vidosav Stevanović and Milisav Savić. Soon, in tremendous strides, they traversed the path towards their literary maturity.

On the other hand, in the same circle, though from a different side, rose an inclination to dispute naturalism, which rested on a rebellion of the individual spirit against any form of totalitarianism and leveling. The bias was realized primarily through the theme and then by improving and nuancing the narrative style and expression. The best, truest bearer of the latter stand was undoubtedly Danilo Kiš. With his high art and rigorous raising of the standards of literary expression, he went the furthest in his struggle against triteness, primitivism and barbarianism, becoming thus a paradigmatic literary figure in the entire so-called eastern-mid-European culture and civilization. Bearing precisely such a stand, Danilo Kiš entered farther into Europe than any other Serbian writer, as a legitimate bearer of the spirit of the new mid-European culture at present in the process of fermentation and rejection of the communist heritage. Danilo Kiš did not enter Europe as Miodrag Bulatović several years before, whose fame throughout Europe and the rest of the world should not be underestimated. He did not make his way through by the red-hot, fantastic, rolling, whirled and twisted, exotic Balkan underground and Balkan suburbs. Quite the contrary, in a different manner, as an antithesis to Bulatović's incubus and visions, an antithesis effected through rigorous expression, the law of solid form, strict ethics, a clear formal expression and a defiant order of words professing a pugnacious aesthetics of haughty individualism. The internal critical power of resistance, which had accumulated in the civilization to which he belonged, Kiš separated from historical facticity, elevating it to the level of the miraculous, blended with the fantastic. He thus raised man's misfortune almost to metaphysical damnation, which, in the same manner as with Kafka (also a member of the same circle of mid-European writers), can be read through its concealed internal symbolics, but also as ontological evidence of the autonomy and self-sufficiency of an artistic work, independent of outside factors.

In this manner Danilo Kiš approached the mainstream I consider the most dominant in Serbian literature. He approached the critical literature of resistance and demystifica-

tion, which, as a form of destroying and disputing ideological opinion, springs mainly from precisely that internal dissatisfaction of Serbian culture with the achievements and forms of spiritual and cultural monism. The idea of a critical literature has been attained particularly by those writers who are completing with their work the otherwise slow and frequently perturbed process of urbanization in Serbian culture and literature. An interesting phenomenon is in question, one that modern historiography will have to deal with, as during the 20th century the process of urbanization with us was interrupted by various onslaughts of fresh rural ideologies and cultures (not only patriarchal but also revolutionary ones). Thus literature, faced with the obligation to give form to the process of urbanization, frequently turned back to the beginning instead of rising from lower to higher forms. Such important changes in the urban novel were carried out by writers such as Borislav Pekić, especially in his cycle of novels entitled *Zlatno Runo* (Golden Fleece) which distorted historical developments in the form of a phantasmagoria and followed the evolvement of the Serbian middle-class from pre-mythical times almost until the present day. In the urbanization process, Tzintzars were the internal substratum, the cohesive force that hastened and stepped up the ferment in the new Serbian urban culture. We may follow a similar historical flow in the works of Dobrica Ćosić, who back in 1954 embarked with his novel *Koreni* (Roots) on a great and ambitious project: a cycle about the Serbian Rugon Makarovs, the Serbian Buddenbrooks, a cycle following and depicting the same heroes and their destinies. The same story depicting the process of Serbian urbanization, he continued to narrate in his subsequent novels, except in *Bajka* (Fairy-tale). *Deobe* (Divisions), *Vreme smrti* (Time of Death) and *Vreme zla* (Time of Evil) thus comprise a widely branched story about the history and destinies of the Serbian middle-class and its moral rifts. A similar topic has been developed by Slobodan Selenić, one of the best representatives of modern Serbian urban prose and the revived bourgeois novel, especially in works that have put a fresh seal on the realistic and critical tradition of Serbian literature. His ascent began with a breakthrough achieved on the plane of the theme, in his novel *Pismo-glava* (Head-or-Tail), which, owing to its theme linked to the island of Goli otok, had the unfortunate fate of being published many years after being written. Selenić developed the same idea of critical demystification of the postwar society through his novels *Očevi i oci* (Fathers and Forefathers) and *Timor mortis* which depict from different angles the dramas of the Serbian middle-class in the revolution. In his novel *Očevi i oci*, the hero, for instance, would not cooperate with his own class, desiring to retain the position of an independent intellectual, but subsequently, in the revolution, he accedes to collaborate with his natural adversaries, believing that he cannot resist the wheel of history and that certain internal motives of family relationships are stronger than historical ones. The trend of critical literature includes very diverse writers like Svetlana Velmar Janković, with her exceptionally substantial novel *Lagum* (Sap), or Dragoslav Mihailović, both with his *Petrijin venac* (Petrija's Wreath) and with his *Goli otok*. Writers such as Milovan Danojlić, Antonije Isaković, Erih Koš, Mladen Markov and others should be read in the same context. Aleksandar Tišma holds a special place in Serbian prose, and is part of the same mid-European circle of writers as Danilo Kiš; Pavle Ugrinov and Milisav Savić also capture the attention, as well as narrators from the area earlier referred to as the "Serbian Borderland", such as Jovan Radulović, Radoslav Bratić, Miroslav Josić Višnjić and others.

The emergence of critical literature, which they all completed in one way or another, is, according to my judgment, the most expressed and most original contribution that Serbian literature has given to European spirituality in the second half of the 20th century.

ry. It is an authentic, accomplished and artistically shaped form of culture which, on the plane of the idea and theme, presents a negation of the leftist totalitarian ideology. The style was developed in the struggle against aesthetic and ideological dogmatism, in the struggle for pluralism of style, doubtless the most positive result of the earlier clash of realism with modernism. Consciousness about the realistic has been retained, yet the notion of realism has altered, it has grown broader and richer; it has become the realism of man's internal and external life, not only a mimetic mirror of reality, but the realism of man's profound inside. Phantasmagoria is a part of realism, the metanarrative is attained to through narration, essay mingles with narration. Literature ceases to be what it has been the day before.

Thus in this swift survey we have found ourselves at the threshold of a new cultural epoch, named or referred to in several places as the epoch of postmodernism. The introduction of fantastic elements into the area of latter-day Serbian literature commenced earlier, the most boldly and piercingly with Milorad Pavić. He may thus be referred to as the patriarch of a new literary genre, the so-called "magic realism", to which Danilo Kiš, Borislav Pekić as well as Filip David also belong, and a group of very talented Serbian narrators of the younger generation led by David Albahari. He was joined by Svetislav Basara, Saša Hadži-Tančić, Nemanja Mitrović, Velimir Ćurguz Kazimir, Miljenko Pajić and others. Pavić has entered European and world literature as a paradigm of the post-modernistic style and mode where everything is distorted and different than in the world which that literature is fighting against by dilution and deconstruction. Postmodernism in fact proceeds from what Milorad Pavić builds his poetics on: first of all, that which is referred to as *cogito* is abandoned, logic is forsaken, everything is questioned; all angles are viewed as equal, since, as our century shows it, there is not only one truth, but, all truths are equally false. Everything that exists is subject to destruction, ridicule, irony and ruin. Ahead of Pavić trod the spirit of Alfred Jarry's *Uby roi*, a mode with many surrealistalogisms and paradoxes in sentence and expression. Curiously enough, it is very interesting to note, modern Serbian drama has remained despite this impulse closer to the critical mode than to the grotesque, buffoonery and burlesque. Judging by the dramas of writers who have accepted and pursued the brilliant tradition of Nušić – such as Dušan Kovačević and Aleksandar Popović, and to an extent Selenić, Vida Ognjenović, Gordan Mihić, Ljubomir Simović – the critical expression, critical mode and critical tone dominate contemporary Serbian dramatic literature, where historical themes and symbols of the national myth have become more frequent.

Interest for the historical, realistic and mundane is expressed in Serbian literature at the utterly opposite pole, through a revival of memoirist writing, where the individual spirit and individual stand appear as a kind of private corrective of historical developments and events. Such a stand was not only taken by the memoirist writing which bore in itself an illumination of historical riddles or a revealing of historical secrets (including the memoirist trilogy of Milovan Đilas), but was also contained in memoirs that are at present, one might say, the most widely read books of Serbian literature. This new genre of documentary and intellectual prose has two exceptional writers; I am, of course, referring to the *Autobiografija o drugima* (Autobiography of Others) by Borislav Mihailović Mihiz and to two books already written, and the third recently completed, *Efemeris* (Ephemeris) by Dejan Medaković. These works indicate a new way of juxtaposing documentary with fiction. They display the strange need of our culture to mingle history and reality, to which many writers resorted before, thus bringing the reader to waver about distinguishing an authentic historical document incorporated into a literary piece from literary imagination.

Reducing this cursory survey of the chief developments in contemporary Serbian literature to its simplest factors, I believe to have illuminated at least a particle of the objective I had set myself at the beginning: to designate through a survey of developments in present-day Serbian literature the character of our current spiritual and civilizational drama. To designate it in two ways – politically, considering that we now stand at the bottom of Europe's civilizational scale, as our fate lies in the hands of those who are incapable of governing people's destinies; then, spiritually and creatively, as our tragedy may be alleviated by the fact that the Serbian creative intelligentsia stands in the forefront of European spirituality and culture. It stands there not only with its literary achievements, which have reached much farther than our politics, but with the many breakthroughs made in film, art and theater. Therefore, I cannot but pose this question in the end: what is the internal discrepancy of our culture and our being, where the internal damnation of our destiny? This, of course, is a topic of a different speculation, another lecture, which would lie outside the task posed to me by the Institute for Balkan Studies.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL SCIENCES WITH THE SERBS

1. "When sabres rattle, philosophers are silent" – says a Serbian proverb, so why this topic in a cycle of lectures on Serbian culture in today's wartime conditions that have been imposed on the Serbian people? An answer may be given by pointing to the attempts of the Serbian people's enemies to destroy, or negate at least, its most evident cultural and civilizational achievements, even in sport and the arts, with the goal to deny this people its right to existence. Drastic is the case of Nikolai Hartmann, a philosopher in the leading, German nation, when at the Eight International Congress of Philosophy in Prague in 1934, he denied "small nations" any and every ability to create in philosophy, telling them to learn from great European nations and "write textbooks" so as to prepare their nations to become cultural colonies of the "great" ones. The delegation of Yugoslav philosophers, led by renowned naturalist and philosopher Branislav Petronjević, rose in protest. The ideological battle of our times goes so far as to deny the disposition to philosophical thinking even of some large nations. Thus, it is necessary to inform objectively both the domestic and world public about the Serbian nation's achievements in the realm of philosophy.

Many European students from the so-called Third World nations have proved, in their struggle for a place under the sun, among them E. Mujynya (1964-1972), that even the unwritten popular philosophy of "black" African nations (such as his own Bantu people) have reached amazing philosophical heights. Humanistic science of the 20th century has undoubtedly determined that the identity of every nation includes – aside from language, religion and art – a necessary level of developed philosophical thought, and such is the case with the Serbian people. Even though its largest part, standing as Europe's defender, slaved under the Turks for half a millennium and therefore was debarred from cultural communication with Europe, and deprived of a possibility to create an urban, "learned" culture (save for its scattered oases that contributed significantly

to the arts) – the Serbian people, as the Ottoman “*raya*”, created an oral national philosophy and upheld its nation-building self-consciousness and thought. And in some enclaves beyond Turkish reach, some of its sons were not only European students but also recognized figures (let us mention just the distinguished 18th-century naturalist and philosopher Ruder Bošković, whose name is recorded in the Yugoslav, Italian and French cultures).

2. The subject of this exposition is not a contribution of Serbian philosophical and social thought in general to European thought and its place in it, but rather of only one of its segments – the philosophy of mathematics and natural sciences. We cannot elaborate here the subject matter of this specific area which is usually referred to as the philosophy of sciences: some say it is identical to epistemology, an ethically and philosophically neutral analysis, the task of which is to explain and understand the science itself, whereas according to others, it reaches beyond these borders into the realm of anthropology and humanism. We will show that Serbian authors in this discipline represent different stands, distinguishing the philosophy of mathematics and natural sciences as an interdisciplinary, systemic field that contains corresponding, special “*metasciences*” and epistemologies: it combines a general philosophical view of the world and society with epistemology on the one side, and the theory and methods of the highest generality with the gnoseology of mathematics and natural sciences on the other, making it an organon of special sciences as well, that with the highest reasonings can attain not only to-anthropology and ethics but also to pure metaphysics.

It is understood that the highest achievements in this field presume an advanced and superior natural science and mathematics such as has been developing in Europe as an integral part of the scientific, technical and technological revolution which turned the bourgeoisie into the creator of an economic wonder of the modern age. Mathematical and natural sciences at a European level, and in this context its “*philosophical aspect*”, started to develop in our parts only in its golden period at the end of the last and in the first half of this century. The spiritual precondition for its development existed even before in the Serbian people’s disposition toward subtle synthesis and meditation – but, the aforementioned circumstances enabled only imaginative and poetic creations akin to this field. And so, after Serbian medieval medicine, based on Byzantine sources and without alchemy or quackery but with local experiences, certain rationalistic and teleological fragments surfaced in the Middle Ages, and rationalized teleology (Dositej Obradović and the followers of the Enlightenment) in the 18th century, with Njegoš in the 19th century elaborating an original cosmogonic and cosmological theodicy and Uroš Milanković a pan-physical organicism acknowledged by German culture. Due to the necessity of joining the trends of scientific and techno-technological revolution, in liberated Serbia in the third quarter of the 19th century the scales tipped toward various forms of positivism and evolutionism, as well as toward initial steps of a particular “*realistic*” philosophy of sciences – natural, psychological and social. Unfortunately, the framework of this exposition does not permit a more lengthy discussion of the epistemological concepts of Josif Pančić, Svetozar Marković and his movement, Vladimir Jovanović, Mita Rakić, Milan Kujundžić, Mihailo Vujić, Laza Kostić, Miloš Milovanović, or the synthesist Mihailo Ristić from Vojvodina – in order to focus on the achievements of the philosophy of mathematics and natural sciences with the Serbs that can withstand European scientific criteria.

I. THE PERIOD UNTIL 1945

1. *Non-biological natural sciences and mathematics*

3. At the end of the 19th and in the first decades of the 20th century the philosophy of mathematics, natural and technical sciences in Serbia experienced an advancement relying upon certain traditions of the natural philosophy of the 70's and the translations of a series of works by Ch. Darwin, E. Häckel, J. Lamarck, W. Ostwald, N.I. Lobachevsky, H. Poincaré and other prominent naturalists and mathematicians. The first result in the *philosophy of mathematics* were contributed by Dimitrije Nešić (modelling, the infinitesimal method, gnoseology and methodology) and Emilijan Josimović. *The epistemology of mechanics and the philosophy of nature* were initiated by Mihajlo Ćirić (*Racionalna mehanika / Rational Mechanics*, Belgrade 1897) and Đorđe M. Stanojević (the beginnings of mathematical phenomenology).

Proceeding from somewhat modernized classical physics and positivism (W. Ostwald, P. Duhem, G. Le Bon, and others) Kosta Stojanović developed absolute mechanism and mathematicism: he explains all phenomena (from metageometry, through atomistics and energetics, to the thermodynamics of economic and social phenomena) using the laws of mechanics (and mathematics). He believes that the principles of energy conservation and of entropy are valid for all world phenomena, that the universal balance is of "a dynamic nature, there is no tranquility, everything is in movement". Thus Stojanović spoke for relativism, subjectivism, agnosticism, conventionalism and even reached the fictionalism of H. Vaihinger. He arrived at the idea of mathematical phenomenology almost at the same time as Mihailo Petrović, anticipating the analogy of disparate phenomena. Stojanović, however stopped at the mathematical modelling of economic phenomena in analogy with thermal ones, while Petrović's phenomenology is comprehensive.

4. A student of the leading mathematicians of the French school (H. Poincaré, J.G. Darboux, etc.), Mihailo Petrović-Alas seems to have gone a step back when, in the era of relativistic and quantum physics, he builds his general mathematical phenomenology on the foundations of classical mathematics and Laplacean determinism, only to realize, with time, the irreducibility of higher (more complex) phenomena to lower. Similarly to N. Tesla, but less radically, Petrović denied the deeper meaning and importance of Einstein's theory of relativity because, like I. Newton, he remained convinced in the absoluteness of space and time until the period between the World Wars, when he introduced relativity into his theory of phenomenological reflection. To compensate for this and other real and ostensible anachronisms, Petrović and his general mathematical phenomenology greatly transcended the level of the general mathematical theory of his age that was applied to the problems of nature.

After long preparations, Petrović presented his phenomenology in a series of works, starting from the inaugural lecture at the Belgrade Velika Škola (1894), such as: *O matematičkoj teoriji aktivnosti uzroka* (On the Mathematical Theory of the Activity of Causes), Belgrade 1900; *Les analogies mathématiques et la Philosophie naturelle*, Paris 1901; *La mécanique des phénomènes fondée sur les analogies*, Paris 1905; and the voluminous work *Elementi matematičke fenomenologije* (Elements of Mathematical Phenomenology), published in 1911 in Belgrade, to mark the bicentenary of Ruder Bošković's birth. Petrović is inspired the most by physicist W. Thomson, but in "disparate" physical, economic, historical and literary phenomena, his independent analysis reveals analogies that bind world phenomena into an undivided whole. He found that the

nuclei of “mathematical analogies between phenomena” can be expressed in differential equations and in other ways, and gave phenomenon classification systems based upon these analogies. He pointed out the importance his discovery of analogies had for determining the unity of sciences and the philosophy of nature. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, Petrović used the so-called “phasic space” of a phenomenon and interpreted a set of its possible stadia as a n -dimensional mathematical space, thus anticipating present-day mathematical steps in examination and explanation of natural and social phenomena.

Petrović was, as we have seen, also a mathematician, ultra-mechanist and positivist, because he was reducing all phenomena to their mathematical and mechanical models. What is characteristic of him, however, is a special kind of dialectics that comprehends “disparate phenomena” as different degrees in the development of natural and social phenomena. Petrović received his first acknowledgements from empirio-criticists (A. Bogdanov, 1922), phenomenologists and mechanists (E. Boutroux, G.N. Niewenglowski, and M. D’Ocagne); after Kosta Stojanović and Đorđe Stanojević, Serbian recognition came only after 1918 and 1945, when scientific and technical practice confirmed the exactness and importance of Petrović’s discoveries and technical inventions.

5.1 The philosophical aspect of Tesla’s and Pupin’s discoveries and inventions deserves more attention that can be given here. The inventive genius of Nikola Tesla wavered between spontaneous materialism, with elements of dialectics in his youth, and specific mysticism in later years. He did not accept, in the spirit of classical physics, the theory of relativity or microphysics. To him nature was polarized and hierarchically structured matter – from elementary particles to celestial objects. He treated man as “an automaton endowed with the ability to move”, but he knew that even the most complex robot machine could not replace the man-creator.

5.2 In his philosophical work *The New Reformation. From Physical to Spiritual Realities* (New York 1927) and in other works as well, Mihajlo Pupin elaborates not only epistemology but also cosmology, anthropology and ethics. Pupin advocates an objective idealistic and metaphysical evolutionistic synthetism which, in an eclectic manner, associates some fragments of philosophical mechanism with religious teleology – with the universal creator (“the architect of Universe”) of a freemasonic provenance as its center. It is also cosmopolitan in its unclericalism. In cosmology and ontology, Pupin optimistically believes that “the basic law of progress” (evolution) “leads to a more beautiful and more perfect order of things”, so that it has an aesthetic dimension directing “the unchanging and immortal components of the invisible world, the microcosmos” and the laws of cosmos (behind which stands God) towards the evolution “from physical to spiritual realities”; this is also the evolution from chaos to cosmos, and from physical structure to “creative coordination” of the organic world, man and “social cosmos” whose social coordinators are “the church and the state” the pinnacle being American democracy. Pupin’s unclerical creationistic dualism determines the “existence of the Creator-God” and, like G.W. Leibnitz and H. Spencer, fights for the reconciliation of science with religion.

Like Einstein, Pupin observes that man’s thought vascillates between cosmological and anthropological and humanistic problems, and that “every physicist who has a creative spirit is a concealed metaphysician and poet” who (M. Heidegger and other existentialists insisted on this) comes to the fore in life’s critical situations.

As a gnoseologist, i.e. epistemologist, Pupin is convinced, like J.C. Maxwell and P. Langevin, of the existence of an “Eternal truth”, but at the same time believes Maxwell’s “idealism in science” based on those truths – i.e. an awareness of the importance

of fundamental sciences that he imparted to North American universities, like H. Helmholtz and E.W. Siemens – should be associated with the practical humanistic function of science, with its application in industry and economy, and vice-versa, so that theory and practice may nurture one another and develop (here Pupin is similar to J. Pančić, N. Tesla, M. Milanković, J. Cvijić and J. Žujović). As a methodologist, Pupin is a positivist who understands scientific method as a “scientific description” associating the empirical deductive and imaginative intuitive aspect with the rational explicative one. Like R. Bošković and H. Poincaré, Pupin considers that “the simpler” a scientific theory “the more attractive” it is and the more truthful. Nonetheless, he was a moderate agnostic who believed the real essence of things was unattainable to man.

6. One of the most prominent Yugoslav naturalists Milutin Milanković is important also as a philosopher of sciences. In his books and essays (*Uspomene, doživljaji i saznanja / Memories, Ventures and Knowledge I-III*, Belgrade 1952-1979, etc.) – he is a materialist mechanist in comprehending nature and man, with a touch of Darwinist and Engels’s conceptions of anthropogenesis through work and of man as a complex chemical factory. The basic principles of this mechanism are materialistic monism and absolute determinism with elements of dialectics (universal correlation, the struggle of polarities, the transition of quantity into quality). Similar dialectics is to be found in N. Tesla, J. Cvijić and J. Žujović with the difference that Milanković is an implicit atheist, or more precisely – a pantheist like B. Spinoza. Also characteristic is that Milanković remained with Newtonian cosmology at a time when even Einsteinian relativistic cosmology met with paradoxes: according to Milanković, the universe is homogeneous and infinite in space and time and “the same natural laws rule” in it as those that are valid in the Solar System. Thus Milanković avoided creationistic traps of present-day cosmogony (J. Lemaître and others). At a time when gravitational, photometric and thermodynamic cosmological paradoxes showed the impossibility of a complete extrapolation on the entire universe of mechanical and physical laws established in the finite part of the astronomic universe, when Einstein’s relativistic physics eliminated these paradoxes only to fall itself into new cosmological paradoxes, Milanković remained an absolute mechanistic determinist of the Newton-Laplacean type who interpreted relativistic physics using the laws of classical mechanics, even though he was the author of the highest rank who, as far back as 1928, forecast the beginning of mankind’s cosmic era. It is a paradox that many coryphaei of modern physics (and rigorous determinists like M. Planck and A. Einstein, and probabilists like N. Bohr and W. Heisenberg) shared a similar belief as Milanković in the priority of natural determinism to the man-subject, his knowledge and activity regardless of the extent to which this subjectivity had to be “calculated into” research methodology and results. Even in the domains of the living world, human society and man, Milanković finds absolute but increasingly complex multi-causal determinism that enables forecasting of events based upon knowledge of a sufficient number of determinants for every individual phenomenon.

Milanković is also exceptionally important as an epistemologist – a gnoseologist and methodologist in the sciences he dealt with (celestial mechanics, cosmic physics, geophysics, and climatology; synthesis of results in the work *Kanon der Erdbestrahlung*, Belgrade 1940, etc.), using the principles of general epistemology. His classification of sciences into seven groups (mathematical, exact, applied exact, natural inorganic descriptive, biological, applied biological and, social and spiritual sciences) – made with the help of B. Petronijević and as a continuation of the positivistic classifications of A. Comte and mathematician and geographer S. Günther – is based on the unity of sciences, fundamental and applied, “rational” and “empirical”, and other types. Following

chemist M. Berthelot, but mostly his own experiences and the needs of Serbia, Milanković apprehended the unity of differentiation and integration of sciences, particularly the inter- and multi-disciplinary character of modern sciences. J. Pančić was the first in Serbia to understand it, but Milanković was developing the idea from 1910, thus preceding the perfected classifications dating half a century later (B. M. Kedrov, 1961, and others). According to Milanković, the research procedure is an open cycle, carried out through the following phases: research of a problem; the inception of an idea of how to solve it; correct formulation of a problem; preparation and selection of scientific means for resolving it; process of resolving a scientific problem, solution and interpretation of the solution; writing of a scientific report and its publishing; indicating the scope and application field of the scientific solution; and finally, its verification by monitoring the response of the scientific world and the practice. In that regard, Milanković brilliantly elaborated the problems of models and modelling, of the scientific law and its types, the role of hypothesis and theory, and particularly, the role of scientific ideas and intuition – in which he anticipated modern (including Marxist) concepts of the unity of rational, empirical and irrational moments in the cognitive process. He was on a par with modern methodology in formulating the following principles of scientific (theory and) methods: the unity of practical and theoretical, applied and fundamental in science; the unity of induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, the theoretical and historical genetic, of relative and absolute truth; the principles of criticism and gnoseological optimism, and particularly – the conviction that every real scientific and technical contribution (discovery and invention) will be objectively evaluated and accepted sooner or later.

7. Having passed through the socialist school of Svetozar Marković in his youth, the prominent geologist Jovan Žujović developed his angle of an inconsistent natural-scientific materialism and dialectical determinism (universal correlation and interaction; the unity of constancy and variability; processness and universal progressive evolution; the unity of evolution and revolution; in dialectics of cognition – the unity of the national and international, the historical and theoretical, theory and practice in creating, constituting and applying a science). Like J. Cvijić, M. Milanković and Mih. Petrović, he associates the scientific side of philosophy with evaluative, normative one, and affirms a moderate social humanism with the underlying principle of reciprocity. Žujović independently arrives at a classification of the sciences that can be assessed as being the most significant ever among the Serbs. Independently of F. Engels and others, and similarly to M. Milanković but before him, he classified and related sciences according to the objective principle of their subjects' correspondence, determined the relation between the historical and theoretical, the theoretical and applied in sciences, the relation between sciences and philosophy and their susceptibility to further perfection, with respect to the course of the technical and technological revolution. Until the well-known and recognized classification of B. M. Kedrov (Moscow, 1961), Žujović's classification of sciences represented the most elaborated and highly modern classification, largely because of its interdisciplinary character and relationship between fundamental and applied sciences, as well as because of its comprehensiveness. Žujović independently elaborated the methodology of scientific work similar to those of J. Cvijić, M. Milanković, Mih. Petrović, N. Tesla, and M. Pupin. Besides, after J. Pančić and with J. Cvijić, he demanded and pursued carefully designed, collective and interdisciplinary work on the development of the sciences in Serbia.

As a philosopher of paleontology and biology, similarly to F. Engels but independently, Žujović gives a non-creationistic definition of the origin and essence of life, starting from the exchange of matter in protein. His explanation of anthropogenesis is a

Darwinist one, but to biological conditions he adds the role played by the development of tools and language, and he believes in the future of mankind. Stressing "solidarity" and cooperation among animals, and particularly among people and nations, Žujović attenuates the severity of Darwin's law on the struggle for existence. He also expands the natural-scientific terminology in the Serbian language.

8. Akin to most of the other top-level Serbian naturalists of this period, Jovan Cvijić developed a specific Leibnitz-related dialectical evolutionism that endeavoured to "reconcile" opposites and avoid revolution (in this he is a follower of H. Spencer). An inconsistent materialist, Cvijić adopts evolutionistic Darwinism and his non-creationistic definition of the origin of life and man, but fostered unbigoted and unclerical Einsteinian "cosmic religiousness". His greatest contribution lies in his "methodological turn": as opposed to F. Ratzel and J. Bruhnes who, according to him (1918), "exclude man from human geography to excess", Cvijić closely related the methods of geography and social sciences, and as early as 1896 stressed the social character and function of science. It was in this spirit that he formulated the methodological principles, including some elements of historical materialism close to the Marxist concept (particularly interdisciplinary method, collective research, etc.). He anticipated the understanding of geography as a science of the environment, highly raised the moral image of scientists and their social function, in which he is at one with J. Pančić, J. Žujović, N. Tesla, Mih. Petrović, and other corryphaei of Serbian science having European recognition.

9.1 *The philosophy of mathematics* between the two World Wars made an essential contribution by Mih. Petrović's general mathematical phenomenology, that was advanced by the theory of phenomenological reflection (*Mécanismes communs aux phénomènes disparates*, Paris 1921; *Fenomenološko preslikavanje /Phenomenological Reflection/,* Belgrade 1933). In the universal evolution Petrović reveals a universal structure – "the reflection of facts" and "inverse phenomenological reflection". It is a dialectical law of the evolution of phenomena that does not repeat completely its starting basis, rather it is "reflected" but always modified by an active interaction with the environment. Yet there remains a certain general phenomenological structure which is relatively maintained (e.g., models of a wild horde and of a torrent) and which enables the forecasting of future events by means of "reflection". The process of "inverse phenomenological reflection" is inverse to the reflecting of phenomena and building of their mental reflections: it is the process of reflecting a picture onto an object whereby the exactness of the previous process is verified. Petrović determined phenomenological meaning of literary figures as well (1925, 1927, 1933), though his text *Metafore i alegorije* (Metaphors and Allegories), written in 1939-1942, was published much later (Belgrade 1967). Since he uses indicative judgement to interpret all phenomena to which he assigns the field of value, Petrović clearly specifies a number of dialectical laws (including the law of negation), principles and categories, perceiving the complexity of determinism and causality, of necessity and chance. His phenomenology was accepted, in different ways, by M. Milanković, Bogdan Gavrilović, Sima Ložanić, Jelenko Mihailović, Vladimir Vujić (1923), Sima Marković (1925), Dušan Nedeljković (1922, 1934) and, after 1948, by others as well – from Mirko Stojaković, Miloš Radojčić and Đuro Kurepa to E. Stipanić. Of foreign figures, aside from the ones already mentioned, there are M. Boll and Soviet experts A.A. Malinovsky (1970), V. Kelle (1970) and A.I. Ušmov (1972).

Petrović's phenomenology is one of the most original achievements of the Serbian philosophy of sciences and is of universal importance. While A. Einstein, W. Heisenberg and other corryphaei of 20th-century physics did not manage to formulate

what is known as the “unified field theory” and thereby to carry further the ancient Greek idea pursued as the “mathesis universalis” by the Renaissance naturalists and metaphysicians, R. Descartes, T. Hobbes, G.W. Leibnitz and others, Petrović outlines a unified philosophy of nature in which the dialectics of things stands next to mechanism and which is an anticipation of present-day model mathematics and cybernetics, including its application to computers.

9.2 One must mention the contributions of Brana Petronijević (mathematical induction and proof), Bogdan Gavrilović (*Kultura i harmonija* /Culture and Harmony/, Belgrade 1924), Milan Tasić, Radiša Mitrović, Miloš Radojčić etc.

10. One must not leave out the contributions of Sima M. Lozanić (paraffin isomers; Mendeleev’s law), Marko Leko and others, to *the philosophy of chemistry, physics* and other non-biological natural sciences.

2. The Philosophy of Biology

11. As a continuation of the natural scientific trend of Svetozar Marković’s socialist movement that taught Darwinism as a “new science”, then of J. Pančić and J. Žujović, the 20th century was marked by Social Democrats Darwinists Nedeljko Košanin (who relied on J. Lamarck as well) and Nedeljko Divac (who associated Darwinism in ontogeny with Weissmannism in phylogeny). Slavko Šećerov critically opted for the neovitalism of H. Driesch and J. Reinke. Renowned biologist Jovan Hadži decided on J. Lamarck and B. Haček’s “theory of life and with it the theory of heredity”, but also acknowledged Darwin’s contribution to the organic evolution theory.

12. Between the wars, Branislav Petronijević won European renown as a paleontologist and biologist with his discoveries that are also of significance to the philosophy of biology (archaeopteryx; phylogeny and the theory of organic evolution; anatomy of the brain). He formulated the “law of non-correlative development” (1921) which he believed should be a substitute for G. Cuvier’s “law of correlation”, but he was not successful. Petronijević is an inconsistent Darwinist, because he acknowledges both internal factors and even predestined biological evolution. As regards the genesis of life he is a Häckelian and (together with Dragiša Đurić), an advocat of the theory of the “generatio spontanea”-origin of the living from the non-living and of the futher differentiation as a result of various laws of organic evolution. In the text *L’Evolution universelle* (Paris 1921), he expounds his metaphysical, finitistic, universal evolutionism.

13. The renowned physiologist Ivan Đaja, similarly to C. Bernard and other philosophers of biology sharing the same conceptions, defends a dualistic association of the mechanism with finalism (absolute causal determinism and purposefulness) when interpreting life phenomena: “purposefulness is in the foundations of the life mechanism” and “the teleological power that operated the subsequent evolution of the living world must have directed the origin of living matter as well”. As a fideist who endeavours to reconcile science and faith, Đaja supports the “conception of a purposeful organization of living beings and its psychomechanical origin”. In a series of books he states his belief that the philosophical stand of scientists does not influence the direction their discoveries will take nor their results, which is impossible to prove (*Tragom života i nauke* /On the Trail of Life and Science/, Belgrade 1931; *Od života do civilizacije* /From Life to Civilization/, Belgrade 1933).

14. Siniša Stanković, one of the founders of the ecological movement in biology, contributed to the elaboration of the problems of the biosphere, the levels of biological organization, social ecology and geographical determinism. He determined (1922) a

place in modern biology of S.A. Arrhenius's metaphysical and idealistic "hypothesis of panspermia", developed the dialectical and materialistic philosophy of biology and expanded it to the social plane, opposing the racist theories of life space with his idea that the struggle is fought not for life space but with it – by changing it according to growing human needs.

Borivoje D. Milojević takes a critical attitude to Darwinism, adopting some of his results and correcting them by means of H. Driesch's neovitalism (*Razviće živih bića /The Development of Living Beings/,* Belgrade 1933; *Putevi i ciljevi biologije /The Paths and Goals of Biology/,* Belgrade 1933; *Ch. Darwin,* Belgrade 1937). Another marked Darwinist, apart from Milutin Radovanović, was Sima Grozdanić who, in his work *Iz filozofije prirode* (From the History of Nature, Belgrade 1938), founded his "monistic functionalism" by relying on M. Verworn's conditionalism and on the dialectical idea of causality. In a series of works he deals with zoopsychology and zoecology, and endeavours to complete his "monistic and functionalistic view of the world" by superceding both conditionalism and mechanism. In his further development Jovan Hadži rejected E. Häckel's basic biogenetic law and proposed a solution to the problem of evolution by means of morphological and ecological research. Others who also dealt with the philosophical problems of biology were S. Šećerov, Lj. Glišić, St. Jakovljević, B. Maleš, L. Kondić and others, and among Marxists S. Stanković, S. Grozdanić, V. Ribar and Lj. Živković.

3. The Contribution of the Philosophers

15. Dragiša Đurić, as a Social Democrat, associated Marxism with "the materialism in natural sciences", further building his postulates into "genetic functionalism" between the two World Wars. The positivistic and evolutionistic philosophy of the natural sciences is also largely instilled in the panhistoricism of Boža Knežević. His objective-idealistic spiritualism, with distinct dialectical elements, Petronijević endeavours to found upon the science and the philosophy of sciences. In 1898, he started with the idea of discrete space and a corresponding variant of non-Euclidean geometry; he worked on the laws of mathematical operations, and on geometric bodies of exceptional regularity concerning the space structure. From 1927, he believes that in the metaphysical reality, space is discrete, absolute and Euclidean, while in the physical reality, space can be comprehended as continuous, relative and non-Euclidean. He did not accept Mih. Petrović's phenomenology or symbolic logic, even though, as a mathematician, he could have penetrated into their essence. In his *Principien der Metaphysik* (Bd. I-II, Heidelberg 1904 and 1912), he developed an original cosmogonic-cosmological vision of the world that anticipated the finitistic model of the cosmos given by G. Lemaître (1931) and three astrophysicists – R. Alpher, H.A. Bethe and G. Gamow, who have been developing it since 1948 – with his concept of the "world embryo" (Weltembryo) which, in turn, anticipated the concept of "the primeval atom" (l'atome primitif) out of which in the "big bang" the universe had originated. The creationism implied in the concept of G. Lemaître and his followers was alien to Petronijević. Along with V. Varićak, M. Milanković, Đ. Nedeljković and Sima Marković, Petronijević adopted Einstein's theory of relativity in his own manner. Petronijević's opponent Svetomir Ristić advocated continuity as "a sign of absolute reality, and thus of our life" and believed that space as defined both by Euclid and G.F.B. Riemann and Lobachevsky is possible.

The anti-Stalinist trend in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia between the wars was relying upon exact sciences too: Secretary Generals Filip Filipović, Sima Marković and

other prominent figures were all renowned scientists. Proceeding from the accomplishments of natural sciences, Sima Marković (*Teorija relativiteta* /Theory of Relativity/, Belgrade 1924; *Iz nauke i filozofije* /From Science and Philosophy/, Belgrade 1924; *Princip kauzaliteta i moderna fizika* /The Principle of Causality and Modern Physics/, Belgrade 1935) developed dialectical materialist gnoseology and methodology quarter of a century before the Soviet Marxists (thwarted by Stalinism), incorporating Einstein's theory of relativity and the discoveries of microphysics (M. Planck, N. Bohr, W. Heisenberg). Starting from his dissertation on R. Bošković (1922), Dušan Nedeljković, the only Marxist philosopher teaching at Yugoslav universities between the wars, elaborated philosophy of the natural and other sciences in a genetic-theoretic way. Ognjen Prica also critically viewed neopositivism and other current bourgeois philosophical trends in relation to Marxism, based on the result of the exact sciences. Many other Serbian Marxists also worked in that vein.

II. AFTER WORLD WAR II

16. A greater degree of organization has been characteristic of research in the field of natural sciences and mathematics in Serbia after 1945. The Serbian Philosophic Society has been active in Belgrade from 1951, the Society of Philosophy and the History of Mathematics, Natural and Technical Sciences from 1973, the Serbian Hegelian Society from 1983 and the Yugoslav Hegelian Society from 1990. This secondly mentioned Society has been devoted completely, and the others partly, to the subject-matter of this exposition. Of considerable importance to the development of the history and philosophy of mathematics, mechanics and kindred disciplines is the Seminar of the History of Mathematics and Mechanics which (led by T. P. Anđelić and D. Trifunović) has been active from 1981, having held over 200 meetings (reports/discussions). For 24 years (1966-1989, currently suspended), the University of Belgrade issued the journal *Dijalektika* devoted to "the methodologico-philosophical problems of mathematical, natural and technical sciences". It rallied several hundred contributors from Yugoslavia, and many from abroad, including such names as: L. de Broglie, J.-P. Vigiér, J. D'Hondt, J. Piaget, P. Labérenne, A. Kosing, H. Korsch, E. Ströker, W. R. Beyer, B. M. Kedrov, I. S. Narsky, P. M. Ogibalov, V. Gluškov, A. T. Grigorian, V. S. Gott, M. N. Rutkevič, A. I. Uěmov, M. Parnjuk, W. Tatarikiewicz, T. M. Jarošewski, L. Nowak, H. Pisarek, Sch. Shibata, E. de Gortari, M. Cornforth, A. Polikarov and many others. Over a period of several years, the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of the Kragujevac University organizes, from time to time, symposia in this field publishing the results, while many journals publish relevant articles or thematic issues.

Unfortunately, within the framework of this exposition one cannot mention all the leading names and their results in these fields. Among Marxists, the one who published a large number of books and a series of essays using the genetic method was Dušan Nedeljković (*Dijalektika na delu u razvoju nauka, naučnog stvaralaštva i ličnosti naučnika* /Dialectics At Work in the Development of Science, Scientific Creativity and Personalities of Scientists/, Belgrade 1976). Then, there is Bogdan V. Šešić, a prominent author in the field of epistemology, temporal metalogic and other types of symbolic and dialectic logic, gnoseology and methodology (*Universale logische Axiomatik* /written in 1939/, Belgrade 1991; *Logic of Change*, Bologna 1972; *Logika* /Logic/, I-II, 1958-59; *Opšta metodologija* /General Methodology/, Belgrade 1988) and an incontestable champion in the philosophy of physics in Serbia today. In his books *Savremene teorije o fizičkoj realnosti* (Contemporary Theories on Physical Reality, Belgrade 1972) and

Filozofske osnove fizike (The Philosophical Foundations of Physics, Belgrade 1973), and in many treatises, he gave a significant explanations of the complex problems of determinism and regularity in microphysics, of the essence of and relationship between necessity and freedom. A leading Marxist physicist is Dragiša M. Ivanović (*Mehanizam i energetizam* /Mechanism and Energeticism/, Belgrade 1961; *O teoriji relativnosti* /On the Theory of Relativity/, Belgrade 1962; *O nekim idejnim pitanjima u nastavi fizike* /On Some Ideological Questions in Teaching Physics/, Belgrade 1974; *Mihajlo Pupin*, Ljubljana 1982; *Istorijsko-filozofska pitanja fizike* /Historical-Philosophical Questions About Physics/, Belgrade 1985) followed by Milan Raspopović (*L. Boltzmann u fizici i filozofiji* /L. Boltzmann in Physics and Philosophy/, Belgrade 1978; *Determinizam u fizici i filozofiji* /Determinism in Physics and Philosophy/, Belgrade 1987), both of whom gave their own interpretations of philosophical questions concerning modern physics. But, Pavle Savić's cosmogonic-cosmological hypothesis (mathematically elaborated by R. Kašanin) is important because of its originality. In contrast to hitherto theories of this kind, that do not answer the question of the rotational origin of heavenly bodies, Savić, an explicit dialectic materialist, sets off from the verified laws of physics and defines the rotation phenomenon as the result "of the appearance of couplings in the system of particles under pressure" which leads to the system's "rotation field" and the rotation of heavenly bodies in latter stages of their evolution. – Contributions to philosophy, and even more to the history of mathematics, were made by Milorad Bertolino (*Matematika i dijalektika* /Mathematics and Dialectics/, Belgrade 1974; *Matematika, prirodne nauke i marksističko obrazovanje* /Mathematics, Natural Sciences and Marxist Education/, Belgrade 1980), Dušan Slavić, Veljko Vujičić, Milan Popadić, E. Stipanić, etc. Of the philosophers following the anthropological Marxism Mihailo Marković, beside A. Schaff, gave one of the first Marxist theories of meaning and contributions to the philosophy and methodology of sciences (*Dialectical Theory of Meaning* /1961/, new ed., Dodrecht 1984; *Filozofski osnovi nauke* /Summary: Philosophical Foundations of Science/, Belgrade 1981). Mihajlo Nikolić gave independent contributions to the theory of progress, causality, theory of information and the cybernetics. Epistemological genetic-theoretical treatises have been published also by A. Stojković, G. Zaječaranović, Radomir Đorđević and Bratislav Petrović.

No less important are the contributions of the non-Marxists. Physicist Zvonko Marić (*Ogled o fizičkoj realnosti* /An Essay on Physical Reality/, Belgrade 1986; and several treatises) endeavours to take a stand on the controversies in modern physics in general, and on the question of the physical reality of microobjects in particular. Both the analyst and synthetist, he tried to bridge these controversies and to determine the meaning of basic terms in physics (especially those withgnoseological connotations such as principle, axiom, hypothesis, theory and law). One of Yugoslavia's greatest mathematicians Đuro Kurepa is also a thinker in the wide field of epistemology of mathematics who even reaches the realm of theoretical philosophy. Here, one must mention names such as Tatomir P. Andelić, Dragan Trifunović, Marko Leko, Ilija Lukačević, Ivan Gutman; mathematical logicians Slaviša and Marica Prešić, Al. Kron, and Svetlana Knjazev-Adamović. Speaking of the philosophers of biology, contributions among the Marxist biologists were made by: Siniša Stanković, Milorad Janković, Zvonimir Damjanović (*Osnovi biokibernetike* /The Foundations of Biocybernetics/, Belgrade 1979), Bratislav Petrović (*Darwin and Marx*, Belgrade 1991), Veljko Ribar, Jakov Danon, Pavle Radoman, Dragoslav Marinković, Nikola Tucić and Marko Davidović, and of non-Marxists: physiologist Ivan Daja (*Pogled u život* /A Look into Life/, Belgrade 1955). Contributions to the philosophy of sciences among non-Marxist philosophers were made by

Svetomir Ristić, Branko U. Pavlović (*Filozofija prirode /The Philosophy of Nature/,* Zagreb 1978; *Rasprava o filozofskim osnovama nauka /Treatise on the Philosophical Foundations of the Sciences/,* Belgrade 1973), and in particular by Svetomir Nikolajević (*Misao kao odraz vremena /Thought as the Reflection of Time/,* Belgrade 1971; *Istraživanje pradoživljaja /The Study of Elementary Experience/,* vol. I: *Moderna nauka i svet struktura /Modern Science and the World of Structures/,* Belgrade 1985 and vol. II: *Svest i svet: filozofski zapisi 1977-1987 /Consciousness and the World: Philosophical Notes 1970-1987/,* Belgrade 1989), who endeavours to establish his own radical discretionism in an original way, by subtle gnoseological analysis of scientific facts. Miodrag Cekić wrote genetic-theoretical, epistemological essays (*Infinitesimalni račun i monadologija /Infinitesimal Calculus and Monadology/,* Niš 1980; *Saznanje i rad /Knowledge and Work/,* Belgrade 1976).

17. It should also be mentioned that basic contributions to *the history of natural sciences and mathematics* (in the world, in Serbia and in Yugoslavia) were made by Dragan Trifunović, E. Stipanić, M. Bertolino, and in particular by medical historians Relja Katić, Vera Gavrilović, Dragoljub Divljanović, Dragan Stupar, Radovan Samarđžić, Vladimir Grujić, Slobodan Đorđević.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

18. Since liberated Serbia reestablished cultural communication with Europe in the 19th century most of the researchers in the field of natural sciences and mathematics in Serbia have been following the results of the philosophy of their respective sciences, while truly creative thinkers have been producing their own contributions.

19.1 The reception of European results and the independent development of the philosophy of natural sciences and mathematics in Serbia up to 1945 were characterized largely by spontaneous materialism dominated by mechanism and mathematicism, and with some elements of spontaneous dialectics; some authors (particularly I. Đaja and M. Pupin) endeavoured to reconcile science with religion. Globally, the greatest contributions made were to the philosophy of nature and (thanks to the tradition starting from Lj. Nedić, through B. Petronijević to B. Šešić, Mih. Marković and others) to methodology and gnoseology, i.e. to the epistemology of these sciences.

19.2 Mih. Petrović's general mathematical phenomenology has been recognized and assessed as the anticipation of model mathematics and cybernetics, and of their application in computers and control systems. The contributions of the following scholars also deserve to be included in the European philosophy of sciences: B. Petronijević (finitistic cosmogony; universal evolutionism), M. Milanković (consistent Newtonian cosmology; classification of sciences; epistemology and developed scientific methodology), M. Pupin (evolutionistic spiritualistic cosmogony and cosmology; modern methodological principles), J. Žujović (universal classification of sciences; epistemology; modern methodological principles), and J. Cvijić (methodological relations between natural and social sciences). One must not forget the contributions of the epistemologies of Marxists Sima Marković and D. Nedeljković.

20. In the period after 1945, noteworthy are non-Marxist epistemologist Sv. Nikolajević, and particularly Marxist epistemologists B. Šešić, Mih. Marković, D. Nedeljković; naturalists and mathematicians D.M. Ivanović, M. Raspopović, Z. Marić, M. Bertolino and E. Stipanić, as well as the historians of this field (Đ. Nedeljković, D. Trifunović, E. Stipanić, D. Ivanović, M. Bertolino and a group of medical historians).

21. With the stronger breakthrough of the scientific, technical and technological re-

volution into Serbia, one may expect many prominent and world renowned scientists and philosophers of sciences to return to Serbia, as well as a new step forward in the development of domestic sciences and philosophy of natural sciences and mathematics.

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BALKAN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN LAYERS IN SERBIAN FOLK CULTURE

We side with those scientists who under the term *folk culture* understand all corresponding manifestations of the material, social and spiritual life of a people. They largely contain common, spontaneous and traditional traits. These characteristics distinguish folk culture from individual culture, which is stamped by personal creativity and innovations. There is a mutual relationship between the two cultures, and wherever individual culture failed to develop, the existing one could not be designated as folk.

At certain stages of cultural development in general, parallel existence of cultures can be traced – folk culture and elite culture. Their characteristic is interweaving and the gradual absorption of one culture into the other, which usually leads to cultural innovations and new types of culture.

One should bear in mind that culture contains particular vital strength and a refined capacity to expand over new regions and to grow, like a forest, both in breadth, and in height. The adoption, rejection or transformation of a cultural asset depends largely on man's character and his metapsychic state. Other conditions which contribute to the exchange of cultural assets, new ideas and innovations are quite important as well, above all the communication among men of certain domains. "Culture has no legs", remarked Frobenius wittily, but compels man to transmit it. Therefore man, i.e. a people, is the transmitter or "bearer of culture". Especially, if one side has a more advanced culture than another, its influence on the lives of people on a lower stage of cultural development can be immense.¹

On the other hand, it would be sheer nonsense to make sharp distinctions between the rural and urban cultures in Serbia of the preceding centuries, as, notwithstanding, the peasant class, though a strong social factor in the past, never lived just by itself and without contact with other social entities both in Serbia and the rest of the Balkans.

¹ K. Birket-Smith, *Putovi kulture*, Zagreb 1960, 59.

“During the entire Ottoman reign, there has never been a gulf so deep between city and village as to incapacitate an exchange of influences,” said R. Samardžić.² The cultural layers that took part in the creation of the Serbian ethnic image and its cultural values present an extremely complex issue, on which we will focus our attention within the limits of the given space. Ethnogenic research has shown so far that the oldest autochthonous cultural layer, even after extensive re-layerings and coverings, remains important though it has adopted not only the name of a newcomer, but also many of his external traits – linguistic, social and other. We are referring to the inhabitants of the Old Balkans, about whom we receive information from archaeological and written sources. They contain layers of paleo-Balkan cultures. Difficulties arise because it is not always clear what all the elements are and to which period they belong.

How deep the Slavs waded into the forms and patterns of life of the indigenous Balkan population is demonstrated by ethnic recrudescences of the ancient Balkans present in the life of our people today. Of course, the Slavic *sebri* (free peasantry) with their large cooperatives, decisively influenced the historical process.³

We have studied many Balkanological questions personally. Let us mention, for the sake of example, that we have devoted much attention to the study of the pastoral cultural layer, with all its signifiers and traditions, and have demonstrated that the Old Balkan pastoral tribes strongly influenced the peoples they came in contact with, particularly the Southern Slavs, whose cultural inventory contains layers taken over from the life and customs of the Old Balkan cattle-breeders. Also, the Old Balkan coaching business was taken over by medieval Serbian coachmen in the same regions and along the same roads. Architecture of the house belongs also to these substrata. The well-known one-piece Old Balkan houses were built even later, in the Roman period. Archaeology drew attention to the similarities between these one-piece houses and subsequent Slavic houses, whether log-cabins or stone-built ones.⁴ The small, red Dinaric cap without a brim, known from the necropoles of the Old Balkan Iapodes is still worn today.⁵

Let us mention a characteristic example from the domain of customs. The ritual breaking of vessels on the graves (a phenomenon present in the Balkans from the Early Bronze Age) certainly is a non-Slavic cult custom that has been preserved for centuries, in some regions until today. Some authors believe it may be linked to the direct influence of the indigenous population, the one who was not completely Romanized.⁶

Very strong Balkanisms are present in folk arts. In the sphere of folk music of the cattle-breeding regions – in their polyphonous singing, highlanders’ *oy*-singing, roaring, shakings, shiverings, Zlatibor Mountain notes and whatever the names of these specific forms of singing – according to the most recent ethnomusicological research, some relics of Old Balkan musical practice are probably preserved.⁷

Epic singing accompanied by the *gusle* (one-stringed Balkan folk fiddle) appears to be not a Slavic, but an Old Balkan melopoetic form, inseparably related to polyphonic forms and to a specific chromatism of tonal basis of folk music found mainly with the

² R. Samardžić, *O gradskoj civilizaciji na Balkanu XV do XIX veka*, pos. izd. Balkanološkog instituta SANU, 20, Beograd 1984.

³ M. Budimir, *Sa balkanskih istočnika*, Beograd 1969, 40.

⁴ M. Ljubinković, *Ka problemu kontinuiteta Iliri-Sloveni*, pos. izd. Centra za balkanološka istraživanja BiH, 4, Sarajevo 1969, 211.

⁵ M. Gušić, *Tumač izložene gradje*, Zagreb 1955, 169.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁷ C. Rihtman, *O ilirskom poretku polifonih oblika narodne muzike Bosne i Hercegovine*, Rad Kongresa folklorista Jugoslavije na Bjelašnici i u Puli 1952, Zagreb 1958, 99-104.

cattle-breeders. These forms have not been observed with Central European peoples, as far as we know.⁸

We believe the *silent wheel dance*, which follows a heavy rhythm without singing, and in which the tapping of soft *opanci* (popular leather foot covering) and the jingling of metal jewelry alone accompany dance movements, to be a survival from the days of social communities when dances were not accompanied by music; instead, rhythm coordinated movements. From sources concerning Old Slavs, Niederle deduced that they danced with song and music, but failed to mention if rhythm was beaten by the stamping of feet and the jingling of jewelry.⁹ The further we depart from the oldest cultural layers and approach Byzantium, so the pictures grow more vivid. The Byzantines influenced the peoples they contacted with their culture and way of life. Hellenistic spirit and culture was introduced into the Serbian medieval period by Byzantium, first among the higher layers of feudal aristocracy, and then, gradually and partially, exhausted cultural elements were taken over, in various aspects, by common people. Young Byzantine princesses brought to Serbian courts their teachers, singers, even their cooks, not to mention their influence in contemporary high fashion and luxury. In literature and art, especially in architecture and painting and music, Byzantium was an unselfish promaster of medieval Serbia.

The ordinary medieval man had no direct access to funds of written cultural values. The medieval monuments on which we rely in studying this period of history were created chiefly by the intellectual elite and the aristocracy who had monopoly over literacy and education. The opinions of contemporary learned men mostly express their own notion of the world, which was to a large extent preconditioned by their education and social role in shaping actual life peculiar to people of that epoch, therefore the medieval picture of the world is generally one as seen by the elite.¹⁰

The demarcation line between high Byzantine culture and folk culture was clear. The question that remains open is how did Byzantine culture influence folkloric creation?

"Evidence offered by the folklore of Southern Slavs shows that major influence came from a common source – the study and practice of the Christian faith. The most important literary source was inevitably the Bible, the Old and New Testaments, in the Greek and Slavonic translations. Liturgical texts, hagiographies and some apocryphal scripts were also important".¹¹

Parts of oral poetic tradition (many of our legends, stories and proverbs) contain Biblical motifs into which oral tradition wove poetic structures of pre-Christian contents.

The case with hagiographies of saints is particularly entangled. Boundaries between folkloric and written literature seem to disappear in them. The author, Mija Pavlović, and the Balkanologist, D. Dragojlović, have discovered in some hagiographies unequivocal instances of reciprocal influences of diverse folkloric and written traditions of the canonic Byzantine literature. "Some hagiographies from Serbian medieval literature contain descriptions of very old Indo-European customs (...) for instance, the hagiography of St Simeon, written by his son, St Sava, says: the dying St Simeon asks his son, St Sava, to take him down from his bed and lay him onto 'reed'. This practice is known in Vedic ritual and is mentioned many times in the Rig-Vedas."¹²

⁸ C. Rihtman, *Narodna muzika jajačkog sreza*, Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folkloru, 2, Sarajevo 1953, 37.

⁹ O. Mladenović, *Kolo u Južnih Slovena*, pos. izd. Etnografskog instituta SANU, 14, Beograd 1973, 149.

¹⁰ A. Gurevič, *Problemi narodne kulture u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1987, 5-13.

¹¹ M. Pavlović, *Vizantijska kultura*, Zadužbina, 17. mart 1992, 1-6.

¹² *Ibidem*, 1-6.

Christianity in the Middle Ages was most influential in leading to some unification of local differences in Serbian folk culture. Official polytheism disappeared with the introduction of Christianity, with the idea of faith in one God, the omnipotent creator of the world. However, old creeds, myths, religious rituals and customs continued to live; Christianity had failed to eradicate them. "In Byzantium, these customs were innumerable, regardless of social class – the aristocracy and common folk were both loyal to it. Church fathers and synodes inveighed in vain against such customs; even the most devout Christians adhered to them. Emperors condemned magic, and the law equated it with apostasy, but they also believed in astrology and various prophecies."¹³

December festivities in the honour of the rise of the invincible sun, known as Saturnalia in the ancient Roman Empire, followed by the celebration of Calends in January, have been replaced by celebrations of the Christian saints between Christmas and Epiphany, which contain numerous pagan traits common to Greeks and Serbs. Christmas Eve and Christmas carry many chthonic traits related to the ancestral cult and the beginning of another vegetational cycle. The custom of celebrating the autumnal equinox when peasants sacrificed swines in honor of Cronos and Demeter has been preserved to the present day – as the Christmas roast-meat, the ritual sacrifice of demonic power and might. The Byzantines transmitted the belief in foretelling the future from the shanks of the Christmas wether (roast-meat). Under the figures of holy healers Cosmas and Damian live the archaic Dioscuri. In the figures of the Old Slavonic god Perun and the prophet St Elias, who were superior for centuries, Nilson sees Zeus' successors. Sacrificing a bull to St Elias was a rite common to both the Serbs and Greeks, as in the classical times.¹⁴

Owing to Byzantine sources published in ten volumes by Greek scientist Kukules, we wrote several contributions, to mention *Byzantine Brumalia* – masked dances of the common folk, which contain a common denominator with our masked pageants, which keep the flame of the former Dionysian religion.¹⁵

The horo dance heritage – the Serbian wheel dance, the origins of which lie in the Old Slavonic heritage – reveals, on the basis of the aforementioned sources, interesting Byzantine ethnochoreographic traits in structure, dance movements, forms and music accompaniment. Conscious of their own ethnic essence, Slavic settlers absorbed in time the beauty and richness of the Byzantine art of dancing, and, mixing it with the indigenous dance tradition, created an original dance culture, as the most immediate expression of human sense of the beautiful. Dance belonged to everyone in medieval Serbia, it lived in the souls of humble people and aristocracy alike. According to studies conducted by Trojanović, Byzantine traits are present in our wheel dance *Djurdjevka*.¹⁶

In the domain of material culture, the folk costume and visual arts offer reliable means for raising the perplexing question of ethnogenesis. When we see the folk costume of peasant women from Kosovo and Metohija, or from the Skopska Crna gora, we gain the impression that before us stands our living medieval ladies. The costumes were embroidered with gold and silver, like Byzantine fabrics, and the crimson and blue of the ornaments, perhaps taken over from the attires of Serbian rulers depicted on medieval frescoes, make them look rather aristocratically in their garments.

¹³ L. Breje, *Vizantijska civilizacija*, Beograd 1976, 260.

¹⁴ M. Budimir, *op.cit.*, 185.

¹⁵ D. Antonijević, *Vizantijske brumalije i savremene maskirane povorke balkanskih naroda*, Balcanica X, Beograd 1972, 93-121.

¹⁶ D. Antonijević, *Vizantijsko igračko nasleđe*, Narodno stvaralaštvo-Folklor, 1-4, Beograd 1986, 51-69.

An interesting example is an evident medieval retardation of the 17th-century female costume in Serbia. The travelogue of E. Brown (1669) contains a copperplate engraving which depicts a woman from the vicinity of Batočina (near Jagodina) wearing on her head a "crown" with a veil, a dress with the sleeves, chest and lower part richly embroidered, and with a belt around the waist, hanging from which is a cluster of keys, as was the custom in medieval times.¹⁷

Actual remarkable similarities in the cultures of the Balkan peoples have been explained by researchers Lingman and Aubini as resulting from a major role played by Byzantium in terms of the generous transmission of its traditions. The turning point in the post-Byzantine period of Serbian folk culture was the advent of the Turks. On the one hand, Serbian cities entered the sphere of Levantine civilization, and on the other, its villages retarded to patriarchal society, earlier cultural patterns and spirit, closed and autochthonous. Cities, as centers of trade and handicrafts, were exposed to strong influences from the Near East. Gradual syncretism took place in the material and spiritual cultures, to the unity of which was conducive the foreign administration, legal and military rule. Inhabitants of cities who arrived from many directions – Turks, Greeks, Tzintzars, Armenians, etc. – jealously guarded "their everyday habits in furnishing homes, dressing, food habits, etc."¹⁸

The legacy of the Levant to the Balkan countries has not been fully researched. The co-habitation of Turks and Christians in Balkan cities, where the ordinary folk, merchants, soldiers, secular and official persons necessarily mingled with one another, enabled a peculiar permeation and circulation in everyday life and culture. Natives were accepting the modes of dress, diet, music and dance, customs and habits. Turkish folk experiences and traditions, regardless of the natives' ignorance of the newcomers' language, gradually and imperceptibly penetrated the lives of the Christians.¹⁹

During the 16th century, the Turks brought craftsmen to Serbian cities to work for the needs of the army. Certain handicrafts flourished, trade and communications with the East developed. Christians were increasingly adopting the Turkish costume. Travel-writers journeying through Serbia noted that the folk costumes of the Slavic population remarkably resembled those of the Turks. Let us give some illustrations. If we start from the *dolman*, we will see that the term and form has been preserved in all Balkan countries and languages equally. Some studies show that the *dolman* developed from a Persian cavalry caftan which the Osmanlis adopted as a uniform for the Janissaries, wherefrom it entered the cultural inventory of the Balkan peoples. The original form and purpose of the *dolman* changed with time; the changes were particularly drastic during the uprisings against the Turks. The history of the costume tells us that the hanging sleeves of the so-called *cepken dolman* are a purely Oriental element, which became part of Gothic wear for both men and women during the Crusades. Originally a Persian form of dressing, the hanging sleeves underwent considerable modification, in particular the *dolmans* of the Serbian insurgent leaders and chiefs.²⁰ To the Oriental inventory belong also *fez*, of various shapes, then the *trobolos*, a silk sash with stripes of different colors, and the *poturlije*, typical wide trousers.

Serbian cities retained their original nature in the Turkish times, to which testify documents, descriptions of life and the ambiance. "The man of this milieu wore with care as

¹⁷ P. Vasić, *Nošnja naroda Jugoslavije kroz istoriju*, Beograd, 1968, 67.

¹⁸ R. Samardžić, *op. cit.*, 3.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 3.

²⁰ D. Antonijević, *Ustanički kostim Srba i Grka*, I grčko-srpski simpozijum, Solun 1979, 227-238.

best a suit as possible, not only as befitting to his position, but also so that his skin may feel the softness of the fabric. Good horses, gaudily equipped, were a sign of prestige... Their songs, never too long, had to touch the soul and, in the end, to disturb with a wittily prepared surprise. They preferred to listen to, than to play music, as they felt the need to yield until weakening, and then, to transcend to the mood for which they prepared beforehand. Their dances also led to a particular state of intoxication."²¹ Here is an example verifying this statement. A wild life was led at the sipahiliks of the beys of Vranje, where belly-dancing and other Oriental dances were cherished, in particular songs of the Oriental melismatic tunes.

While we still dwell on ethnochoreography, let us mention that the dances performed by Serbian women in hammams on the eve of the weddings (in Gnjilane and other towns in Kosovo) were of Oriental origin, as the hammam is also an eastern cultural element. When the bride's hair was dyed before her wedding (a Turkish custom), a dance to a song was performed in Vučitrn. The female solo dance *puščena* of Nerodimlje and Vučitrn was adopted from the Turks, which is evident by its Turkish name *karši-karšija* (one towards the other). The same could be said for the dance *kaločajna a la turca* (sword dance).²² City dances of Vranje and Prizren are characterized by a particular style of dancing, with some Oriental traits. The first are permeated with pining, suppressed fervency, strong but restrained temper, the latter, with subtle, measured out and soothed steps. The Prizren dance *kalač*, once performed with swords, is believed to be a conjunction of the medieval and Oriental dance layers.²³

Let us mention the theatrical performance *Karadžoz*, borrowed from the Turkish period. It was named after the protagonist of the theater of shadows, meaning literally and symbolically "black-eyed" or "black eye." Our studies have shown that the Byzantines were familiar with shadow theaters, which have been preserved to the present day with the Greeks.²⁴

Oriental cults brought to Serbian towns by the Turks occupy a special place. They were accepted, but also modified and adapted to the Serbian milieu. They include some elements of the cult of fertility, the roots of which lie in the East, and a number of customs from the sphere of mantics, for instance the martifal, etc.

Speaking of the folk culture of the Danube Basin, one cannot skirt certain historical facts. The Danube Basin had over the centuries borne the brunt of migrations of peoples from the east, that took place in shifts in the darkness of prehistory. From the times the Slavs became a part of history and came to these areas, life has been evolving according to consistent regularity, in the necessary contacts between the permanently settled farming population and the nomadic cattle-breeders, which led to lasting relations and to an interweaving of mutual interests, and finally to a symbiosis of the two economically still distinct population layers.²⁵ Within the framework of these influences, and subsequent ones, far more stronger and crucial, an ethnogenic process has been opened in which new cultures were created, with weaker (thinner) layers sinking down, being assimilated and finally lost linguistically and ethnically. What have the subsequent historical epochs brought us?

²¹ R. Samardžić, *op.cit.*, 8.

²² S. Zečević, *Istočnjački nanosi u narodnim igrima gradova Srbije*, Gradska kultura na Balkanu, 1 pos. izd. Balkanološkog instituta SANU, 20, Beograd 1984, 418.

²³ *Ibidem*, 418.

²⁴ D. Antonijević, *Karadžoz*, Gradska kultura na Balkanu 1, pos. izd. Balkanološkog instituta SANU, 20, Beograd 1984, 385-412

²⁵ M. Gušić, *op.cit.*, 64.

“Even before the fall of the Despotate, when the Serbs, checked by the Turks, withdraw northward to the Danube, the Danube Basin became part of Serbian history, and Serbian ethnic presence in these Pannonic regions will remain constant in all periods of alien rule – Hungarian, Ottoman and Austrian, which followed one another. By the 15th century, the Serbs had become a part of the Hungarian state, and precisely within that large historical framework, when Hungarian and Ottoman rule followed one after another in the Danube Basin, Serbian culture lived and developed in those areas.”²⁶

The defeat of the Turks beneath Vienna in 1683, and their retreat from Hungary in the end of the 17th and early 18th centuries, left significant consequences on the further ethnic and cultural development of Serbs in the Danube Basin. Through a planned state policy and a number of compulsory measures, the Habsburg Monarchy imposed very strong political and cultural influences, which were to leave their mark upon the folk culture.²⁷

In the migrations, Serbia was abandoned by many wealthy men who soon set up new businesses in the Pannonian towns. According to recent studies, this was the earliest modern bourgeoisie in the territory of the former Hungarian Kingdom. Thus, along the large Danubian communications road of Europe during the 18th century, the Serbian middle class became a new interpreter of cultural venues and interweavings. The long-lasting forms of Byzantine-Serbian symbiosis disappeared from the Serbian milieu, at the ruins of which sprang a new era of Serbian culture, first in the towns, and then spreading gradually to rural areas, which by many of their traits are distinct from the framework of the formerly respected principles of folk culture. We will demonstrate it in a few examples.²⁸

Surely, it could be said that rural settlements became the same, belonging to the same structural type – with straight streets and rows of houses – recognizable and uniform, with the church tower dominating the center of a village.

Houses were built the same way, with the narrow side facing the road. Elements of local way of building – firmly packed earth and unbaked brick, as a material, a straw and reed gabled roof – were interlaced with foreign influences – baroque gables and porches. Barns and wells with windlasses were decorated with “šlingeraj” and “cifre” (ornate wood-carvings), as was the mode.

The style of furniture was under European influence. Beds were piled high with bedding and bulging feather-pillows. Trunks (chests), pottery and other folkloric objects exhibited features of Pannonian rural baroque, in their forms, ornamentation and painting. Carpenters supplied villages with “painted” furniture. Maiden chests were not only commissioned from artisans, but were also bought at fairs, coming from centers well-known for the manufacture of rural painted furniture. According to a document dating from 1782, chest boxes from Komárom (Hungary) were transported by river to Belgrade.²⁹

In the general appearance of Pannonian folkloric costumes as predominant element still remains white linen cloth in all variants of both men’s and women’s folk costume. The most interesting article in this attire is the women’s chemise, which, along with the basic men’s clothing, comes nearest to the prototype found in the earliest depiction of the clothing of the Danube Basin on Traian’s monument.³⁰

The Hungarian cloak *szür* was worn throughout Pannonia, as a common good. It has

²⁶ D. Medaković, *Putevi srpskog baroka*, Beograd 1971, 36-37.

²⁷ V. Čubrilović, *Značaj proučavanja plovidbe na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama*, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka SANU, Naučni skupovi XV, Beograd 1983, 7.

²⁸ R. Samardžić, *Barok u Srbiji 1683-1739*, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka SANU, Naučni skupovi LIX, Beograd 1991, 13.

²⁹ *Narodna umetnost Vojvodine*, Novi Sad 1980, 23.

³⁰ M. Gulić, *op. cit.*, 68.

straight cut, with hanging sleeves and a large square collar falling down the back, which, when necessary, was pulled over the head and fastened. Ethnology treats this type of cloak as an inheritance from nomadic cattle-breeders' clothing inventory of the steppe tribes from the East, brought by the Hungarians to the present-day Europe.

Naturally, new styles of materials, design and use of dress emerged, first among the upper peasant layer, under the direct or indirect influence of European modes. Embroidery, lace, flounces and other furnishings were in vogue. Buttons, nooses and braids underscored semblance between rural and urban costumes. The rigid vertical in women's clothing towards the late 18th century, the archaic elongated female figure was replaced by a tight waist with emphasis on the hips, the earliest anticipation of baroque stylization.³¹

"The division of earlier clothing into two independent parts was evidently made under an increasingly prevalent baroque shape of European costume in general. However, the process was completed only in the 19th century. Namely, under the influence of urban dress of the second baroque, instead of the blouse with the old-fashioned wide sleeves, the peasant costume adopted the *rekla*, or a blouse with sleeves cut straight, wide at the top and tightened along the forearm. The perception of this fashion as foreign was best reflected by its name *švabica* (German), as women refer to this narrow-sleeved jacket and blouse."³²

Serbian maidens and women fastened their necklaces high on the throat, the same as we see on 17th-century portraits of Hungarian feudal aristocrats, showing us one way through which baroque reached the rural areas.

However, the costume is only one of the evidences pointing to the ethnological aspect and the development of folk culture in the Danube Basin, which was widely swayed by European influences, relying on the archaic traditional material.

Textile handiworks exhibit new stylistic forms (especially in ornamentation), rendering, however, a harmonious synthesis of moderately introduced baroque elements and the traditional compositions of the weaver's craft.

In the domain of visual folk arts, icons on glass were an exceptional quality of the Pannonian region. According to Dinko Davidov, these icons were born out of unique artistic contact between the Late Byzantine and baroque iconographic solutions, as an unexpected symbiosis of two opposite expressions, which could have been brought into a peculiar and unique harmony only by ingenuity of the people.³³

From the ethnochoreological aspect, the Pannonian basin offers a multilayered ensemble of folk dances. On the one hand, there is an authentic ethnochoreographic heritage preserved by each individual ethnic group or people, and on the other, there are general characteristics, common to the entire population of the region. The specific, and the common, created mainly with the permeation of cultures, are evident in the repertoire of the folk dances, musical accompaniment, in forms and types of dances, and the styles and techniques of dancing. "There is no ethnically defined dance which remains unaffected by that large community of peoples, just as every ethnic group in the community contains its own specific trait in dancing."³⁴

Speaking of dance, let us mention an interesting case. The *waltz* exhibits quite a tangled process of acculturation and of its spreading from its East-Alpine homeland, via the Danube eastward, and further throughout Europe. It originated from an ancient dance

³¹ *Ibidem*, 68.

³² *Ibidem*, 55.

³³ D. Davidov, *Ikone na staklu*, Galerija SANU, 10, Beograd 1970, 117-123.

³⁴ M. Ilijin, *Zajednica narodnih igara Vojvodine*, 18. Zbornik kongresa jugoslovenskih folkloristov, Bovec 1971, 213.

tradition, the folk dance "Ländler", preserved to this day among the populations of the western Danube Basin and Transylvania, in the east. Polished and enriched with new melodies, earning the new name waltz, the dance soon became familiar and accepted in the feudal and urban societies of the 17th and 18th centuries, spreading in time among the peasant layer and breaking through the original ethnic and linguistic boundaries, to become a possession of other peoples in the Danube Basin and far beyond.³⁵ The first few notes nonetheless reveal its East-Alpine (Austrian) and upper-Danubian background, just as the *csardas*, a Hungarian and Slovak dance embraced by other peoples in the Danube Basin, remains to this day an impressive emblem of its region.

As far as songs are concerned, to put it briefly, there is an infinite number of common tunes, directly taken over during the joint life in the Danube Basin. Melodic elements are almost entirely based on tempered music, while the lyrics remain in most cases in the language of the people who adopted the tune. Many common motifs and contents of the songs have been established, as well as the elements of bilingualism or polylingualism. There is a vast space in the folk culture of Serbs in the Danube Basin, deeply rooted in the individual's mind, defying attempts at changing or rooting out any traditional contents or forms. These are often linked to the unconscious needs of man and society, and to defy them often means to cause aggression and revolt, while any alteration provoke a loss of interest and activity in life. This is most noticeable in certain religious customs. For instance, Christmas customs with the Serbs in the Danube Basin bear the same traits as customs of Serbs in other Serbian regions.³⁶ However, it is interesting to note how the baroque *vertep* (creche) drama, played in the 18th century first by the pupils of Karlovci High school, was accepted by the Serbs and skillfully adapted to the Christmas festivities. With the entire set design of the Nativity, songs and dance under the masks in theatrical manner, the *vertep* with the Serbs in the figure of the pagan Djuka wearing a mask and a sheepskin coat turned inside out, strongly asserted the symbiosis of baroque Christmas play and Serbian carolers.

Impacts and traces of various epochs in Serbian folk culture prove untenable a presumption concerning an extra-historical dimension of folk culture, set out by some scientists at one point. During the spreading of cultural assets, only a certain number become accepted, as various circumstances put up more or less unsurmountable walls. Consequently, at a certain distance from the point of origination, the initial link-up of elements crumbles as a rule, shiftings take place, the old blends with the new, and such crossbreeding engenders something different, which acquires new signs. Thus, at the same time the common for all emerges and develops, but without forgetting or abandoning one's own, original and authentic, native and peculiar. This very fact shows that some deep and permanent, creative and spiritual forces are innate with the Serbian people, as an unwithered living source of a specific ethnopsychological charge springing fresh inspirations in folk culture. In this continuous process, a critical and liberatory catharsis acts on the one hand, and on the other, the law by which everything limited tends to annulate its own limit, to transcend it and become boundless.

³⁵ M. Gavazzi, *Pojavi i procesi oko kulturnih granica*, 18. Zbornik kongresa jugoslovenskih folkloristov, Bovec 1971, 73.

³⁶ M. Bosić, *Božićni običaji Srbu u Vojvodini*, Beograd 1985, 179.

SERBIAN MEDIEVAL LAW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW IN SUBSEQUENT PERIODS

Half a century of interruption, imposed on the life-giving historical continuity of Serbian civilization (for which, doubtless, we are all to bear some of the blame) in virtually all areas of national life, did not pass by the province of law. Generations educated after World War II systemically lacked the opportunity to establish the fully natural and essential (for the stability of a politically constructive national spirit) link with the previous epochs, characteristic of all great nations in Europe, whom the history of this century had not destined to bear such suffering. Alas, this seems to be the destiny of the peoples of this soil, who in the remote past experienced much longer discontinuities in their statehood and national culture, their legal system and, to a large extent, civilization and religion.

Our students of law, for instance, were merely acquainted with St Sava's role in the establishment of Serbian medieval law, and with many other men of distinction in Serbian legal thought, theoreticians of law renown throughout Europe, acknowledged statesmen or founders of the important discipline of the history of Serbian and Slavic law. To mention but a few – Stojan Novaković, Valtazar Bogišić, Aleksandar Solovjev, Slobodan Jovanović, Teodor Taranovski, etc. the list would be quite lengthy. The topics and textbooks of the domain they covered were simply set aside at our universities. An ideology, treated by Slobodan Jovanović with such scientific objectivity precisely fifty seven years ago, which incapacitated in its exclusivism different opinions for generations, narrowed their views towards European accomplishments in the spheres of law, democracy and the organization of a modern and efficient state.

How sorrowful to commence a discourse on the presence of Serbs in European civilization in the sphere of law with such statements. Sorrowful, yet necessary. The bitterness we feel for being, perhaps on account of this, less present in European civilization today than we once were, regarding the level of our own national civilization, must be

decanted into the decisiveness of Serbian contemporary science and legal practice – above all legal education – to reestablish a rational and contemporary-oriented connection (instead of one emotionally hued) with what is best in Serbian legal tradition. Only thus may we turn to the contemporary world hurrying into the future, and retrieve faith in our own deep politically and legally constructive roots, open to novelty.

We begin our exposition on Serbian medieval law by showing its earliest steps at the close of the 12th and the opening of the 13th centuries. According to the arduous historian of law, Aleksandar Solovjev, in respect to the then Serbian law, little information exists on the legislative activity of Serbian rulers prior to Tzar Dušan. In other words, it is for certain that no independent law code existed before him, i.e. before 1349. However, from the period of Stefan Nemanja and ensuing rulers, many legal monuments have been preserved, i.e. sources of written law, which, indirectly, bespeak the prevalent common (unwritten) law. The contemporary science of law divides legal monuments into three sets. The first comprises extensive translations and compilations of Byzantine legal codes. From the times of Emperor Justinian (his celebrated *Corpus juris civilis* dating from 529), numerous written laws extant in the Byzantine Empire regulated affairs in the state, church and society in general. At the time, and for centuries to come, the church and state were almost impossible to separate regarding legal regulations; thus, the beginnings of Serbian medieval law, as in other states at the time, are found in ecclesiastical rules and regulations. It is fundamental at this early period, that the Serbian Orthodox Church, as well as the state of medieval Serbs, viewed Byzantine legal norms as exemplars, thus from the start of the 13th century, during the lifetime of St Sava, translations emerged, as well as rewrites and adaptations of the most important Byzantine canon law codices.

Thus, around 1206, some thirteen years before writing his *Nomocanon*, or *Zakonopravilo*, St Sava, the first Serbian legislator, composed his *Typikon of Chilandari* and *Typikon of Studenica*, prescribing life in Serbian monasteries throughout the country, and the *Typikon of Kariai* for his anchorage on Mount Athos.

In 1219, St Sava composed his epochal *Nomocanon*, the first great and, considering the period, comparatively systematized codex, designed for the Serbian state and Serbian Orthodox Church, officially founded the same year. According to Miodrag Petrović (credited with recently first publishing phototype of the oldest transcript, dating from 1262 – unfortunately, the original was not preserved), St Sava's *Nomocanon* originated from Byzantine *Nomocanons*. The mere fact that it rests on more than one codex explains why it differs from the Greek codices history knows. The specific quality of the Serbian *Nomocanon* as regards Byzantine codices, is reflected not only by the fact that its composer freely selected and distributed his material, but that, at times, he replaced the synoptic canons of Stephen of Ephesus (6th century) and Aristin's interpretations (12th century) with a full text of the canon, or with Zonaras' commentaries (12th century). In his translation, he expanded some Greek texts with his own explications, others he condensed, or wrote anew.

It is interesting to note that the transcript we are referring to, called the *Krmčija of Ilovica* (the term "krmčija" derives from "krmaniti" – to steer; thus, a book that steers the vessel of church life), is kept in the archives of the Yugoslav, of recently, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. The *Nomocanon*, in addition to its fundamental aim to guide the entire life of the church, contains secular precepts (more on them in the following pages) in the form of a Prohiron or City Law (chapter 55, in 40 lines).

The second set of legal monuments includes international contracts, as a result of commercial relations and other contacts made with the littoral cities from the times of

Kulin Ban and Stefan Nemanja (1185). Under these contracts, rulers protected merchants from Dubrovnik and other cities, granting them various privileges. In their formal aspect, they were identical to the legal instruments bound in Italian cities on the western coast of the Adriatic Sea in the 12th and 13th centuries. Their content, however, also displayed norms of the common law – the comprehensive expression of a national spirit and sense of justice and righteousness, dominant in many spheres not regulated by written laws.

The third significant set of monuments of medieval law reflecting original Serbian law and customs that prevailed chiefly outside the city centers, were numerous monastic charters. As elsewhere in contemporary Europe, Serbian legislature, then at the same, if not higher, level, compared with other states (except Byzantium), did not commence with thorough and systematized codices, but with decrees issued for individual cases. This was the prevalent and only possible method of building a law, namely, by prescribing the rights and obligations of two ruling classes – the nobility and clergy. The privileges granted them were not regulated by some general norms for long, but by charters issued by rulers.

However, no charters have been preserved before the reign of Dušan, i.e. no charters issuing grants to the nobility, though many charters to Serbian monasteries exist, projecting an image of extensive legal regulative as early as the beginning of the 13th century. To mention but a few, the *Charter of Žiža* from 1220, the *Charter of the monastery of St Djordje* at Serava near Skopje, *Charter of the monastery of St Stefan of Banjska* from 1313-16, then the *Charters of Gračanica* from 1321 and of *Dečani* from 1330. Details were published by Stojan Novaković in 1912 and Aleksandar Solovjev in 1926.

Let us dwell on the *Nomocanon*. Recent research has shown that this legal, ecclesiastical and secular monument should be viewed through its paramount importance in laying the very foundations of Serbian law, the Serbian state in expansion and the young Serbian Orthodox Church. The content of the *Nomocanon* reveals the aspiration of the Serbs to coordinate their church and secular life with laws and order – entirely in the spirit of the need for a solid legal structure, as a ruler's vital attribute. Those laws, according to the then prevalent belief, should rest on divine legislature, wherefrom legal thought in Serbia differs none from the traditions of great legal systems worldwide. The developed Roman and Byzantine laws served as models for this.

However, the very beginnings of Serbian legal order display, in a train of important detail, originality in the adaptation and adoption of models as necessary. This is noticeable from the mode of selection, editing, the distribution of material, even from specific accommodations and the allowing for the validity of popular common law into the voids of the written texts.

In order to illustrate the inspiration leading to such activities, we shall quote characteristic lines from the epilogue of the *Nomocanon*: "... There emerged into the light of Slavonic language these divinely inspired books, the *Nomocanon*, as before they were obscured with the cloud of wisdom of the Greek tongue; now they glisten, having been interpreted, and by the will of God they shine brightly now, dispelling the darkness of ignorance, enlightening all with the light of reason and delivering from sin. Every teacher, or whoever else is learned, and knows not these books well, knows not himself, and, fathoming the depths of these divinely inspired books, will see as in a mirror what he is, and what he should be, and will know others and teach them..." (page 398b).

These lines reveal not only our ancestral awareness, articulated by St Sava as the need for linkage with Byzantine law, but even more the need for complete autonomy, proper statehood and separate religious independence. St Sava expressed all of this with

his work, becoming thus the spiritual father of medieval Serbia 130 years before *Dušan's Law Code* came into existence.

The European dimension of the *Nomocanon* is reflected in its future life, its application even after the emergence of *Dušan's Law Code*, whereas it remains until today the official ecclesiastical legal code of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Thus, towards the close of the 13th century, the *Nomocanon* was received in other Orthodox countries, first in Bulgaria, then in Russia and Romania. It is interesting to note that the code of civil, i.e. secular, regulations in the City Law – the Prohiron, was first translated from the Greek into the Serbian language, and only thus rendered accessible to other Slavic peoples. Many legal institutes in the code, such as the *emphyteusis* – the long-term lease of land in the final centuries of the Roman Empire, the *codicillus* – a kind of statement of the final will, the *privata* and others, were thus better formulated and applied with more accuracy in those countries.

A few more words on the content of the *Nomocanon*. The first 200 of a total of 852 pages, contain the “Letter on the Seven Holy Ecumenical Assemblies”, and the “Canonical Content of the Syntagma in Fourteen Lines”. They bespeak of the “building of churches, of liturgical vessels, prayers, chants, reading, the Eucharist, Communion, clerical attire, offering of fruits to the church, on Sabbath and on kneeling”. They also contain information about “ecclesiastical domains, the annual assemblies, teachers, testimonies of ordination” etc., as well as practical provisions on offences and the trying of bishops and priests... And about the administration of church property, about monasteries and monks. Heretics, Jews and Hellens (heathens) are treated separately. Chapter 14, for instance, is entitled “General for all people”.

The first ten chapters of the *Nomocanon* state the rules of the Holy Apostles and Fathers, and of the ecumenical assemblies. Chapter 42, in particular, is dedicated to the Messalian heretics, “now referred to as Bogomiles, Babuns”. The title of chapters 45 and 46 is interesting to single out – “From the Scroll of Divine New Commandments”. Chapter 47 contains Novels by Emperor Justinian, and Chapter 48, “a selection from the law bestowed by God on Moses”. Proceeding further, the subtitles follow: “on tribunal and justice, ten commandments inscribed on a stone plate, on blasphemy, respecting white elders, refraining from condemning parents instead of children, and children instead of parents, on refraining from perpetrating evil upon a widow or poor woman”. Numerous decrees on criminal law are included – on debauchery, incest, murder – both intentional and unintentional, on those who flog their slaves to death, eyewitnesses and false eyewitnesses, as well as a series of commercial regulations – on measures, loans, interest rates, heirs, testaments, damage from livestock, thieves and incendiaries. A humane provision is noticeable, stating that “no poor man or laborer be denied wages” etc.

Chapter 55 is the aforementioned *City Law* in 40 Lines which encompasses a series of significant secular relations, from marriage law, the domain of obligations, inheritance and so forth. Chapter 34 bears a modern title – “On freedoms”.

The next great stage in development is the legislation of Tzar Dušan, i.e., the most important legal monument of Serbian medieval law – *Dušan's Law Code*. The reign of Tzar Dušan marks the age of Serbian predominance in the Balkans. Dušan had one goal only – that his state be the most powerful in the Balkans, not only militarily, but economically and culturally as well, and to furnish his expanded state, following the great conquests, with an appropriate legal order. The first stage in implementing this task is the translation of the latest and best Byzantine law code – the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares (1347 or 1348), only twelve years after the Greek original was composed in Thessalonica.

Soon thereafter, the proclamation of the "Law of the Pious Tzar Stefan" ensued at the state assembly in Skopje, on May 21, 1349. This extensive codex contains 135 articles, according to the numeration of the Prizren transcript (in this instance also, the original was not preserved), dating from the 16th century. The second part, until article 201, was enacted at the assembly in Serres, in 1354.

Although one of the basic sources of Serbian law, *Dušan's Law Code* cannot, however, be viewed as singular, nor it is, according to Dimitrije Bogdanović, the absolutely supreme element of Serbian medieval law. The contemporary legal system included Byzantine sources translated into the Serbo-Slavonic and accommodated, in selection and systematization, to the needs of the Serbian state, and, especially, of the Church. To mention, above all, the *Nomocanon* of St Sava, *The Law of Justinian* and the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares. *Dušan's Law Code* includes, as mentioned, charters, international contracts and individual legal acts whereby legal customs were formed.

Dušan's codification was at the same time a unification of law, the unification of legal order in an expanded state, with an aspiration to replace the diminishing Byzantine Empire, by employing the centuries-extant Byzantine law, particularly in Greek cities.

Let us say a few words about *Dušan's Law Code*. To start with, a separate whole consists of a cluster of articles on establishing the rights of the Church, ensuring the purity of faith and checking the influence of the Latin Church and heresy. The charitable role of the Church is also emphasized, through its duty to care for the poor, dependent peasants and serfs. The rights and obligations of the nobility and peasantry occupy considerable space in *The Code*, thus comprising the next cluster of articles. They reflect the feudal system of the state and society, the status of the classes, and the idea of legal continuity in the newly annexed areas, required by the foreign policy of Tzar *Dušan*. On this matter, *The Code* states: "The Greek cities, occupied by the Lord Tzar, who had written chrysobulls and prostagmas, which have and respect this assembly, to do so, firmly, and that nothing be taken from them." The institute of heritage has also been paid special attention, and the hereditary right to property, as well as *pronoia*, introduced in the Serbian state probably in the 13th century, before the reign of King *Milutin*.

The privileged position of the nobility, however, did not permit arbitrariness, as a nobleman was to strictly attend to the orders of the court and law, in which *The Code* was specific to detail.

The Code contains few regulations regarding civil law, since the most important rules pertaining to this domain are included in the *Syntagma*. However, adjective law is included in the third cluster of articles which regulate relations important in life and the economy – village suits over property, boundaries, pastures and so forth. Also included are norms of criminal law, revising thereby the thereuntil common law. In *Dušan's Code*, the entire Serbian law of criminal procedure is based on the principle of legality, which is an exceptional achievement. Thereby, as an offence is regarded not only a violation of the state law but also a "sin" against the moral, divine law.

However, the greatest novelty introduced by *The Code* is in the system of punishment. Namely, the Byzantine system of the public law of punishment was introduced, as opposed to the earlier, 13th-century Serbian law, founded chiefly on the principle of private law, where punishment was compensated only with a fine (the system of "composition").

A separate group of articles pertain to social and legal relations of cities, citizens and particularly, merchants, to whom privileges were granted.

In the previously mentioned amendment to the 1354 Code, which ensued owing to the dynamic development of *Dušan's* state, decrees of adjective law from the reign of

King Milutin were updated, enabling thus a wider application of the Serbian common law. Rigorous penalties were prescribed for robbery, which was also widespread in the other 14th-century European countries. The principle of legality was reaffirmed, thereby lessening, in principle, the importance of customs in many spheres of life in society, except in legal procedure.

Here are some characteristic articles of *Dušan's Code* which bespeak themselves on his understanding of justice and righteousness. The title before Article 64 of the Bistrica transcript says "On Poor Women", and the text: "A poor spinster is to be as free as a pope." Article 71 is similar in content: "A poor woman who cannot litigate or defend herself, should seek an attorney to litigate for her." And the well-known and most often quoted Article 167, "On Justice", could be included in any of today's constitutions worldwide: "Imperial injunction: if the tzar should write a letter out of wrath, or of love, or mercy, for someone, and the letter should violate the Code and not be just and lawful, as is written in the Code, judges are not to trust that letter, they are to judge by and exercise the law." And another one – so needed in some codes today, Article 168: "All judges are to judge by the law, as is stated in the Code, and not to judge in fear of the tzar."

It is understood that *Dušan's Code*, a reflection of his time, stressed the class factor in its entire approach, even in the institute of the jury (extant in the times of King Milutin), particularly in penal precepts. However, a different codex could not have existed six centuries ago. Yet, Dušan deserves credit for aiming to subject the class state of his time, as Solovjev said, to a clearly defined ideal of legal monarchy (*monarchia legalis*), i.e. to a legal state, of which, unfortunately, we often speak today, a state wherein generally obligating law is stronger than the self-will of the individual, than class struggles and feudal demands, and above the disposition and self-will of the ruler himself. This ancient ideal of Roman and Byzantine law meant something new and advanced in the 14th century, in which the contemporary Serbian state could pride herself. It was employed to curb feudal divisions and the wantonness of the local nobility by the kings of France, beginning with Philip IV the Fair, as well as Dušan's contemporary in Bohemia, King Charles IV, and Casimir III the Great, king of Poland. The Bohemian king, however, failed to achieve the work of Dušan. His endeavor to issue a code for Bohemia based on the Roman law, the so-called *Majestas Carolina*, was hindered by a powerful nobility in 1347. That same year, the king of Poland issued his first general laws at the assembly in Wislica, to replace the variegated common law in his country.

Dušan's legislation belongs to the same European trend of historical development. As other contemporary European rulers, he realized the importance of studying and applying Roman and Byzantine laws and it is more than certain that he would have founded a university in Skopje, as did Charles IV in Prague and Casimir in Krakow, had death not forestalled him at the prime of life. Tzar Dušan did not obtain the system of Roman law from the old center of science in Bologna, but from the East, from Byzantine reality. The empire he built was permeated with the system of Roman and Byzantine law, which was prevalent in the Orthodox Church and in half of the southern part of his state. This complex empire of Serbs and Greeks, in Dušan's view, was to create a great state in the Balkans, by uniting Serbian vitality and Byzantine tradition, in which the conquerors and the conquered were equal, in which everyone, even the emperor, upheld the law of the Orthodox churches, and new laws enacted by the rulers and national assembly. History has shown that the task proved too onerous, as national and cultural distinctions hindered such a unification at the time. The efforts were further thwarted by struggles for power of individual noblemen and their blindness to see the future horizons that Dušan apprehended.

As we have stated earlier, the original text of *Dušan's Law Code* was not preserved, though over twenty copies written between the 14th and 18th centuries exist. In the early 20th century, after the great victory of the Serbian army in the Balkan wars, interest for the Serbs and Serbia increased rapidly in European and world science, though the first translation (German) of the *Code* was published in 1801 (by Engel), and a better one was accomplished by Shafarik in 1838. Already in the seventies of the 19th century, there were translations into French and Russian. A publication by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, besides publishing certain transcripts of *Dušan's Law Code*, included the latest translations into French, Russian and English, thus rendering accessible this great legal, cultural and linguistic monument, along with scientific commentaries and analyses.

Another important source of Serbian medieval law following *Dušan's Code* is the *Miners' Law*, enacted by Despot Stefan Lazarević in 1412, to regulate legal relations for the miners of Novo Brdo, the most vital mining center in contemporary Serbia. *The Law* contained many German expressions as the miners were chiefly emigrant Saxons, thus, a peculiar reception of German law took place. *The Law* remained in force even after the Turkish conquest, and was thus translated into Turkish.

For the further development of Serbian law, it is worthy of notice to mention the statutes of the cities belonging to the Nemanjić Serbia. Only two have been preserved, the statutes of Kotor and Budva (14th century).

With the fall of the Despotate under Turkish dominion in 1459, law ceased to develop in Serbia. In that domain, besides the laws of the invader, common law norms revived on a local scale.

In the 18th century, however, Serbian subjects of Turkey, built, through a long-term process, a system of local self-rule within the framework of the Turkish administrative units – nahis. There were the village knez, village mayors and the village council. The knez, however, had no real power and his chief duty was collecting imperial taxes. The village mayors, on the other hand, represented the village before the Turks and defended it, as much as they could, from oppression. They settled disputes in the village according to the ancient common law, which never ceased to be esteemed as high as circumstances allowed. At the dawn of the 19th century, with the political autonomy of Serbia in respect to the Porte, the earliest modest conditions were created for a renewed development of the legal system. Thus Protopresbyter Mateja Nenadović composed his Law in 1804, for the needs of the Nahi of Valjevo, by employing, as he said, the *Krmčija* and the laws of Justinian and Moses (mentioned at the beginning of the discourse). It contained acts chiefly of criminal law. *Karadjordje's Law* dating from 1810 was somewhat similar in character, which is understandable, considering the difficult conditions in the First Serbian Insurrection. The sole decree of civil law pertains to divorce, whereby spouses cannot be divorced "without great cause and a great court and bishop". *Karadjordje's Law* contains decrees on chiefs and their relationship towards the people, on the prohibition of corves and prosecution of witches. Also on the right of the people to elect judges, village mayors and knezes, but they "cannot replace anyone without a trial and high authority, until he was found and proved erroneous". *The Law* bids that the chief be just, otherwise, "if he dared judge by privilege, or out of spite, or as godfather, friend, relative or receive a bribe, he would be distorted before his entire folk as the destroyer of popular justice..."

The Law gives the right to "every Serb to complain if he suffers an injustice... even if he had complaints against the chief himself". As opposed to the *Law of Protopresbyter Mateja*, *Karadjordje's Law* is an entirely new law of the new Serbian state, rising on the ruins of the Turkish feudal system.

The next great date in the development of Serbian law is 1835 and the *Constitution of Sretenje-Day* (Presentation of Jesus in the Temple), the first and fundamental law of the insurgent Serbia, whereby Serbia steps again onto the stage of European civilization in that respect. However, this is a theme impossible to treat within the limits of such a discourse, remaining thus open for elaboration in some other cycle.

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