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D. T. BATAKOVIĆ, A Tribute to Dimitrije V. Djordjević (1922–2009) • V. P. PETROVIĆ & V. FILIPOVIĆ, Timacum Maius (?): Evidence of Urbanization and Communications • S. PILIPOVIĆ, Upper Moesian Bacchic Worshippers • D. AMEDOSKI, Women Vaqfs in the Sixteenth-century Sanjak of Kruševac (Alaca Hisâr) • A. FOTIĆ, Cassandra in the Ottoman documents from Chilandar (Hilandar) Monastery • V. ŽIVKOVIĆ, The Altar Painting of the Cattaran (Kotor) Fraternity of Leather-makers • I. PANTELIĆ, John Stuart Mill in Nineteenth-century Serbia • S. G. MARKOVICH, Angliphiles in Balkan Christian States (1862–1920) • A. KOLAKOVIĆ, Aspects of French Literature in the Journal Delo 1894–1915 • G. TROUDE, La Yougoslavie titiste vue par les diplomates français • A. GUILLOU, Pour une grande histoire des Balkans • S. G. MARKOVICH, The Legacy of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia ❧

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The origin of the Institute goes back to the Institut des Études balkaniques founded in Belgrade in 1934 as the only of the kind in the Balkans. The initiative came from King Alexander I Karadjordjević, while the Institute's scholarly profile was created by Ratko Parežanin and Svetozar Spanačević. The Institute published *Revue internationale des Études balkaniques*, which assembled most prominent European experts on the Balkans in various disciplines. Its work was banned by the Nazi occupation authorities in 1941. The Institute was not re-established until 1969, under its present-day name and under the auspices of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. It assembled a team of scholars to cover the Balkans from prehistory to the modern age and in a range of different fields of study, such as archaeology, ethnography, anthropology, history, culture, art, literature, law. This multidisciplinary approach remains its long-term orientation.



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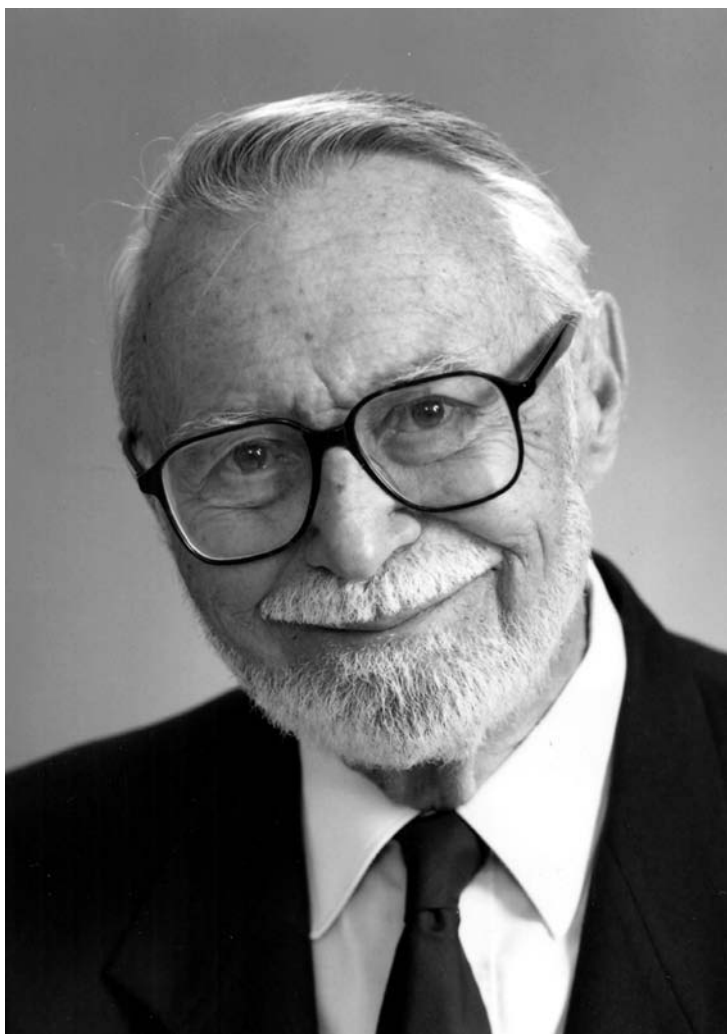
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A TRIBUTE TO DIMITRIJE V. DJORDJEVIĆ
(1922–2009)

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Dimitrije V. Djordjević, a founding member of the Institute for Balkan Studies in Belgrade



DIMITRIJE V. DJORDJEVIĆ (1922–2009)

Leading Serbian and Serbian–American expert on Balkan history

by Dušan T. Bataković

Dimitrije Djordjević, one of the foremost Serbian and Serbian-American scholars, a renowned specialist in the Balkan history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was born February 17th, 1922, in Belgrade, Serbia, in what then was the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He came from a distinguished Belgrade family which gave Serbia important businessmen and, on the maternal side, renowned scholars and generals. In his own words, he had a “cozy, protected childhood and adolescence in pre-World War Two days”. He learnt French from his Swiss governess, took English lessons from an early age, mastered German at school and subsequently learnt Russian to be able to fully pursue his research. In his productive life, which spanned most of the twentieth century, Djordjević, a respected Belgrader, a Westerner devoted to European values, experienced all manner of hardship, from the terrors of war and post-war persecutions to his strenuous struggle to earn a place in the academic world. A supporter of the *Serbian Cultural Club*, an elite patriotic organization which was founded on the eve of the Second World War (1937) and assembled leading Serbian intellectuals under the presidency of Professor Slobodan Jovanović, Djordjević adhered to the antifascist line of Yugoslav politics with youthful enthusiasm and believed in determined resistance to the growing threat posed by Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy. The Serbian Cultural Club was actively committed to defending Yugoslavia against the aspirations of the revisionist powers and, in domestic politics, to advocating the concept “strong Serbia, strong Yugoslavia”.

After the sudden Nazi attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941, backed by pro-Axis supporters, and the ensuing rapid dismemberment of the Yugoslav Kingdom, Dimitrije Djordjević and his younger brother Mihailo, as many other young democratic patriots from the Serbian Cultural Club, sought to join the nascent resistance forces hiding in the mountains of Serbia. The brothers soon became devoted followers of Colonel Dragoljub “Draža” Mihailović, leader of anti-Nazi royalist resistance in occupied Serbia and Yugoslavia, and joined his fledging troops in Ravna Gora Mountain in central Serbia. The Djordjević brothers became members of Youth Command 501 (*JURAO 501* or *Omladinski Štab 501*), a special task force within the Yugoslav Home Army (*Jugoslovenska vojska u otadžbini*) assigned with ex-

panding the resistance network among the royalist anti-Nazi Serbian youth in Belgrade and the rest of central Serbia. Considered as “mercenaries of the West” by the pro-Axis “Zbor” of Dimitrije Ljotić, and as “Greater-Serbian chauvinists” by Tito-led communists, the young followers of Draža Mihailović (who was promoted to the rank of general and in early 1942 appointed war minister by the London-based government of Yugoslavia headed by Prof. Slobodan Jovanović) agitated for the common Allied cause with the Western Allies and their missions in Serbia and Montenegro.

In 1942 Dimitrije Djordjević was captured by the Gestapo and, like many other Serb war prisoners, sent to the notorious Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria. Djordjević survived its horrors, was transferred to other Nazi-controlled camps, fell gravely ill along the way and was eventually released. However, upon his return to occupied Serbia and his reunion with his family in Belgrade, Dimitrije Djordjević rejoined General Mihailović’s forces in central Serbia. They were involved in various anti-Nazi activities, including military cooperation with the Allies, military sabotage in urban centres and sustained cultural activism aimed at gaining wider support among the resistance-minded Serbian youth.

In October 1944, after the decisive military support of Stalin’s Red Army, the communist-led and Moscow-backed partisan forces of J. B. Tito entered Belgrade and took control over Serbia. As a result of Churchill’s strong pressure on the government of young King Peter II in London, the undefeated royalist armies of General Mihailović at first were invited to join Tito’s partisans, only to be abandoned by the Western Allies as Yugoslavia was abandoned to the Soviet sphere of influence. Supported by Stalin, Tito eventually established communist dictatorship in the whole of Yugoslavia in 1945. After the Yugoslav communists, backed by Soviet troops, established control in Serbia, General Mihailović’s followers were labelled Nazi collaborators and faced massive arrests and long-term prison sentences in the gulags of Tito.

Dimitrije Djordjević managed to survive the initial, and deadly, phase of “Red Terror” launched both against democrats and royalists in Serbia during the communist takeover, but did not escape the mass persecutions unleashed in the early post-war years (1944–1947). Amidst the Red Terror, Djordjević and a group of Serb democrats and patriots from Belgrade were so courageous as to set up a clandestine democratic organization (National Revolutionary Serbian Organization) made up mostly of high-school and university students. After being uncovered, members of the anticommunist democratic youth were arrested and, as “enemies of the people”, sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Thus Djordjević was once again incarcerated, this time in two of the most notorious prisons in Serbia, Zabela and Sremska Mitrovica. Released under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Titoist

regime in 1947, he rejoined his impoverished family in Belgrade and began to make plans for his future.

Because of his stubborn resistance to the Titoist regime, Dimitrije Djordjević had much trouble finding employment and enrolling at the University of Belgrade. Despite his pre-war wish to study law and become a lawyer, he ended up studying history at the School of Philosophy (*Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu*), from which he graduated in 1954. His first monograph, *Serbia's Access to the Adriatic Sea and the Conference of Ambassadors in London 1912* (*Izlazak Srbije na Jadransko more i Konferencija ambasadora u Londonu 1912*), was self-published in Belgrade in 1956¹ at the cost of a family flat in downtown Belgrade. The monograph was a success among Balkan historians because it followed the example of excellent diplomatic history writing set in pre-war Serbia by the work of Vladimir Ćorović, Grgur Jakšić, Dragoslav Stranjaković or Vasilj Popović. Dimitrije Djordjević showed both talent and erudition in treating many intricate aspects of the complex diplomatic negotiations during and after the Balkan Wars, using both published and unpublished source materials in several languages. His scrupulous work did not go unnoticed by the person he thought of as his role-model, Professor Slobodan Jovanović (Yovanovich), former Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Royal Government in Exile (1942–1943). Although the communist takeover of 1945 made it impossible for Prof. Jovanović to return to Serbia, turning his exile into a lifelong one, he remained the leading worldwide authority on Serbian history, which was recognized by his election as a *membre d'Institut* to the French *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*.

Djordjević was dismissed from the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences on account of his anticommunist biography, but showed maturity as a historian through his monograph on the diplomatic history of the Balkan Wars. This enabled him to join the Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (*Istorijski institut Srpske akademije nauka*) as a researcher. Over the following decade, Djordjević published a number of scholarly studies and articles in various Serbian and Yugoslav journals, covering many aspects of Serbia's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history from a broader Balkan perspective and often tackling issues of pre-1918 Serbian politics and society which the communist *nomenklatura* found ideologically undesirable, encouraging instead the study of the workers' movement or socialist ideas in pre-First World War Serbia.

In 1962, Dimitrije Djordjević published an outstanding biography of Milovan Dj. Milovanović, a foremost politician and diplomat of late

¹ Cf. Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 36, no. 87 (June 1958), 580–581.

nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Serbia and the architect of the Balkan League of 1912.² Written in an accessible style, this biography of Milovanović remains an exemplary combination of a history of mentality with a social and political history. There followed his PhD thesis on the “Tariff War” between Austria-Hungary and Serbia (*Carinski rat Austro-Ugarske i Srbije 1906–1911*), published by the Historical Institute the same year. Based on ample documentary sources and completely free of empty Marxist phraseology, it offered a sophisticated analysis of the complex interplay between the internal political dynamic in democratic post-1903 Serbia and Austria-Hungary’s mounting external pressure thwarting the independent foreign policy of Serbia, formerly her client state under the previous Obrenović dynasty. This outstanding study, covering a wide range of diplomatic, political and military events in the turbulent decade of Serbia’s history preceding the Great War, was praised among experts as the best post-1945 monograph on modern Serbia.³

In 1965, Dimitrije Djordjević published in French a remarkable synthesis of the nineteenth-century national revolutions in the Balkans, which established him as a noteworthy expert on modern Balkan history.⁴ It demonstrated that Djordjević was an outstanding mind capable of systematizing his vast knowledge and providing perceptive historical interpretations. Moreover, a balanced and unbiased historian with a wider European perspective. The dynamic of the national revolutions, scrutinized comparatively, revealed the Balkan nations’ strong dependence on the European concepts of nationalism, sovereignty and modernization.

An important moment in Djordjević’s scholarly career took place at the 1965 world congress of historians in Vienna. In the heated debate over Serbia’s alleged responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War, he promptly and convincingly presented fact-based counterarguments and valuable interpretations in several languages. The strong impression his discussion made on many foreign scholars resulted in his being invited to deliver lectures across Western Europe and the United States.

Dimitrije Djordjević also had remarkable organizational skills and effectively promoted Serbian scholarship and fostered the reestablishment of Balkan mutuality across the boundaries imposed by the Cold War. He should be given credit for re-establishing scholarly ties with leading Greek institutes and universities after a long, ideologically motivated break

² Dimitrije Djordjević, *Milovan Milovanović* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1962).

³ Review by Wayne Vucinich, *Slavic Review* 23, no. 2 (June 1964), 354–355.

⁴ Dimitrije Djordjević, *Révolutions Nationales des peuples balkaniques, 1804–1914* (translation Margita Ristic) (Belgrade : Institut d’Histoire 1965, 251 p). Cf. the review by Gale Stokes, *Slavic Review* 29, no. 1 (March 1970), 115–116.

(Djordjević, by the way, is the author of the only history book on modern Serbia, from 1804 to 1918, ever published in Greek, in 1970), thereby paving the way for a dynamic collaboration with the Thessaloniki-based Institute for Balkan Studies (IMXA) and related institutions in Central and Western Europe, from Vienna and Munich to Paris and London.

After some fifteen years as a fellow of the Historical Institute, Dimitrije Djordjević enthusiastically took part in the founding of the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1969. By reviving the tradition of the pre-war Balkan Institute (*Institut des Etudes balkaniques*), the newly-founded institute reintroduced a multidisciplinary approach and a Balkan perspective to Serbian scholarship, historiography most of all.

Djordjević spent an academic year as a visiting professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Upon his return he naturally expected that his international renown and high scholarly achievement would be enough to earn him the position of a professor at Belgrade University. However, his application for professorship in 1970 was rejected on account of his anticommunist activity and his past involvement in General Mihailović's royalist movement. It was then that he finally made the decision to leave communist Yugoslavia. Offered prestigious positions by several American universities, he eventually opted for the University of California, Santa Barbara. Djordjević (known among his colleagues as Dimitri) created the Graduate Program of Balkan Studies at its History Department and taught modern and contemporary Yugoslav, Balkan, Russian and European history for two decades. As a professor, Djordjević was very proud of his nineteen PhD and nine MA graduates, the famous "Balkan family" as he used to call them. Many of them are now university professors and scholars all over the world. Upon his retirement in 1991, his grateful former students prepared a Festschrift in his honour.⁵

Once he settled in California, Djordjević untiringly continued his work on a number of projects. With Stephen Fischer-Galati as a joint author, he published an enlarged and revised version of his history of the Balkan revolutions, which remains a reference book on nineteenth-century Balkan history.⁶ In 1985, he organized a conference on the Balkan Wars in Belgrade. The resulting volume edited by him and Bela Kiraly and published as part of the East European Monographs series (1987), has been

⁵ *Scholar, Patriot, Mentor: historical essays in honor of Dimitrije Djordjevic*, eds. Richard B. Spence & Linda L. Nelson (Boulder, CO.: East European Monographs, 1992; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press).

⁶ Dimitrije Djordjevic and Stephen Fischer-Galati, *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

exceptionally useful for taking a fresh look at the changed realities caused by the collapse of Ottoman central authority in the Balkans on the eve of the Great War.⁷ His lifelong affection for the Institute for Balkan Studies inspired him to organize a conference at Santa Barbara devoted to migrations in Balkan history. The resulting collection of papers was subsequently published under the same title.⁸ Yet another frequently cited collection of papers submitted at a scholarly conference held at Santa Barbara, tracing the origins of the Yugoslav idea and various approaches to Yugoslav unification prior to and during the Great War, was published under his editorship.⁹

By assembling teams of foremost experts on Balkan, Yugoslav and Serbian history through various projects, Dimitrije Djordjević joined the distinguished group of Serbian-American scholars, such as Wayne S. Vucinich, Traian Stoianovich, Michael Boro Petrovich, Alex N. Dragnich, Milorad M. Drashkovich, George Vid Tomashevich, Vasa D. Mihailovich, Tanya Popovich, Andrei Simic and many others, whose work has marked the splendid advancement of Serbian and Balkan studies in the latter part of the twentieth century. Djordjević was also the editor of the journal *Serbian Studies*, and president of *The North American Association for Serbian Studies* (1986–88), which has been assembling scholars of Serbian origin employed at universities and scholarly institutions in the USA and Canada.¹⁰

Apart from his work on Serbian and Balkan themes in the USA, Djordjević continued to publish in his native Serbia. He contributed several chapters on early twentieth-century Serbia to the ten-volume *History of the Serbian People*,¹¹ and published two very influential collections of his

⁷ Béla K. Király and Dimitrije Djordjevic, eds., *East Central European Society and the Balkan Wars* (Boulder CO: Social Science Monographs; Highland Lakes NJ : Atlantic Research and Publications, 1987).

⁸ Dimitrije Djordjevic & Radovan Samardžić, eds., *Migrations in Balkan History* (Conference on Population Migrations in the Balkans from Pre-History to Recent Times, Santa Barbara, Cal. 1988) (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1989).

⁹ Dimitrije Djordjević, ed., *The Creation of Yugoslavia, 1914–1918* [papers presented at a conference held in Santa Barbara, Calif., 1978, sponsored by University of California, Santa Barbara and the Center for Russian and East European studies, UCLA] (Santa Barbara–Oxford: Clio books, Calif., 1980).

¹⁰ Another useful insight into Dimitrije Djordjević's life is available in a book of interviews he gave to Miloš Jevtić, *Četiri života Dimitrija Djordjevića* (Valjevo: Agencija Valjevac, 1995).

¹¹ *Od Berlinskog kongresa do ujedinjenja 1878–1918*, vol. VI-2 of *Istorija srpskog naroda*, ed. Andrej Mitrović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994).

essays on Balkan¹² and Serbian history¹³ respectively, previously published in US, British, German and French historical journals and various edited volumes.

Towards the end of his scholarly career, Djordjević published his three-volume memoirs,¹⁴ a singular testimony to the rise and ordeals of Serbia's urban elites from the creation of Yugoslavia in 1918 until the late twentieth century. The memoirs give an exquisite portrayal of several distinguished Serbian intellectuals, participants in the Second World War, vividly evoke the prevailing atmosphere in Serbian intellectual circles and offer a critical analysis of the Ravna Gora movement, loyalist force of the Yugoslav Home Army under the command of General Draža Mihailović. In Volume II of his memoirs, Djordjević uses the example of his own family and of the generation of young men to which he belonged to describe the post-1945 ordeal of the Serbian democratic elite and the quiet process of their emigration to the West, under the pressure of J. B. Tito's regime. In Volume III, written with warm and positive emotions, Djordjević describes the options and dilemmas the Yugoslav scholarly community was facing and his own arduous but persistent effort to fight his way to a position of pre-eminence in Serbian historiography. Djordjević's reputation for erudition, systematized knowledge, judicious and original interpretation, capacity for both synthetic thinking and meticulous analysis, especially with the harsh ideological constraints and obligatory Marxist approach imposed on scholarship at the time, could hardly fit into the proclaimed dogma of "brotherhood and unity" and the perpetual imposition upon the Serbs of guilt for alleged "Greater Serbian hegemony" in the interwar period.

Djordjević's memoirs were the only book of recollections of the Second World War which saw several Serbian editions during the 1990s. Its shortened English edition, *Scars and Memory: Four Lives in One Lifetime*,¹⁵

¹² Dimitrije Djordjević, *Ogledi iz novije balkanske istorije* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1989), with an afterword by Radovan Samardžić. Cf. the review "Evropeizacija Balkana. Dimitrije Djordjević, *Ogledi iz novije balkanske istorije*, SKZ 1989", *Politika* 106, Kulturni dodatak, 10 Feb. 1990, 17.

¹³ Dimitrije Djordjević, *Portreti iz novije srpske istorije* (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1997). His last book in Serbian is a collection of essays and interviews previously published in English and Serbian in various journals and newspapers: Dimitrije Djordjević, *Presudne godine: zapisi i natpisi iz rasejanja* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2003) with an afterword by D. T. Bataković.

¹⁴ Dimitrije Djordjević, *Ožiljci i opomene*, 3 vols. (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1989–1994; 2nd ed. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2000–2001, with an afterword by D. T. Bataković).

¹⁵ Dimitrije Djordjevic, *Scars and Memory: Four Lives in One Lifetime* (Boulder CO: East European Monographs; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1997).

received positive reviews as a significant contribution to pre- and post-Second World War Serbian family histories hitherto virtually unknown to Anglo-Saxon historiography.

Dimitrije Djordjević was elected foreign member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1985 and he felt it to be the crown of his career. In his inaugural oration on peasantry in nineteenth-century Serbia, he gave a suggestive account of Serbia's spectacular transformation from a peripheral Ottoman province into a modern nation within a span of no more than a century, from 1804 to 1914, without failing to stress the importance of the period of 1903–1914, which he rightfully termed the golden age of Serbia. Although turbulent, the period was one of a full-fledged democracy, strict constitutional rule under King Peter I Karadjordjević, cultural achievements which appealed strongly to most of the liberally-minded South-Slav elites, and epic military victories in the Balkans.

An antifascist and a democrat, Dimitrije Djordjević was not just an internationally recognized scholar, author and co-author of fourteen books translated into several major languages; he was a precious witness to an entire era. His accomplished scholarly oeuvre has earned him a prominent place in the pantheon of Serbian scholarship and among the American and world's specialists in Balkan history.

The Institute for Balkan Studies, which he never failed to visit when in Belgrade, was a place where he felt at home not only because he shared the Institute's multidisciplinary tradition, liberal orientation and openness to regional and European cooperation, but also because he saw the strong pursuit of democratic Serbia's reintegration into modern Europe after the dissolution of Yugoslavia as a continuation of the ancestral undertaking which has originated in the nineteenth century and to which he made his own contribution within a broader antifascist movement amidst a violent global upheaval.

"Uncle Mita", as we, his close younger friends and admirers, used to call him, will be remembered not only as an remarkable scholar and a devoted patriot and democrat, but also as a beloved teacher and a kind and gentle person cherished for his outstanding human qualities.

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The Roman Station *Timacum Maius* (?) Evidence of Urbanization and Communications

Abstract: The 2009 archaeological campaign at Niševac, eastern Serbia, has provided important evidence for the urban growth of a Roman settlement, such as drains and a section of the Roman road traversing the settlement. Along with a sumptuous structure furnished with a wall heating system discovered in 2008, the latest excavation results provide clues as to the importance of the settlement which, containing all elements of Roman urban architecture, offers further corroboration to its presumed identification as the Roman station of *Timacum Maius* on the *Lissus-Naissus-Ratiaria* road.

Keywords: Svrlijig, *Timacum Maius*, archaeological excavations, urbanization, *Lissus-Naissus-Ratiaria* road

The purpose of the continued fieldwork in the Niševac village area near Svrlijig in the Svrlijski Timok river valley, eastern Serbia, was to deepen the previously collected archaeological data about a sizeable Roman settlement, presumed to have been *Timacum Maius*, a station on the *Lissus-Naissus-Ratiaria* road that connected the Adriatic and the Danube (Petrović 2007: 81–95). This road was the shortest link between the Adriatic ports and the mineral-rich areas of the central Balkans, thus the area of the city of *Naissus* from which it took a north-eastward course towards *Ratiaria*, Trajan's colony on the Danube near modern Archar in Bulgaria. In the famous Roman itinerary, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Timacum Maius* figures as the first station on the section of the road from *Naissus* to *Ratiaria*.

Archaeological and other data suggesting that *Timacum Maius* might have been situated in the Niševac village area has already been discussed (Petrović and Filipović 2007; 2008). The site of Kalnica sitting on a low river terrace on the left side of the Svrlijski Timok is the area where *Timacum Maius* was assumed to have been located as early as the nineteenth century (Kanitz 1986: 350; Dragašević 1887: 53). P. Petrović, concerned with the issue of identifying the location of both *Timacum* stations (*Maius* and *Minus*) for decades, suggested Niševac as the site of *Timacum Maius* in a number of his studies (Petrović 1968; 1976a; 1976b; 1992; 1995 and 1997). Further, M. Kostić's information about the remains of a Roman bathhouse excavated by the Timok river at Niševac in 1956 (Kostić 1970: 59) is corroborated by the

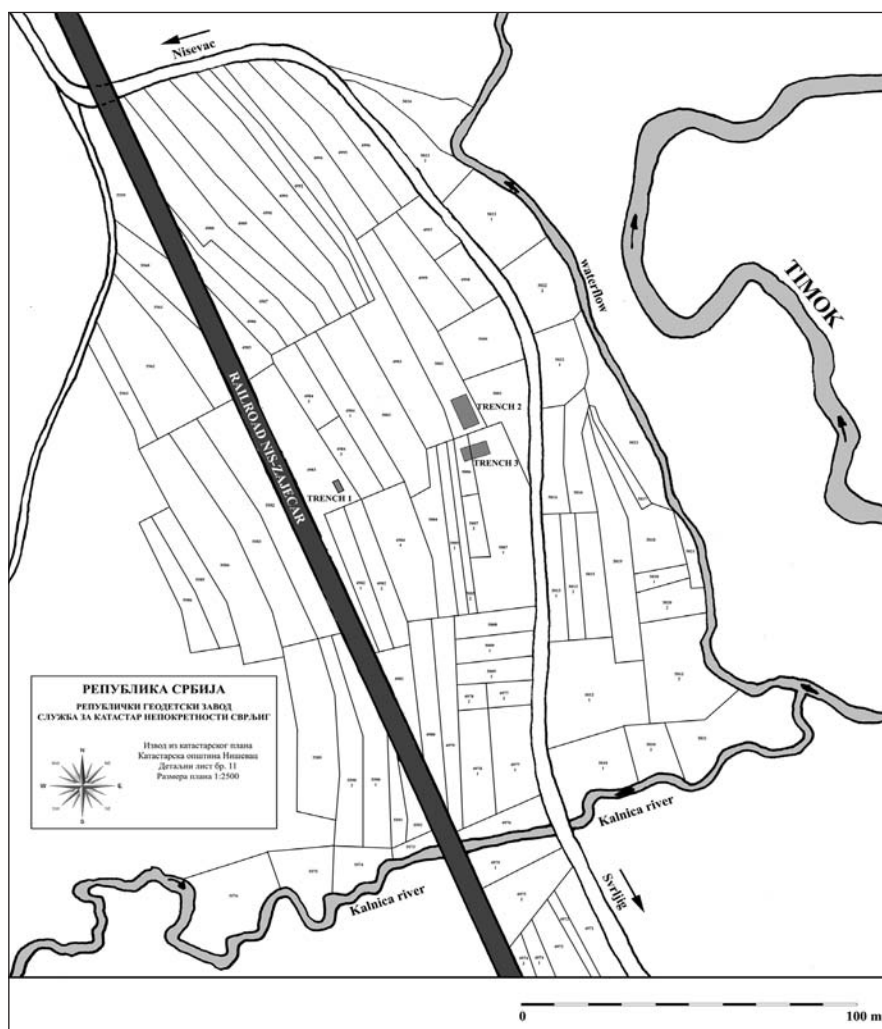
still visible building debris scattered on the lowest Timok terrace, some 150 metres north of the 2009 excavation area, in a zone threatened by modern melioration works. As already suggested (Petrović and Filipović 2007), the Roman settlement at Kalnica should be regarded as having formed a whole with the nearby fortification known as Svrliški Grad (Svrlijig Fort). The latter's remains were first described in the 1860s by a local physician who defined it as the best preserved fortification in Knjaževac County (Mačaj 1866: 344). A little later, ancient Svrlijig was an object of interest of M. Dj. Milićević and General J. Mišković, who left detailed descriptions of the fort (Milićević 1876: 833; Mišković 1881: 53 ff). On the other hand, the famous late nineteenth-century antiquarian and lover of Balkan antiquities Felix Kanitz made few remarks about Svrlijig Fort, paying much more attention instead to the Roman site near Niševac, which he believed to have been *Timacum Maius* (Kanitz 1986: 350). After Kanitz, Svrlijig Fort was not an object of interest until the 1950s, when it was surveyed by Djurdje Bošković who took a close look at it and produced an expert description of both the fort and the nearby medieval ruins (Bošković 1951: 225).

The 2009 archaeological campaign

The first trial excavation campaign, carried out in 2008, unearthed in Trench 1 the remains of an obviously luxurious structure fitted with a wall heating system (Petrović and Filipović 2009). The campaign launched in 2009 was a trial excavation some 40 metres north of Trench 1 (Plan 1).¹ Two trenches were opened: Trench 2 (10m × 5m) and Trench 3 (8m × 3m).

The entire Trench 2 yielded a large quantity of Roman potsherds, fragmented animal bone, a few important metal finds and coins dating from the second half of the third and early fourth centuries. A substantial feature built of coursed limestone suggesting a shallow water drainage channel was found in the first and second excavation layers. Its best-preserved portion ran along a southwest-northeast axis. Perpendicular to it were the insubstantial remains of a similar but smaller-sized construction. The larger central "channel" consisted of two parallel walls about 30cm thick each and reached an average depth of about 30–35cm. A few slab-like stones were

¹ The 2009 campaign, organized by the Institute for Balkan Studies, SASA, was authorized by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia (no. 633-00-313/2009-03 of 4/11/2009) and funded by the Ministry of Culture and the Municipality of Svrlijig. The member of the team on behalf of the Municipality and the Cultural Centre of Svrlijig was Slaviša Milivojević, Director of the Local Museum Collection at the Svrlijig Cultural Centre. The excavation was conducted on lots nos. 5002 and 5007/1 owned by Koviljka Pavlović and Radoslav Vučković respectively.



Site of Kalnica, village of Niševac: site plan with the position of trenches

in its part nearer to the perpendicular feature. As its top lay only 10–15 cm beneath the ploughed field surface, it understandably was in a poor state of preservation. In the lowest, third, excavation layer in the central part of Trench 2 was a larger surface of tightly and irregularly packed limestone rubble which was overlaid by the stone construction registered in the first and second layers. This stone surface had an area of 3 m × 2.5 m and was covered all over with ceramic fragments and broken animal bone. Its poor state of preservation makes it difficult to say whether it is a part of a building or, which seems more likely, of the substructure of an intra-settlement street/road from which water drained off into the central channel.



Fig. 1 Trench 2: Central drainage channel along a SW-NE axis (view from the east)

The discovered system of two perpendicular drainage channels might suggest a major, inter-urban, and a minor, intra-settlement, road that intersected at a right angle and, naturally, used to be furnished with deeper drainage channels (Chevallier 1997: 124). The larger channel into which the smaller one discharged ran towards the Timok, where excessive rainwater, and possibly liquid waste, was obviously discharged.

The third excavation layer at the south end of Trench 2 yielded a surface $3.5\text{ m} \times 2\text{ m}$ with larger lumps of daub, suggesting a dwelling whose size was impossible to determine because it extended further into the southeast and southwest trench profiles. Over the entire surface were found numerous fragments of larger-sized pottery vessels, apparently of an early Iron Age date. Although this surface and the larger stone surface in the central part of Trench 2 were on relatively close levels, apparently the prehistoric and Roman materials did not mix.

Trench 3 ($8\text{ m} \times 3\text{ m}$) was opened some ten metres southeast of Trench 2. At a depth of only 10–15 cm from the ground surface were found two parallel walls of broken stone and occasional brick bound in lime mortar. The space between the walls, set 3.5 m apart, was filled with compacted river pebbles and gravel, and the entire surface had obviously been levelled. This construction ran towards the Timok along a southwest-northeast axis, and was also registered on the surface of a crop field in the same direction some 30 m southeast of Trench 3. It should be noted that it is parallel with the central drainage channel and the possible internal road registered in Trench 2. This is probably the top course (*summum dorsum*) of a major road traversing the settlement (Chevallier 1997: 111). The road was lined with kerb stones, and was probably paved with locally extracted gravel and pebbles. The part of the Timok riverbed towards which the road leads is very shallow and can be easily crossed even today. After the discovery of the



Fig. 2 Trench 3: Possible SW-NE intra-settlement communication in *Timacum Maius* (?)

Roman road, excavation in that zone was cancelled in order to be resumed in a more broadly designed campaign which would establish its exact position in relation to the settlement and its possible importance in the process of urbanization.

The evidence of urbanization, roads and movable archaeological material (plentiful potsherds, metal and coin finds) provides clues as to the size, importance and chronology of the Roman settlement presumed to have been *Timacum Maius*. The intra-settlement communications with an orthogonal drainage system suggest careful urban planning. Residential and other buildings grew within sizeable rectangular blocks formed by the street grid. The abundant presence of potsherds, including luxury pieces of fine fabric and decorated with mythological imagery, provides some clues to understanding the character and strength of the population of the Roman settlement and testifies to their contacts with remote parts of the Empire. Despite the devastation due to the shallowness of the cultural layer, the site has yielded plentiful and convincing evidence of the settlement's architecture, road network and chronologically long and developed life. It has a high archaeological potential and further excavation will hopefully establish the boundaries and zones of the settlement and give answers to some as yet unsatisfactorily elucidated questions.

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Upper Moesian Bacchic Worshippers As Reflected in Jewellery and Cosmetic Objects

Abstract: The paper looks at the anepigraphic material such as jewellery and cosmetic objects recovered from the province of Upper Moesia. The quality of the material used in their manufacture, their findspots and iconography, serve as a basis in an attempt to shed light on the origin and social status of Bacchic worshippers in that part of the Roman Empire.

Keywords: Bacchus/Dionysos, Upper Moesia, worshippers, origin, social status, finger rings, intaglios, caskets, relief mirrors

The archaeological finds of jewellery and cosmetic objects decorated with Dionysiac imagery from the Roman province of Upper Moesia do not supply as much and as precise information as epigraphic monuments. Yet, the quality of the material used in their manufacture, their iconography and findspots can tell us something about their owners. Building a comprehensive picture of the Upper Moesian Bacchic worshippers seems a barely attainable goal. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to show that even anepigraphic material can be helpful in identifying the social status, origin and gender of members of this particular population group.

Under the Empire, just as under the Republic, jewellery was expressive of the owners' religious and aesthetic preferences and reflected their socioeconomic status or, in other words, their financial standing and their position in the social hierarchy. The finger ring, for instance, was a sensitive indicator of the owner's intimate beliefs and a carefully chosen artefact (Henig 1984: 179 ff).¹ It could be a seal ring or a good luck charm (*amuletum*) or a mere adornment.² The choice of a particular ring could be guided

¹ In an anecdote from Nero's life found in Suetonius, *Nero* 46, 4, the image of Persephone on a ring is referred to as a symbol of death: while the emperor was taking the auspices in the year of his death, Sporus showed him a ring with the gem engraved with the rape of Persephone.

² Valuables were kept under seal, for which there is abundant evidence in Roman sources. Also numerous are references to seal rings owned by prominent persons under the late Republic, such as Julius Caesar or Pompey the Great, and then by many emperors from August on. On the other hand, a long list of magical properties of gemstones in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXXVI–XXXVII, reveals what then was a fashionable trend in

by the person's religious beliefs, to express his or her reverence for particular gods,³ by superstition, to protect them against evil, and by aesthetic preferences, and it is not always easy to differentiate between the three.⁴ Apart from functioning as a badge of honour, a seal or an amulet, the ring could also be a token of betrothal (*annulus pronubus*).

Although the Roman attitude towards jewellery changed over time, it always marked the rank of the one who wore it (Kunst 2005: 128–129). Rings made of precious metals were not allowed to all strata of Roman society, either in Republican or in Imperial times, although the right remained permanently denied only to slaves, who were not entitled to Roman citizenship and consequently to the rights the citizenship status entailed (Kuntzsch 1981: 64; Popović 1992: 7, 17; Zotović 1997: 26, n. 16). Under the Republic, the golden ring (*annulus aureus*) was a badge of honour and associated with an office. The *nobiles* and their male-line descendants became entitled to wear golden rings in 321 BC, a privilege subsequently extended to include the first eight centurions and later still some other groups as well (Popović 1992: 7).⁵ In the early Empire, the golden ring remained an insignia of the patricians, and lower-ranking persons were not allowed to wear it without express permission. Under Hadrian, however, only slaves were denied the right. In AD 197 Septimius Severus granted all soldiers the right to wear golden rings (Popović 1992: 7).⁶

An analysis of the Roman law and of Roman art as well has shown that the role of female jewellery (*ornamenta uxoria*) was not merely decorative (Kunst 2005: 127 ff). It clearly signified wealth, rank and merit. The transition from the Republic to the Empire reveals that the jewellery of a noble woman primarily indicated the status of her family (*gens*). It was

superstition. On intaglio gems for signet rings or amulets, or as a decorative detail, see Walters 1914: 1 ff.

³ It is on the basis of the many floor mosaics and even rings with Dionysiac imagery that researchers, notably Henig 1984: 199 ff, have assumed that Bacchus was held in greater reverence in Roman Britain than previously believed. Perhaps that should be interpreted as an expression of great reverence for the deity rather than as the worshippers' active participation in the cult, cf. Hutchinson 1986: 5.

⁴ The form of a ring could depend on its purpose. If intended as a signet ring, it had to be manufactured so as to be resilient to pressure, but it could be more delicate if used as an adornment. Nonetheless, none of the forms was reserved for a single purpose, cf. Marshall 1907; cf. also Popović 1992: 9.

⁵ In Republican times, former magistrates, from the office of *aedilis* up, and their male descendants were allowed to wear gold rings, cf. Stout 1994: 77 ff.

⁶ Men were permitted to wear signet rings (Valerius Maximus III.5.1) and freeborn boys from elite circles wore golden amulets (*bulla*) until they came of age, cf. Stout 1994: 77 ff.



Fig. 1 *Bacchus*: Iron ring with a dark yellowish onyx intaglio from Scupi (photo Skopje City Museum)

not until Imperial times that she became allowed to adorn herself for her own particular merits, such as motherhood. It is this complex role of jewellery — to indicate, among other things, the rank and social status of the owner — that can help us better understand who the inhabitants of Upper Moesia whose personal adornments reflected their reverence for Bacchus and members of his *thiasus* were.

The surviving Upper Moesian rings with Dionysiac imagery are made either of iron or of gold. The iron pieces include the fragmentarily preserved ring from Scupi with a dark yellowish onyx intaglio showing Bacchus (fig. 1) (Mikulčić 1974: 114, fig. 66; Korakevik 1984: cat. no. 73, fig. 73); the ring from an unknown site with an opal intaglio showing a satyr (fig. 2) (Popović 1992: no. 121; Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: 380, cat. no. 184, Pl. 16); and the ring from Gradašnica near Leskovac whose cast-silver top shows Pan (fig. 3) (Zotović 1997: 23–27, fig. on p. 24). Such iron rings were affordable by people of limited means and lower social status. Iron rings set with gems of semiprecious stones or glass were in fact imitations of silver and gold jewellery. The silver top of the Leskovac ring nonetheless suggests the owner's solid finances, while the fact that the hoop was made of iron indicates his lower social status. The ring probably belonged to a slave who could afford it but was prohibited from wearing a piece of jewellery made entirely in silver (Zotović 1997: 26). The surviving gold rings are the ring from an unknown site, now in the National Museum in Belgrade, with a chalcedony intaglio showing Bacchus (fig. 4) (Popović 1992: no. 11; Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: 377, cat. no. 172; and 2007: 151, cat. no. 4), and the ring from Viminacium with a carnelian intaglio depicting Silenus (fig. 5) (Popović 1992: no. 17). Both carnelian and chalcedony were commonly used gemstones (Walters 1914, 12), but the use of gold indicates well-situated owners of higher social status.⁷ The size of the ring hoops suggests

⁷ There is evidence that the Romans wore rings on the ring finger, then on the index and little fingers. Some rings were very big and massive and therefore too heavy to wear, cf. Daremberg and Saglio 1877: 295; see also Popović 1992: 7.



Fig. 2 *Satyr*: Ring with an opal intaglio from an unknown site (photo National Museum, Belgrade)



Fig. 3 *Pan*: Iron ring with a silver top from Gradašnica near Leskovac (photo National Museum, Leskovac)



Fig. 4 *Bacchus*: Gold ring with a chalcedony intaglio from an unknown site (photo National Museum, Belgrade)

male owners. The smaller diameter of the Viminacium ring, on the other hand, suggests a woman, and a well-to-do upper-class woman. Unfortunately, the Upper Moesian intaglios carved with Dionysiac scenes have survived in much greater numbers than the rings they once adorned. They were carved in semiprecious stones widely used in the classical world. The most numerous are those of much sought-for carnelian (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: cat. nos. 168, 170, 171, 175, 176, 179 and 180; Popović 1992: no. 17), followed by jasper (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: cat. nos. 169, 177, 178, 181 and 182; and 2006: cat. no. 169), chalcedony (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: cat. nos. 172 and 190) and opal (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: cat. nos. 175 and 184). Garnet (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: 377, cat. no. 172), onyx (Mikulčić 1974: 114, fig. 66; Korakevik 1984: cat. no. 73, fig. 73) and agate (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005: 381, cat. no. 189, Pl. 16; and 2007: 152, cat. no. 20) intaglios have also been discovered, though each represented by a single example. The assortment of gemstones and the precision of engraving and stylistic purity suggest glyptic workshops of some significance (Kuzmanović-Novović 2006: 15; 2007, 150). Their number, on the other hand, suggests the Upper Moesian population's reverence for this deity.

The depictions on the Upper Moesian intaglios belong to the stock of common images.⁸ Both Bacchus intaglios (figs. 1 and 4) follow the usual

⁸ Dionysos/Bacchus, together with sileni, satyrs and maenads, constituted a very popular theme in gem carving under the Roman Empire.



Fig. 5 *Silenus*: Gold ring with a carnelian intaglio from an unknown site
(photo National Museum, Belgrade)

pattern: the deity holds a *thyrsus* and pours out of a *cantharus* onto a panther or a dog at his feet, with the difference that the Scupi iron ring (fig. 1) shows the god with a drapery over his naked body and an ivy wreath on his head (*corymbus*), while the golden ring from an unknown site (fig. 4) shows a vine scroll above the god's head. The depictions of members of his *thiasus*, a satyr, Silenus and Pan (figs. 1, 5 and 3), also follow the usual patterns.⁹

Apart from jewellery, a fragment of a bronze revetment for a casket showing a satyr has been discovered at Viminacium (fig. 6) (Djordjević 1994: 44 ff, and no. 2). A smaller rectangular field enclosed in a roughly executed astragal border shows the summarily depicted figure of a satyr with his head in profile. The lower part of the figure shows rounded thighs, thin

⁹ Satyrs and sileni were shown in a variety of ways. Especially popular were scenes showing satyrs in ecstatic dance and playing a double pipe or holding a *thyrsus* and a *cantharus*. Pan was shown both independently and with a satyr or with a goat, cf. Walters 1914: 26. For the latter motif, see also Naumann 1980: 55, no. 1239, Pl. 24; Sena Chiesa 1966: 195, Pl. 22/427; Walters 1914: 26, cat. no. 196.



Fig. 6 *Satyr*: Bronze revetment for a wooden casket
(photo Ivan Stanić)

lower legs, hooves and a tail. The figure is surmounted by grapes on the vine, which the satyr probably held with his raised right hand.

Wooden caskets clad in relief-decorated sheet bronze were probably owned by families of higher status. The technique required skills and tools, and this piece may have been an import. The shape of the fragment suggests that there may have been one or several more fields decorated in relief. Apart from this one, another five bronze revetments for wooden caskets from Upper Moesia are known, three of them showing Muses (Jelačić 1962: 109–113; Madas 1992: 171–176), one Victory (Popović et al. 1969: 146; Buschhausen 1971: A28, 65, Pl. 32), and one the personification of seasons or months (Djordjević 1994: 43 ff). The revetment may have originally contained other scenes, possibly those of the Bacchic *thiasus*, but it is more likely that the fragment, as proposed by M. Djordjević (1994: 48),

formed a whole with the fragments depicting months. The closest analogies for similarly decorated caskets come from Lower Pannonia, notably those showing members of the *thiasus*, though depicted within a single composition rather than in separate fields.¹⁰ The most frequent motifs on the Pannonian caskets, apart from members of the *thiasus*, are Muses, individual deities and their deeds, personifications of cities, allegories of seasons, and genre scenes (Djordjević 1994: 46). The Viminacium revetments could have been produced either in Pannonia or locally. Given that there was a mint at Viminacium, meaning that minting techniques were known, it is possible that there were local workshops capable of producing such revetments (Djordjević 1994: 46). Regardless of the place of their origin, the fact remains that there was at Viminacium a family that could afford such a costly artefact decorated with a Dionysiac scene. The casket was probably owned by a woman who kept her precious bits and pieces in it, as Roman women used to.

An exceptional piece of superb craftsmanship found in Viminacium is a relief mirror of bronze, silver and gold (fig. 5) (Rankov 1980: cat. no. 49; Karović 1995: 217–224, figs. 1–3, Pl. I/2; Krunić 2000; Spasić 2001: 162–165, no. 1, figs. 2 and 3; Spasić-Djurić 2002: 72, fig. 51). The matrix-hammered relief shows the hierogamy of Dionysos and Ariadne.¹¹ The other grave goods from the same burial suggest that it was owned by a woman,¹² and a very affluent woman, as evidenced by the techniques and materials used for making the mirror. The front side of the mirror is of silver-plated sheet bronze. The amalgamation technique of silver-plating used required high-quality silver and polishing in order to improve reflecting properties of the surface (Karović 1995: 219). Polishing, as a finishing process in metalworking, was reserved for costly pieces of jewellery. The reverse bearing the embossed design was executed in gilded bronze. The mirror's superb craftsmanship suggests a craftsman from the eastern provinces, well known for a rich metalworking tradition. Viminacium has yielded six more relief mirrors, but only four of them bear recognizable representations: Venus and

¹⁰ On the Pannonian caskets from Fenépuszta, Kisárpás and Felcsuth, the participants in the Dionysiac procession are compositionally connected, cf. Gáspár 1986: cat. nos. 733, 802 and 838.

¹¹ The Romans produced hand, wall and table mirrors, lidded mirrors and chests with mirrors decorated with imperial coins, as well as miniature ceremonial mirrors, cf. Darremberg and Saglio 1918: 1428–1429; cf. also Spasić 1995/96: 29–68, and 2001: 159.

¹² The grave contained: an *oinchoe*, two jugs, a red-slipped ceramic lamp, two bone needles and two decorative bone pins, a rectangular-sectioned silver ring with pseudo-granulation, a bronze bulla, a damaged semicircular-sectioned glass ring with an elliptical bezel, a bronze rivet, four iron nails and a small fragment of a glass vessel, cf. Karović 1995: 218.



Fig. 7 *Dionysos and Ariadne*: Bronze, silver and gold mirror from Viminiacum (photo Ivan Stanić)

the Three Graces, Venus and Amor, Apollo and Persephone (Spasić 2001: 161 ff).

The Viminiacum relief mirror is distinguished by an unusual iconography. The hierogamy of Dionysos and Ariadne takes place in the presence of Sol, or Helios, and a satyr, while the lower part of the composition shows warrior attributes: a shield, a sword and a pair of greaves (*knemides*). Analogies for the act of hierogamy are not difficult to find, but the presence of Sol and warrior attributes is what makes the scene unique.¹³ Warrior attributes in Dionysiac compositions are not normally associated with the act of hierogamy but with Dionysos' triumph in India.¹⁴ Also, although Roman art

¹³ The closest analogies for the scene of the hierogamy of Dionysos and Ariadne seem to be the mirror from Lüleburgaz, another one from Tunisia and a mosaic from Tunisia (site of Thuburbo Maius), but none of the three examples shows Sol and warrior symbols, cf. Zahlhaas 1975: 45–46, 5, cat. nos. 12, 12, 30, Pls. 12 and 13; cf. also Spasić 2001: 164.

¹⁴ E.g. the Indian triumph on the handle of a silver vessel contains a helmet, a sword, a pair of greaves and prisoners shown beneath the main scene, cf. Strong 1966: 171, Pl. 47B.

did show Sol in association with various deities, his association with Dionysos and Araidne can be described as unusual.¹⁵ The association of Helios, or Sol, and Bacchus is not frequently seen. One such example is a bronze relief, now kept in Lyon, the central part of which shows Bacchus, Silenus and three portraits: Helios with a radial crown, Diana, and the personification of Night (Cuynat 1999: 187 ff). A somewhat different interpretation of these figures as Bacchus and Pan with Helios, Diana and Juno, has also been proposed (*LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus in *periferia occidentale*, no. 115=*LIMC* IV/1, s.v. Helios/Sol, no. 268). If we accept the first explanation, the relief may be interpreted as the triad of Sun (Sol), Moon (Diana/Selena) and Night (Nox) protecting the world of vegetation (Cuynat 1999: 190). Another example of the assimilation of Dionysos and Sol is not that explicit: a basalt statuette from the shrine of Liber Pater on the Via Cassia in Rome dated to the second century (*LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, no. 262) shows young Bacchus holding a *thyrsus* and pouring wine from a *cantbarus*. Traces of third-century reworking suggesting a radial crown are visible on his head. It is the crown that indicates the possible assimilation of Bacchus and Sol. What seems to follow from this overview is that the Viminacium relief was not a random collection of deities. The association of Bacchus and Sol, or Dionysos and Helios, may indicate the owner's, or the craftsman's, Oriental origin. Namely, in the second century, Viminacium, where the mirror has been found, received a number of settlers from the city of Doliche in Commagene in Roman Syria.¹⁶ On the other hand, the possibility should not be ruled out of a local workshop at Viminacium, and from the mid second century on (Spasić 2001: 176). Whatever the case may be, the mirror reflects a predominant Syrian influence. Its owner probably was of Syrian origin and certainly belonged to the affluent class of Viminacium's citizens.

* * *

This analysis has shown that Upper Moesian women, apart from men, used their jewellery and cosmetic objects to express their private reverence for Bacchus and members of his *thiasus*. This is most of all suggested by the re-

¹⁵ Helios/Sol was shown with Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Serapis, Hecate, Hercules, often also in connection with the Mithraic cult, and with a number of different deities, cf. *LIMC* IV/1, s.v. Helios/Sol, nos. 233–269.

¹⁶ The immigration was probably the result of the establishment of administrative and military centres, which provided a propitious setting for crafts and trade, cf. Mirković 1968: 128. The Syrian origin of some of Viminacium's citizen has been attested by two inscriptions (nos. 211 and 213), possibly by a third (no. 212) as well, cf. Mirković 1986:

lief mirror laid in the grave of a woman, a well-to-do citizen of Viminacium of Oriental origin. The size of the surviving rings, that is the diameters of their hoops, suggest male owners, except the Viminacium gold one whose smaller diameter suggests a woman, probably a woman of means and higher social status. The bronze-clad wooden casket probably also belonged to a woman and was used for keeping valuables. The surviving golden rings indicate that the pieces of jewellery decorated with Dionysiac imagery were owned by well-to-do citizens, while the iron ring with a silver top suggests a man of means but lower in social status. Briefly, the surviving pieces of jewellery and cosmetic objects provide important evidence that Bacchus/Dionysos and members of his *thiasus* were revered by inhabitants of Upper Moesia of different social status and origin, men as well as women.

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Women *Vaqfs* in the Sixteenth-century Sanjak of Kruševac (Alaca Hisâr)

Abstract: The role of the *vaqf* in the Ottoman Empire, as in the whole Islamic world, was quite significant, especially in a period marked by the founding of new oriental settlements. The first endowers in the newly-conquered lands were sultans, begs and prominent government officials. Affluent citizens also took part in endowing their cities, and women are known to have been among them. The aim of the paper, based on Ottoman sources, is to shed light on the participation of Muslim women in this kind of humanitarian and lucrative activity using the example of the Sanjak of Kruševac (Alaca Hisâr) in the sixteenth century.

Keywords: *vaqf*, women *vaqfs*, Sanjak of Kruševac (Alaca Hisâr), Ottoman Empire, sixteenth century

The *vaqf*, a pious and charitable institution, has played a very important role in the Islamic world, thus in the Ottoman Empire and there especially in the process of establishing oriental Islamic settlements.¹ The simplest definition is that it was an institution whose main purpose was to alleviate poverty and to bolster social development. Rich Ottomans founded endowments mainly from religious motives,² hopeful to abide in their lives by the *hâdis* of the prophet Muhammad (a.s.) *sevab ba'del mev't*.³ However,

¹ See "Wakf", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam XI* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 59–99; Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600*, after the Serbian edition *Osmansko carstvo: klasično doba 1300–1600* (Belgrade 2003), 220–224.

² Many ayat in the Qur'an speak about the need of doing charity. Al-Baqara is a sura particularly rich in ayat urging people to give to charity and help the poor (e.g. ayat 261, 262, 264–267, 270–274 etc).

³ Mehmed Begović, *Vakufi u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1963), 11–19. There are other works on *vaqfs*, such as Richard van Leeuwen, *Waqf and Urban Structures: The Case of Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Maya Shatzmiller, "Islamic Institutions and Property Rights: The Case of the 'Public Good' Waqf", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (JESHO) 44, 1 (2001), 44–74, which examines the institutional economic performance of the *public good waqf*; Svetlana Ivanova, "Muslim Charity Foundations (Vakf) and the Models of Religious Behavior of Ottoman Social Estates in Rumeli (late 15th to 19th Centuries)", *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 5/2 (2005), 44–69; Ronald C. Jennings, "Pious Foundations in the Society and Economy of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565–1640", *JESHO*

many founded *vaqfs* merely for social prestige and in order to gain tangible benefits.⁴

The first endowers in the newly-conquered areas were sultans, begs, prominent government officials, and rich citizens among whom there were women too. The purpose of *vaqfs* was to meet the religious and educational needs of the growing Muslim population. The *vaqf* system ensured the development and growth of new Muslim towns, and helped Islam to spread, at first in Anatolia and then further west, towards the Balkans. *Vaqfs* were most of all intended for building religious establishments such as mosques, *mescids*, *mektebs*, *medreses* or *zâviyes*, but in many cases the endowers funded the building of public facilities, such as *hâns*, *kervân-serâys*, bridges, drinking fountains, *hammâms*, *imârets*, which were intended for use by all citizens regardless of their religious and ethnic affiliation.⁵

Gifts for pious purposes (*sadaka*) were not confined to construction, but also involved the maintenance of the facilities and establishments thus built. *Vaqfs* increasingly often lent money at a rate of interest (*ribh*) (the return was usually 11.5 or even 12 *akçes* for 10 *akçes* borrowed, which made about 15–20 percent on the annual level). In this way, the cash holdings of many *vaqfs* became substantial. Besides the interest charged, some of their revenue came from renting *vaqf* property (for example, *hammâms* or *hâns*), from the endowed land, mills, shops etc. The revenue was used for the maintenance of the *vaqf*, employees' salaries, humanitarian activity such as public kitchens and hospitals.⁶

33/3 (1990), 271–336, where the institution of *vaqf* is studied using the example of a town, etc.

⁴ Gabriel Baer, "The Waqf as Prop for the Social System (Sixteenth–Twentieth Centuries)", *Islamic Law and Society* 4/3 (1997), 273–274.

⁵ Dragana Amedoski, "Alaca Hisar Sancağına Ait 1536 Tarihli Bir Vakıf Defteri", *Belleten* (Ankara), forthcoming.

⁶ In the historical work done so far in the Balkans the above-cited study of Mehmed Begović, although published quite a while ago, remains the most serious attempt at taking a general look at the issue of *vaqfs*. To be mentioned as well are Adem Handžić, "O formiranju nekih gradskih naselja u Bosni u XVI stoljeću (uloga države i vakufa)", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* (POF) XXV (Sarajevo 1975), 133–169; Behija Zlatar, "Popis vakufa u Bosni iz prve polovice XVI stoljeća", *POF* XX–XXI (1970–71); Olga Zirojević, "Vakuf – ugaoni kamen gradova", *Novopazarski zbornik* 17 (1993), 67–71; Aleksandar Fotić, "Uloga vakufa u razvoju orijentalnog grada: beogradski vakuf Mehmed-paše Jahjapašića", in *Socijalna struktura srpskih gradskih naselja (XII–XVIII vek)* (Smederevo–Belgrade 1992), 149–159; Vera Mutafchieva, "Za rolyata na vakyfa v gradskata ikonomika na Balkanite pod turska vlast (XV–XVII v.)", *Izvestiya na Instituta za istoriya* X (1962), 121–145, etc. The journal *Glasnik islamske vjerske zajednice* printed in Sarajevo has brought out many papers that look at the institution of *vaqf*, but only from

There is a quite ample bibliography on the *vaqfs* in the Ottoman Balkans. The work done so far has looked at the *vaqf* exclusively from the perspective of Shariyat⁷ and has for the most part been devoted to Bosnia and Herzegovina. As for the *vaqfs* established in the territory of present-day Serbia, work has been confined to the study and publication of *vaqf-nâmes*, and mostly for Kosovo and Metohija.⁸ Besides, the monographs on larger urban centres, such as Belgrade or Niš, have paid attention to the *vaqfs* founded there in Ottoman times, and some *vaqfs* have been discussed in separate papers.⁹

One of the areas where *vaqf* studies have not made much progress, especially in domestic scholarship, is their gender aspect, a set of issues which has long been an object of interest for researchers worldwide. In the past few years the trend is observable also in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰ The

the religious point of view, while the scholarly journal *Anali Gazi-Husrevbegove biblioteke*, also printed in Sarajevo, offers papers devoted to its different aspects.

⁷ See note 6 above.

⁸ Hasan Kaleši, "Prizrenac Kukli-beg i njegove zadužbine", *POF* VIII-IX/1958-59 (1960), 143-168; idem, "Najstarija vakufnama u Jugoslaviji", *POF* X-XI/1960-61 (1961), 55-73; idem, "Jedna arapska vakufnama iz Ohrida iz 1491.godine", *POF* XII-XIII/1962-63 (1965), 15-44; Hasan Kaleši and Ismail Eren, "Prizrenac Mahmud-paša Rotul, njegove zadužbine i vakufname", *Starine Kosova* VI-VII (1972-73), 23-64, etc.

⁹ Hazim Šabanović, "Beograd kao vojno-upravno i privredno središte u XVI-XVII veku" and "Grad i njegovo stanovništvo u XVI-XVII veku", in *Istorija Beograda* (Belgrade 1974), vol. I, 323-422; Dušanka Bojanić, "Niš do velikog rata 1683", in *Istorija Niša* (Niš 1983), vol. I, 107-169; Fotić, "Uloga vakufa"; Dragana Amedoski, "Orientalne gradjevine Kruševca od osmanskog odvajanja do kraja XVI veka", *Istorijski časopis* LV (2007), 157-169; Tatjana Katić, "Muslimanske zadužbine u Pirotu od XIV do XVI veka", *Pirotski zbornik* 32/33 (2007/8), 55-62; Milan Vasić, "Leskovac u XVI veku", in *Naselja na Balkanskom poluostrvu od XVI do XVIII vijeka* (Istočno Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2005), 7-33; Olga Zirojević, "Leskovac u XV i XVI veku", *Leskovački zbornik* 9 (1969), 165-170; Dragana Amedoski, "Leskovački vakufi u periodu od osmanskog osvajanja do kraja XVI veka", *Istorijski časopis* LVII (2008), 137-149.

¹⁰ Gabriel Baer, "Women and Waqf: An Analysis of the Istanbul Tahrir 1546", *Asian and African Studies* 17, *Studies in the Social History of the Middle East in Memory of Professor Gabriel Baer* (University of Haifa, 1983), 9-28; Hasan Yüksel, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Vakıflar ve Kadın (XVI.-XVII. yüzyıllar)", *Osmanlı* 5 (1999), 49-55; Mary Ann Fay, "Women and Waqf: Toward a Reconsideration of Women's Place in the Mamluk Household", *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)* 29/1 (1997), 33-51; Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records - The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri", *JESHO* XVIII/1 (1975), 53-114; M. L. Meriwether, "Women and Waqf Revisited: the Case of Aleppo, 1770-1840", in *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. M. C. Zilfi (Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1997), 128-152; Hatidža Čar-Drnda, "Društveni i pravni

lack of systematic study of female endowers in the territory of present-day Serbia provides the opportunity for opening a new and unexplored field of historical studies. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to show that this kind of social activity was pursued in this part of the Balkans and that it played the same role as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire.

Contrary to the popular notion that the position of women in Ottoman Islamic society was an extremely repressed one, that they were denied participation in public life and access to the economic, financial or legal spheres, the Ottoman socio-political system was such that the woman was treated in her family and her broader community as a person with full civil rights. She was active in the economic and financial areas and in a position to contribute to her community. Thus women were able to establish *vaqfs* using their own property, in order that their personal funds should be used, in accordance with the ethical principles of Islam, for the benefit of the broader community.

Islamic law made it possible, with some limitations, for members of other religions to found endowments according to the rules prescribed by their own religion and before their own religious representatives.¹¹ This kind of social activity included Christian women as well. The sources that we have been able to use for this paper, unfortunately, are limited and do not provide that sort of information.¹² There were Christian women who endowed a field or a meadow¹³ or valuable objects.¹⁴

Muslim women founders of endowments came from different social backgrounds, but most belonged to the upper layers of society, and only about ten percent of *vaqfs* were established by lower-class women.¹⁵ It

položaj žene muslimanke u osmanskoj Bosni”, *Znakovi vremena* 10/37 (2007), 124–153; Kerima Filan, “Women Founders of Pious Endowments”, in Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick, *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History* (London–New York 2007), 99–121; Hatidža Čar-Drnda, “Vakufski objekti u Bosanskom sandžaku”, *POF* 52–53 (2002/3 [2004]), 267–294, and passim.

¹¹ Olga Zirojević, “Hrišćansko zadužbinarstvo u periodu osmanske uprave”, *POF* 46 (1996 [1997]), 131.

¹² For an example of a Christian woman acting as a *vaqif* (in the sense of a classical *vaqfnâme*), see Phokion P. Kotzageorgis, “Two *wakfiyes* of Mara Branković”, *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004), 307–323.

¹³ Aleksandar Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu XV–XVII vek* (Belgrade 2000), 232–234; Aleksandar Fotić, “Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th–17th C.)”, *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 9–13 Eylül 2002). Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, II. Cilt – I. Kısım (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 2005), 721–728.

¹⁴ Several cases in Vladislav Skarić, “Srpski pravoslavni narod i crkva u Sarajevu u 17. i 18. vijeku”, *Prilozi za istoriju Sarajeva*, vol. II of *Izabrana djela*, ed. Milorad Ekmečić (Sarajevo 1985), 5–58.

¹⁵ Yüksel, “Osmanlı Toplumunda”, 52.

should be noted that women *vaqfs* were mostly concentrated in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, in the middle of the sixteenth century thirty-seven percent of all *vaqfs* in Istanbul were founded by women. One of the first mosques by the most famous Ottoman architect, *Mimar Sinân*, was built on behalf of a woman.¹⁶ Women from high society, most of all sultans' wives and court ladies, were able to undertake large-scale projects, such as mosques, palaces, summer houses on the Bosphorus, but there also were small-scale undertakings like fountains.¹⁷

The kind of property endowed by women can be described as urban (commercial and residential) and agricultural. It included homes, houses and lots, shops, flour mills, gardens, arable land. Briefly, women owned and endowed all manner of income-producing property.¹⁸

The average woman in the Ottoman Empire generally endowed cash *vaqfs*,¹⁹ occasionally a house. Large-scale construction projects were not normally undertaken by women, in the first place because they involved finding a master builder and overseeing construction works.²⁰ Women usually did not earn their livelihood by themselves, but according to the Qur'an and Shariyat they had the right to a part of their husbands' income. Besides, they could be given a cash gift from their husbands, fathers, brothers etc., and they could use it for God-pleasing deeds.²¹ The *mebr* was also a way for a woman to obtain some money of her own. It may be concluded, therefore, that their financial strength was generally limited. Even so, a brief look at the historical sources containing this kind of information shows that property ownership was not exclusive to the women from elite society. Research work for different areas and periods has made it possible to establish the proportion of women among endowers, showing that women accounted for an average of 20–50 percent of the total number of endowers.²²

¹⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü ve gündelik yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla* (Istanbul 2005), 133, 153.

¹⁷ In the period we are concerned with, sultana Hürrem was an especially generous endower. *Mimar Sinân* built for her a mosque, a *medrese* and many other structures. She had many *hâns* and *'imârets* built in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Other sultans' wives and mothers are also known to have excelled in this activity. Cf. Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü*, 133.

¹⁸ Fay, "Women and Waqf", 38.

¹⁹ On cash *vaqfs* see Murat Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa, 1555–1823", *JESHO* 38/3 (1995), 313–354; Jon E. Mandaville, "Usurious piety: the cash waqf controversy in the Ottoman Empire", *IJMES* 10 (1979), 289–308.

²⁰ Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü*, 133.

²¹ Čar-Drnda, "Društveni i pravni položaj žene", 129–130.

²² For different regions and periods, see Baer, "Women and Waqf", 10.

Many of the women of average means who founded *vaqfs* were widowed or had no family of their own. By founding a *vaqf* they wanted to make sure that their property would go for charity purposes rather than to state coffers. This type of women endowers usually stipulated that *vaqf* beneficiaries should read certain suras from the Qur'an and pray for their souls in return,²³ but there were also women whose motivation for endowing a *vaqf* was only social and cultural.²⁴

Some historians share Gabriel Baer's view that women endowed *vaqfs* in order to protect their property and the income it produced (from encroachment by their own husbands and their husbands' families). The endowed property produced income they could enjoy during their lifetime and dispose of as they preferred.²⁵ In the sixteenth century some kind of tradition related to women *vaqfs* became widespread in the Ottoman Empire. Namely, women endowed money for salaries of imams, *mü'ezzins* and other mosque employees in order that certain sections (*cüz*) of the Qur'an should be read for their souls on certain occasions,²⁶ especially during the month of Ramadan. In that way they provided some funding for an already existing mosque. This might be an interesting fact since the usual amount endowed by women was about 3,000 *akçes*, as evidenced by the *vaqf* registers for the Sanjak of Kruševac, and that was the case in other areas too, for instance in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, women seem to have given precedence to religious needs over material things (the amount would have been sufficient for building a *mekteb* or a house or a shop).²⁷

In the Sanjak of Kruševac and adjacent sanjaks, *vaqfs* were generally endowed by women related to important local persons such as begs; in Kruševac, for example, they were begs' wives or sisters. Besides, this kind of active role in supporting a Muslim community was characteristic of women from profoundly religious families. Among Shariyat court records, which generally constitute a particularly rich source of information, *vaqfnâmes* are the most relevant source for women *vaqfs* and women's activities connected to *vaqfs*.²⁸ Unfortunately, court records for the territory of modern Serbia have not survived. We have therefore been left with the only available source

²³ Yüksel, "Osmanlı Toplumunda", 54.

²⁴ Ibid., 54.

²⁵ Baer, "Women and Waqf", 27.

²⁶ Yüksel, "Osmanlı Toplumunda", 54.

²⁷ Čar-Drnda, "Društveni i pravni položaj žene", 129.

²⁸ During our research in the State Archives in Istanbul we have not found any *vaqf-nâme* referring to the Sanjak of Kruševac.

for this issue: the *vaqf* registers for the Sanjak of Kruševac.²⁹ They provide scanty information, but nevertheless confirm that this type of Islamic institution did exist in the Sanjak of Kruševac.

These registers recorded women *vaqfs* only in Kruševac and Leskovac. Kruševac had four female benefactors. One of them, Şâhmânî Hâtûn, wife of a certain Dâvud Beg, endowed a sum of 2,800 *akçes*. The interest charged on this sum, one *akçe* a day, was intended for the *mü'ezzin* of the most honourable mosque, the one built by the Sultan Murât II (1421–1444, 1446–1451),³⁰ the first conqueror of Kruševac. The mosque was the centre of spiritual and cultural life in Ottoman Kruševac. The *mü'ezzin* had the daily obligation to read the Qur'an for the soul of the endower. The *vaqf* was managed with the same funds and in the same way until 1570.³¹

Fâtîma Hâtûn, sister of Şa'bân Beg, endowed 3,000 *akçes* for pious purposes. Given his generous gifts for charity, Şa'bân Beg must have been a prominent person in Kruševac.³² Fâtîma intended the money for the *mescid* of Mustafâ b. Kulâk. One *akçe* from the interest earned on this sum was to be given every day to an imam in the *mescid* in order that he should pray for the endower's soul.³³

Şâhbola Hâtûn endowed the same *mescid*, founded in the Kruševac *mahalle* of İyâs, with a sum of 3,000 *akçes*. The income received from interest was to be used for the salary of the imam of the *mescid*, one *akçe* a day, who was to read selected *cüzes* on her behalf.³⁴

²⁹ There are four registers for the Sanjak of Kruševac in the State Archives in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Arşivi [BBA], Istanbul, *Tapu Tabrir Defterleri* [TTD]) that contain the registers of *vaqfs*: *TTD 167*, of the year 1530, which has been published (*167 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet- Rûm-îli defteri (937/1530)*, II, *Vilâyetin, Prizrin, Alaca-bisâr ve Hersek Livâaları* (Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım), Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayın Nu: 69, Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi: IX, Ankara 2004); *TTD 179*, for the year 1536; *TTD 161*, made during the reign of Sultan Süleymân I (1520–1566); and *TTD 567* for the period about 1570. Only two of them, *TTD 179* (735–741) and *TTD 567* (424–432), contain information about women *vaqfs*.

³⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâmesi* (Istanbul 1978), vol. V, 1836, mentioned this mosque, but mistakenly connected it with Sultan Murât I Hüdavendigâr (1326–1389).

³¹ *TD 179*, 740; *TD 567*, 425.

³² Şa'bân Beg endowed the building which housed the town court in Kruševac and associated buildings used by the *kadi*. The so-called Court *mahalle* formed around them (*TD 567*, 33). The *vaqf* included stables, two houses, one barn and one meadow. The funds of the *vaqf* consisted of 2,500 *akçes* in cash and the income from one mill and one meadow. The endower stipulated that food should be provided to wayfarers and travellers and their horses (*TD 179*, 741; *TD 567*, 426).

³³ *TD 179*, 740; *TD 567*, 425.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

The *vaqf* of Âyişe Hâtûn bt. Hamza, wife of Halâci Mustafâ, consisted of a mill on the river Rasina, which she endowed for the abovementioned *mescid* of Mustafâ b. Kulâk.³⁵ Judging by what was the usual practice, the mill was probably rented out. The income was to be used for the maintenance of the *mescid* and for the salary of the imam, one *akçe* a day, who was required to pray for her on certain occasions.³⁶

It was not uncommon for several women to endow the same religious institution with a cash *vaqf*. It is possible that there was some particular belief associated with the *mescid* of Mustafâ b. Kulâk that induced women to endow it with money.

By 1570 Leskovac had had two women *vaqfs*. One was the *vaqf* of Güle Hâtûn, wife of Hâci Hayruddîn, which included a sum of 2,000 *akçes*, intended for extending loans at Shariyat-compliant interest, and a shop, which was to be rented out for 60 *akçes* a year. The income, or 360 *akçes* a year, Güle intended for the *müe'zzins* of the Sultan Bâyezîd's mosque who were to pray for her soul. The rest, 100 *akçes* from interest, Güle intended for the *vakf* manager (*mütevelli*). Besides, she endowed the mosque with arable land and pastures located between the villages of Donje Stopanje, Vinarce and Bobište.³⁷ Güle Hâtûn's endowment shows that women in sixteenth-century Ottoman Kruševac owned agricultural land, the type of property on which the self-sufficiency and integrity of the traditional Muslim family depended more than on anything else. Besides, she could purchase, sell or endow land, which is a highly revealing fact about the role of women in the economic and social life of the town.

The other women *vakf* in Leskovac was that of Abâz Hâtûn. She established a cash *vaqf* of 7,000 *akçes* to be lent to borrowers. With 12 *akçes* paid back for 10 *akçes* borrowed, the *vaqf* yielded an annual income of 1,400 *akçes*. Abâz Hâtûn stipulated that it should be spent in the following way: a daily wage of 1.5 *akçes* for the *müe'zzin* of the new mosque who was obliged to read one *cüz* for her soul every day; one *akçe* a day for the manager of the *vaqf*; 150 *akçes* a year for the purpose of reciting *mevlûd*;³⁸ and 40 *akçes* a year for the illumination of the mosque.³⁹ There might have been a few

³⁵ By then the *mescid* had already had one mill and two millstones on the river Rasina, near the village of Makrešane, endowed by the *mescid* founder himself (TD 179, 740).

³⁶ TD 179, 740; TD 567, 425.

³⁷ TD 567, 428.

³⁸ The *mevlûd* recitations were frequently stipulated by *vaqf* founders, based on ayah 152 of sura Al-Baqara: "Therefore, remember Me, and I shall remember you, and accept My right and do not be ungrateful to Me!"

³⁹ TD 567, 430.

more women *vaqfs* in the Sanjak of Kruševac in the period under study, but our limited sources provide no conclusive evidence.

Apart from being *vaqf* founders, sometimes women were heiresses to family *vaqfs* (*ailevi*, *evlâthk*) or to *vaqfs* which were a combination of a family and a *hayri vaqf* (*vaqf* for public benefit). For example, Aydin Beg b. Yûsuf bequeathed by the Shariyat-compliant *vakfnâme* his family *vaqf* which consisted of two houses in Leskovac, a courtyard and a garden, to his male children. After their death he intended it for his daughters and their children, and upon the death of all family members, the *vaqf* was to go to a scholar who would perform certain religious rituals.⁴⁰

There were a few more family *vaqfs* in Leskovac in the sixteenth century, but all of them showed characteristics of *hayri vaqfs* as well. One such *vakf* was that of Hâcî 'Âlî. One part of its income was intended for his family, the other for charitable purposes. The total sum endowed amounted to 10,300 *akçes*; in addition, he endowed a shop, a meadow, a vineyard and a garden. The founder stipulated that the money should be used for lending loans. The income from the shop, meadow, vineyard and garden was intended for his daughters Hanife and Emîne.⁴¹

Cafer 'Abdullâh founded a *vaqf* in such a way that the cash part was intended as a *hayri vaqf*, while the part consisting of a house in Leskovac was to be a family *vaqf* for the benefit of his wife Güle bt. Mehmed. Upon the death of all family members, the house was to be given to the poor.⁴²

Dervîş Mehmed b. 'Abdülhay intended a part of the income yielded by the endowed *vaqf* to his female descendants.⁴³

What is also quite clear from the surviving Ottoman documents is that, at least as far as Shariyat courts were concerned, the Islamic law of inheritance was strictly implemented. Namely, wherever a woman is referred to as an heiress of the deceased, whether a wife or a daughter, she is also included in the list of those getting their share of the inheritance.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, this is not conclusive proof that the property actually passed into the hands of women.

Compared with the Sanjak of Kruševac, the situation with women *vaqfs* in the sixteenth century is more or less the same in the surrounding sanjaks. In the Sanjak of Smederevo (Semendire) there are no women *vaqfs*

⁴⁰ Ibid., 430. Unfortunately, some founded *vaqfs* in order to be able to leave their property entirely to their male descendants. Cf. Yüksel, "Osmanlı Toplumunda", 51.

⁴¹ TD 567, 428.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Haim Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700", *IJMES* 12 (1980), 232.

registered in 1516 and 1521/23.⁴⁵ In the Sanjak of Ohrid (Ohri) there were only two women *vaqfs* in 1583.⁴⁶ The Sanjak of Prizren had five women endowments in 1571,⁴⁷ and in 1530 there were no women founders of endowments in the *Kazâ* of Piro.⁴⁸ The only exception in the period is Bosnia and Herzegovina, where, according to the 1565 register, there were more than thirty women *vaqfs*.⁴⁹

Another interesting phenomenon, and a little studied one, is that of group *vaqfs*, founded either by two or more women, or by related women and men (husbands, brothers, sons). *Vaqfs* jointly founded by unrelated men and women were rare.⁵⁰

Besides being founders and inheritresses of *vaqfs*, women were sometimes appointed to an office, such as that of the *nazîr* or *mütevelli* of a *vaqf*.⁵¹

* * *

Women's involvement in endowment activity was still at an early stage in the sixteenth-century Sanjak of Kruševac and its neighbourhood. But, the very existence of women *vaqfs* warns that they should not be overlooked in studying the role this institution played in Ottoman society. Judging by the surviving Ottoman documents, women figured as property owners and *vaqf* founders much less frequently than men. Most women founders of endowments in the Sanjak of Kruševac were wives or relatives of begs or some other prominent persons. The average cash endowment was about 3,000 *akçes*, and it was generally intended for loan lending. The interest charged on loans was usually intended for imams or other employees of a particular mosque or *mesjid*, who in turn were required to pray for the soul of the endower. Such endowments may be described as a trend among upper-class

⁴⁵ *TTD* 1007, 201–203; *TTD* 135, 62–63.

⁴⁶ *Opširen popisni defter na Obridskiot sandžhak od 1583. godina*, vol. VIII/2 of *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, ed. Aleksandar Stojanovski (Skopje 2000), 621–622.

⁴⁷ Tatjana Katić, “*Opširni popis Prizrenskog sandžaka iz 1571*” (Belgrade), 535, 538–539, forthcoming.

⁴⁸ Katić, “Muslimanske zadužbine u Pirotu”.

⁴⁹ For the women *vaqfs* registered in the Sanjak of Bosnia in 1565, see Čar-Drnda, “Društveni i pravni položaj žene”.

⁵⁰ Fay, “Women and Waqf”, 38. Fay looks into the Cairo examples, but there is no doubt that this was a widely accepted practice in the Ottoman Empire.

⁵¹ Yüksel, “Osmanlı Toplumunda”, 51.

women, while other types of women endowments seem to have been quite rare.

Unfortunately, the Ottoman documentary material of relevance to the territory of modern-day Serbia appears to be quite scanty, and our considerations have been limited by the only available sources. It is therefore important to pay greater attention to all aspects of the role of women in everyday community life in Ottoman Serbia. That kind of research would hopefully further our understanding of the position of women in Islam through history.

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Kassandra in the Ottoman documents from Chilandar (Hilandar) Monastery (Mount Athos) in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Abstract: The rich archive of the Athonite Monastery of Hilandar contains a group of Ottoman documents relating to the promontory of Kassandra. Hilandar did not begin to acquire land in Kassandra until the very end of the sixteenth century. No link has been found between the newly-acquired landed property and the metochia Hilandar had held under Byzantine rule. Bits of information gleaned from the documentary material on Hilandar's metochia within the village boundaries of Kalandra and Mavrokol, of the now non-existent village of Plastara, and of Valta, modern Kassandra, have been used to look at the ways of land acquisition, the composition of estates, forms of tenure, relations with the "master of the land", taxes, and disputes in the course of the two centuries.

Key words: Ottoman Empire, Chilandar (Hilandar) Monastery, Kassandra, metochion, topography, economy, sixteenth–seventeenth centuries

A portion of the large collection of Ottoman documents in the archive of the Athonite Monastery of Hilandar relates to the promontory of Kassandra or, more precisely, to the properties the monastery acquired and enjoyed in some of the villages on the promontory.¹ Although most documents are *tapunāmes* and *hüccets* relating to transfer of immovable property, it is nonetheless possible to glean information that can be useful in completing the picture of the topography, the economy and everyday life in Kassandra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² Some other Athonite monasteries are also known to have had property in Kassandra. So far the

¹ A. Fotić, "The Collection of Ottoman Documents in the Monastery of Hilandar (Mount Athos)", in *Balkanlar ve İtalya'da şehir ve manastır arşivlerindeki Türkçe belgeler semineri (16–17 Kasım 2000)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 31–37.

² A. Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu (XV–XVII vek)* [Mount Athos and Hilandar in the Ottoman Empire (15th–17th Centuries)] (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, Manastir Hilandar and Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 2000) (English summary), 354–363; Ph. Kotzageorgis, *He athonike mone Agiou Paulou kata ten othomanike periodo* [The Athonite Monastery of St Paul during the Ottoman Period] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002), 114–121 ff; E. Kolovos, "Chorikoi kai monachoi sten othomanike Chalkidike kata tous 150 kai 160 ai" [Villages and Monks in the Ottoman Chalkidike during the 15th–16th C.] (PhD thesis, Thessaloniki, Aristotle University, 2000), vol. I, 89–94.

Ottoman documents of Hilandar, St Paul's and Xiropotamou have been processed.

Hilandar acquired an estate in Kassandra as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, in 1318 or 1319. The *metochion* known as Ag. Trias (Holy Trinity) and many other estates were donated to it by the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II in compliance with his agreement with Stefan Uroš II Milutin, king of Serbia (1282–1321). The *metochion* was reconfirmed several times: in 1319 (twice), in 1321 and in 1351, the confirmation by the emperor John V being the last known reference to it. A list of the *metochion's* associated property, drawn up about 1333, includes seven *modioi* in Kalandra. The fact that the Trinity *metochion* was near Aphetos opens the question as to whether this toponym referred to the quite distant village of Kalandra, the existence of which is not attested by other documents.³

The medieval Trinity *metochion* cannot be linked to any of the later *metochia* known in the period of Ottoman rule. These do not begin to feature in documents until the very end of the sixteenth century. Neither the imperial survey register nor the *vakıfnâme* created at the time of the confiscation and redemption of monastic land in 1569 contain any reference to an estate in Kassandra.⁴ (Hilandar's winter pasture in Kassandra recorded in the published survey of 1568/69 does not match the detailed survey excerpts extracted from other survey registers at the time!)⁵ Had Hilandar held any significant estate there at the time, it would not have failed to lay claim on it. Dr. Phokion Kotzageorgis believes that most *metochia* of the Athonite monasteries were of an earlier date, but the land was left idle, probably for decades, until Kassandra was granted to Gazanfer Ağa (see below) for his *vakıf*, which initiated economic activity on the promontory.⁶

³ *Actes de Chilandar I: Dès origines à 1319*, diplomatic ed. by M. Živojinović et al. (Paris 1998), 61, nos. 42–44; *Actes de Chilandar*, published by L. Petit and B. Korablev, *Vizantijskij Vremennik XVII* (1911), Priloženie 1, nos. 40, 58, 138; M. Živojinović, *Istorija Hilandara I: Od osnivanja manastira 1198. do 1335. godine* [The History of Hilandar I: From the Founding of the Monastery in 1198 until 1335] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1998), 188–190, 214.

⁴ Hilandar Monastery Archive, Turcica (hereafter HMAT), 6/8, 12/37/57, 6/10, 6/11, 6/12, 11/5; Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, TT 723, 1053.

⁵ Cf. *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod. Opsiren popisen defter za Solunskiot sandzak od 1568/69 godina* [Turkish documents for the history of the Macedonian people. Detailed imperial taxation register of 1568/69 for Thessaloniki Sanjak], ed. A. Stojanovski, tome IX, vol. 1 (Skopje: Drzaven arhiv na Republika Makedonija, 2002), 312.

⁶ Kotzageorgis, *He athonike mone*, 115–116.

Kalandra and Mavrokol

The earliest known reference to an agricultural estate (*çiftlik*) held by Hilandar in Kassandra was made in September 1597, but without specifying its exact location. The official inventory of Hilandar's property, made probably in May 1598, situates its Kassandran *metochion* in the proximity of the village of Kalandra. There is no doubt that this *metochion* and the one referred to a year before are one and the same, because there was no other at the time.⁷ The description of the *metochion* as being in the "proximity" of the village of Kalandra suggests that it might have been outside the village boundaries. There was near Kalandra another village, Mavrokol, where Hilandar also held considerable possessions in the seventeenth century. Although it cannot be seen from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, the possessions in Kalandra and Mavrokol in all likelihood constituted a single *metochion*.

The settlement named Kalandra (Καλάνδρα), variously recorded in Ottoman documents as *Kalāndra*, *Kālander*, *Kilāndere*, is still in existence and bears the same name. Mavrokol, unknown in Byzantine times, had village status in the seventeenth century (1611–34), and is recorded in Hilandar's Ottoman documents as *Māvarkōl*, *Māvrekōl*, *Maverkālō*, *Mavrekōle*, even *Mavrōpōle*.⁸ At some point it lost its village status and in the nineteenth century is only mentioned as the place (*yer*) where Hilandar's *metochion* is located. In the eighteenth century, or perhaps even earlier, the still existing village of Phourka (Φούρκα) grew in its immediate vicinity. Hilandar's *metochion* was often named after it, as evidenced by the notes on the backsides of the surviving documents. In the official documents, however, it was variously described: "Hilandar's *metochion* near the village of Phour[ka]" (*Für karyesi kurbinde Hilāndār Metōhi*); or later in the same document: "the said *metochion* near Mavrokol" (*zıkr olan metōh Mavrōkōlō kurbinde*) (1752); or: "situated in the place Ma[v]r[o]kol within the village boundaries of Kalandra" (*Kalāndra hududunda Mārköle yerinde kā'in*); or: "on the site of the Mavrokol-*metochion* ... within the village boundaries of Phourka" (*Māvrokōl metōhi yerinde ... Fürha karyesi hududunda*) (nineteenth century). In the eighteenth century the *metochion* was also known as *Bugarski metoh/Bulgarian metochion* (*Fürka karyesi hududunda Būlgār Metōhi*). In the 1920s it was renamed *Srpski metoh/Serbian metochion*, as was the Kalamarian one.⁹

⁷ HMAT, 12/12/6, 12/12/15.

⁸ *Topographic map of Greece* 1:50,000 (Army Geographic Service: 1949–55); P. Bellier et al., *Paysages de Macédoine, leurs caractères, leur évolution à travers les documents et les récits des voyageurs*, introd. J. Lefort (Paris 1986), 163; HMAT, 1/103, 1/109a, 2/153a, 12/4/15, 12/4/14, 12/4/17 (Kalandra), 12/4/7, 2/201–4, 12/4/2, 12/4/6, 12/4/8, 2/166 (Mavrokol).

⁹ *Topographic map of Greece*, Bellier et al., *Paysages*, 193, 228; HMAT, 12/4/21, 12/4/18, 12/4/22, 12/4/27; V. Demetriades, "Phorologikes kategories ton chorion tes Thessalonikis

Under Ottoman rule Kassandra was a separate administrative unit. In the late sixteenth century it formed part of the *Nābiye* of Kalamaria (1594, 1597). Sometime in the early seventeenth century but before 1608 the promontory became a *nābiye* itself. During the fifteenth century and until the establishment of the Sanjak of Thessaloniki in the early sixteenth century it had belonged to the Pasha (Edirne) Sanjak. It was under the judicial and administrative jurisdiction of the *mōnla* of Thessaloniki and his subordinate, the *nā'ib* of Kassandra.¹⁰

For the most part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Kassandra seems to have been an imperial *bāss*, or formed part of the *bāss* of the governor of Thessaloniki, until sometime before 1591, the *Bāb üs-sa'adet ağası* Gazanfer *Ağa* was given permission to donate it in order to provide an income for his endowments in Istanbul and in an Anatolian *kasaba* called Gedüs, as evidenced by a document of Hilandar of 1597 (*Vilāyet-i Anātōh'da kasaba-i Gedüs'de rizāullah binā ve inšā eylediğimiz cāmi'-i şerifin evkāfindan*). Part of the income was to be set aside for the poor of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. Gazanfer *Ağa* had received generous grants in return for his loyal service to three successive sultans, Selim II, Murad III and Mehmed III. He held various offices on the court from 1566 until 1603, when he fell into disgrace and was executed.¹¹

Gazanfer *Ağa's* *vakıf* was “master of the land” (*sāhib-i arz*) over Hilandar's *metochion* and seems to have remained so until the end of Ottoman rule. Collection of revenues, issuance of *tapunāmes* and other land-related duties were managed by the *zābits* residing in Kassandra rather than by the *mütevellis* of the *vakıf*. Of the *mütevellis* are known Şaban *Çavuş* (1594–98), probably also Yusuf *Çavuş* (1599), and Mehmed, son of Arslan (1690). The

kata ten tourkokratia” [Tax categories in the villages in the Thessaloniki region during Ottoman rule], *Makedonika* 20 (1980), 430–431, 452. Hilandar's *metochia* Phourka and Papastathi are merely mentioned by J. Koder, “Die Metochia der Athos-Klöster auf Sithonia und Kassandra”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* XVI (1967), 222–223; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 354.

¹⁰ HMAT, 1/103, 12/12/6, 1/109a, 1/110a, 1/110b, 2/118, 12/4/2, 12/4/14, 8/98 and others.

¹¹ Demetriades, “Phorologikes categories”, 430–431; idem, “Ottoman Chalkidiki: an Area in Transition”, in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society. Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982, Birmingham (UK) – Washington (USA)*, eds. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Univ. of Birmingham–Dumbarton Oaks: 1986), 39–50; Kolovos, “Chorikoi kai monachoi”, 90–91; HMAT, 12/12/6. In June 1593 Murad III gave permission to Gazanfer *Ağa* to have a *medrese* and his *türbe* built on the foundations of a ruined church in Istanbul, cf. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray Arşivi Kataloğu, Fermānlar, I. Fasikül, No E. I-12476*, eds. Ord. Prof. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı et al. (Ankara: TTK, 1985), no. 181. For Gazanfer *Ağa's* origin and family, see M. P. Pedani, “Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy”, *Turcica* 32 (2000), 9–32.

office of the *zābit* is known to have been held by Mehmed *Ağa* (1611–28) and *Hacci Ali Ağa* (1670–72).¹²

The Ottoman documents term Hilandar's estate a *çiftlik* (1598, 1607), as was common, but also a *metōh* (1632, 1671). Neither a *hududnāme* nor any other document providing information about its boundaries and composition at any point during the two centuries have survived. It should be noted that there is a document of 1634 relating to the hire of labour which records that the area of the *metochion* measured in terms of the seed to be sown is 70 *muzurs* (only in Mavrokol?).¹³ That, however, is even less than the area of arable land that is known to have been freshly acquired (see Table below). The information that can be extracted shows what the monastery's new acquisitions (gifts/bequests?) were. They mostly comprised crop fields in the immediate vicinity of the *metochion*, as obvious from the description of field boundaries. Two periods at which Hilandar considerably enlarged the *metochion* are clearly distinguishable: one in the 1620s and early 1630s, the other in the early 1670s. The newly-purchased fields alone equalled at least 90 *muzurs* and may have cost as much as 123,000 *akçes* (if the contract of sale is trustworthy for 44-*muzur* fields bought for 100,000 *akçes*, which was about ten times the average price (!?); the Greek-written version of the contract seems to suggest the price of 50,000 *akçes*, complete with the house, barns and other elements of the *çiftlik*). It cannot be known with certainty whether the field in Kalandra known as Papa Dimitri's belonged to Hilandar during Dimitri's lifetime (1594). Much later, in 1835, the fields of the *çiftlik* were 300-*dönüm* in area, which is about 28 hectares. In the early twentieth century, Sava Hilandarac (monk Sava/Sabas of Hilandar) records that the tenants of both *metochia* in Kassandra (Papastathi and Phourka) paid the annual rent of 70 *merica* of wheat (4,487kg), which seems an unbelievably low rent, especially if compared with the contemporaneous data supplied by Metodije (Methodius), hegoumen of Hilandar: about 400–500 hectares.¹⁴

¹² HMAT, 1/103, 1/109a, 12/4/1, 12/4/7, 2/153a, 12/4/8, 12/4/9, 12/4/15; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray Arşivi Kataloğu, Hükümler – Beratlar, II. Fasikül, No E. I-12476*, eds. Ord. Prof. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı et al. (Ankara: TTK, 1988), no. 1332. For Gazanfer *Ağa*'s endowments, see S. Eyice, "Gazanfer *Ağa* Külliyesi", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 13 (Istanbul: İSAM, 1996), 432–433, according to whom, Gazanfer *Ağa* built a mosque and a *sibyan* at Gediz.

¹³ The standard *μυζούριον* (*μῶδιος*) of grain equalled 12.8 kg, but it varied from 12.5 to 17 kg in the Byzantine Empire and the surrounding regions, cf. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970), 96, 188. According to some non-official data, in Ottoman times before the 19th century the *Thessaloniki muzur* of grain may have been about 19.242 kg, see A. Fotić, "Xenophontos in the Ottoman Documents of Hilandar (16th–17th C.)", *Hilandarski zbornik* 12 (2008), 203.

¹⁴ HMAT, 1/103, 12/12/15, 6/13, 1/109a, 12/4/7, 12/4/2, 2/153a, 12/4/6, 2/201-4, 12/4/8, 2/166, 12/4/15, 12/4/14, 12/4/17; I. K. Vasdravelles, "Anekdotična phirmania aforonta eis ta en

Property acquired within the village boundaries of Kalandra and Mavrokol in
1611–1687/88

Date	Type	No of items	Previous owner	Boundaries	Size	Price (in <i>akçes</i>)
1594	Field	1	<i>Ištašine</i> (?) Buyer: Paša Dimitri	Kalandra		
1598	Vineyard	1/2	Kiryako	Kalandra		
1611	Field	1	Apostol Mihal	Mavrokol: vineyard and on three sides public lane		4,200
1624	Fields	6	Dimo Gramatiko	Mavrokol	44 <i>muzurs</i>	100,000? (portion of 50,000?)
1624	Vineyard	3	Dimo Gramatiko	Mavrokol		
1627	Vineyard	1	Prokop	Mavrokol: field of Ašiko Belot (?), vineyard of Yorgo Zerve (?) and on two sides Hilandar's vineyards	1 <i>dönüm</i>	350
1628	Field	1	Kirko Maliyari	Kalandra: lane and fields of Mihal Gušeta (?) and Hilandar	7 <i>muzurs</i>	5,000 (paid 2,500)

te Chersoneso Kassandras kai allachou tes Chalkidikikes euriskomena metochia" [Unknown Fermans for the Peninsula of Cassandra and other *metochia* in Chalkidiki], *Makedonika* 13 (1973), 296; Sava Hilandarac, *Istoriya manastira Hilandara* [History of the Monastery of Hilandar], ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade 1997) [manuscript from the 1890s], 81; M. S. Milovanović, *Život u srpskoj carskoj lavri Hilendaru na Svetoj Gori* [The life in the Serbian imperial lavra of Hilandar on the Holy Mountain] (Belgrade 1908), vol. II, 40–41; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 355–358. Apart from HMAT 2/201–4 and 12/4/8, there is a Greek document dated 19 March 1624 on the sale of Dimo Gramatiko's land to Hilandar, according to which the house and other *mülk* possessions, as well as fields, were sold for 50,000 *akçes*, see V. I. Anastasiades, *Arheio tes I. M. Chilandariou. Epitomes metavyzantinon eggraphon* [Archives of the Monastery of Hilandar. Summaries of Post-Byzantine Documents] (Athens 2002), 32. The earlier editors of this document mistakenly interpreted the name Mavropoulos as the name of the seller, and *dήμος γραμματικός* as his occupation. The expression από τοῦ Μαυροπούλου at the end of the document, however, should be interpreted as the name of a village (Mavrokol, Mavropol), rather than a man. See V. Mošin in A. Sovre, *Dodatki na grškim listinam Hilandarja. Supplementa ad acta Graeca Chilandarii* (Ljubljana 1948), 48–49.

1632	Fields	6	Dimogen Satiko (deceased)	Mavrokol: known as fields of Konstantin Şkopolit (?) 1. (Field?) Yorgi Çıçan, lane, Hilandar's vineyard, (field? of) Yani Kazander (?) 2. Vineyard (of?) Saro, mountain, village and brook 3-4. Lane, brook and field of Kosta Mavrait 5. Fields of Kosta, Kondopulo, Dimogen Satiko and Beglik's field 6. (Omitted)	18 dönüms	7,000
1671/ 1672	Fields Vineyard Garden	4 1 1	Monk Grigoriye (Lögōriyō)	Kalandra: 1. Fields of Iveron, Dimitri Maldar and Hilandar on two sides 2. By the brook Phourka: fields of Niko Stamo and Foto Dumo 3. By old flour mills: (fields of) Yani Marine and Yani Zagorone (?) 4. Near Kalandra: (fields of) Papa Kostiyani, Dimitri Filip and Papa Yani Maldar Vineyards of Aleksandar Mavrayit, Yani Marine, Eflamura (?) and Yani Zagorina (?) Near the village: Hilandar's metochion, (fields of) Yani Gorne (?), Yorgo (?), Papa Andon and public lane	17 muzurs 2 muzurs 1.5 muzur 0.5 muzur	7,200 (?)
1687/ 1688	Vineyard	1	Dimitri Çameko	Kalandra: (vineyards of) Stafol (?) Stefani, Dimitri Stefani and Stati Marijan	2 dönüms	

[HMAT, 1/103, 1/109a, 12/4/7, 12/4/2, 2/153a, 12/4/6, 2/201-4, 12/4/8, 12/4/15, 12/4/14, 12/4/17; Mošin in Sovre, 48-49]

Wheat was the staple crop grown on the *metochion*. Apart from monks, the land was worked by the inhabitants of the nearby villages. In 1634, the *ikonomos*, Averki, concluded an arrangement with Papa Yani, Yure (?) Franko, Yani and Ragari (?) of Mavrokol: they were to take care of the entire *metochion*, including the buildings, vineyards and 70-*muzur* fields, for 5 *muzurs* of wheat a year.¹⁵

¹⁵ HMAT, 12/12/15. The locality of Levki (Λεύκη) was in the vicinity of Kalandra. In Byzantine times, a *metochion* of the Lavra Monastery had also been there, and today the

The administration of the *metochion* was also in charge of some other fields the monks of Hilandar held in various places in Kassandra. Some of these are known to have been in the environs of Plastara (see below), some were near Levki and some other place.¹⁶

The *çiftlik* included vineyards and gardens (*babçes*). In May 1598 and in March 1607, a single two-*dönüm* vineyard is registered. In the course of the eighteenth century the monks of Hilandar purchased a few more vineyards, the total area of which probably did not exceed some ten *dönüms*. It is not known whether there had been any gardens/orchards before the purchase in 1671/2 of the large property of the monk Grigorije (*Lögöriyō*) which included a *babçe* with fourteen (fruit-bearing?) trees.¹⁷

The monks of Chilandar also held a winter pasture in Kassandra. It apparently was not in the vicinity of the *metochion* but it certainly was dependent on it, because in 1598 Hilandar owned no other *çiftlik* on the promontory.¹⁸ The presence of a winter pasture suggests a well-developed practice of husbandry, an activity of which no direct information can be found.

Little is known of the composition of the *çiftlik*. In May 1598 a single church is registered. The same year, the monks bought two houses and a threshing barn from Kiryako, a villager of Kalandra. In 1624, Dimo Gramatiko of Mavrokol sold a large plot of arable land, a threshing floor and water worth 100,000 *akçes* to the assignee of Hilandar, hieromonk Ilarion, plus three houses, a flour mill, two grain barns, a vine cellar (*şarāb-hāne*), a hay barn and two carts for 30,000 *akçes*. Three vineyards were included in the price. (According to the Greek contract of sale, all items were sold together for 50,000 *akçes*.) The three houses were between those of Yani Laskaris, Dimo Çatiş (?), Yorgi Verova (?) and the lane. Some ten years later, the monks moved some of their buildings. The 1634 document relating to hiring labour from Mavrokol records that the labourers, apart from working the land, are under obligation to “move” two houses to a different place (*iki kūt'a menzili ābar yere nakl ede*). In 1671/72, the *ikonomos*, elder (*Yero*) Petron, was enlarging the *metochion* once again. He then bought a ground-floor house with two entrances and two porches (*hayāt*) from monk Grigorije

name is borne by the *metochion* of the Iveron Monastery whose origin may be traced back to 1671/72. See P. Theodorides, “Pinakas topographias tou Agioreitikonou paragogikonou chorou” [Topographic List of Athonite Monasteries' Possessions], *Kleronomia* 13/2 (1981), 393; *Actes de Lavra* IV, by P. Lemerle et al. (Paris 1982), 108–110; HMAT, 12/4/15.

¹⁶ HMAT, 2/166.

¹⁷ HMAT, 12/12/15, 6/13, 1/109a, 12/4/2, 2/201-4, 2/166, 12/4/15, 12/4/17; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 358.

¹⁸ HMAT, 12/12/15.

(*Lōgōriyō*) of Kalandra. The house lot was bounded by the lots of Papa Yani, Foti Dumo (?), Dimitri Maldar and Yakov Paskal. With the exception of the church, all listed immovables were acquired after 1598.¹⁹

Taxes were collected by the *zābit* of the *vakıf*, but it remains unknown whether the monks paid them in one lump sum, as most other *metochia* did. The surviving documents do not suggest any abuse by the “master of the land”, which does not mean there were none.

It appears that this *metochion* was not the object of any serious dispute. There is a single minor misunderstanding that can be associated with it. Upon the death of a certain *Adireno* (?) of Kalandra, the *mütevelli* of the *vakıf* took over his property on behalf of *Beyt ül-māl* without having made sure there was no next of kin, and resold it straight away to a monk of Hilandar. In May 1598, however, Adireno’s father, Kyriako, claimed his inheritance. Eventually, a settlement was reached: two houses, a threshing floor and one half of a vineyard remained in Hilandar’s possession, and the monastery paid 500 *akçes* in compensation.²⁰

By the end of the seventeenth century, a good part of the *metochion* had been neglected, perhaps as a result of the war, perhaps for some other reason. As many as 30 *muzurs* of fields were left unworked for more than fifty years. The monks resumed cultivation only in 1751/52, having paid the *tapu* certificate tax (*resm-i tapu*).²¹

Plastara

There was no independent *metochion* of Hilandar’s within the village boundaries of Plastara. The fields the monks purchased in 1597 remained dependent on the already existing *çiftlik* in Kalandra/Mavrokol.

The now non-existent village of Plastara (Πλαστάρρα) obviously existed in Byzantine times because the Monastery of Lavra is known to have been granted a property there in 1259. That, however, remains the last reference to this place-name. The village seems to have been situated in the upper part of the promontory’s eastern coast, within Lavra’s *metochion* that extended between Nea Phokea and Aphetos. Hilandar’s documents dating from the late sixteenth century record it as *P(e)lāstara*, *P(e)lāstāra* and *P(e)lāstāriye*.²²

¹⁹ HMAT, 12/12/15, 1/109a, 12/4/8, 2/201-4, 2/166, 12/4/15, 12/4/14; Mošin in Sovre, *Dodatki*, 48-49; Anastasiades, *Arheio tes I. M. Chilandariou*, 32.

²⁰ HMAT, 1/109a.

²¹ HMAT, 12/4/21.

²² *Actes de Lavra* II, by P. Lemerle et al., (Paris 1977), 71; *Actes de Lavra* IV, 108-110; Theodorides, “Pinakas topographies”, 411; HMAT, 12/12/6, 1/110a, 1/110b, 12/4/1; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 360.

The surviving documents show that Hilandar made its first land purchase in late August 1597. Hegoumen Grigorije and hieromonk Sava bought land from Gazanfer *Ağa* himself, paying 10,000 *akçes* for the idle fields and *baltalıks* of the late Yorgi, a butcher from Plastara. The size of the fields is not specified, but the price paid suggests it was considerable. In a *defter* excerpt of May 1598, the fields are already described as an annex to the *çiftlik* in Kalandra. In the summer of 1599, hegoumen Joakim, hieromonk Averkije and monk Pahomije purchased six more fields and paid 700 *akçes* for the *resm-i tapu*. The opportunity popped up because a villager of Plastara, Dimo Lemozere (?), had fled, possibly because of the war, leaving his land idle. The price suggests that the fields were not large.²³

Property acquired within the village boundaries of Plastara in 1597–99

Date	Type	No. of items	Previous owner	Boundaries	Size	Price (in <i>akçes</i>)	Tax
1597	Fields and <i>baltalıks</i>		Butcher Yorgi (deceased)				10,000
1599	Fields	6	Dimo Lemozere (?) (fled)	1. <i>Synora</i> of Niko Jemenas (?), Niko Fenekos and Yani Sim(on) 2. <i>Synora</i> of Dimo Kostopulo, Dimo Loçon (?) and Niko Fenekos (?) 3. <i>Synora</i> of Yorgi Isara (?), Yorgi <i>müsellem</i> and elder (<i>Yero</i>) (D)imo 4. <i>Synora</i> of Trandafil 5. (Omitted) 6. (Omitted)			700

[HMAT, 12/12/6, 12/4/1]

In the summer of 1599 Hilandar's monks residing in Plastara were brought before the *nā'ib* of Kassandra twice. One of their neighbours, Yani, son of Sim(on), accused them of setting fire to his fields, which consumed the crops, the house, the barn and the hay barn. The monks swore they had

²³ HMAT, 12/12/6, 12/12/15, 12/4/1.

nothing to do with the arson and, as Yani was unable to submit any proof, they were acquitted. The other official investigation was launched as a result of the rumours about *levant* (pirate) ships loading grains in Kassandra and transporting it to the Christian side amidst a war. The monks denied any knowledge of the affair, but they were acquitted only after the *re'āyā* of Plastara testified that there were no outlaws or enemies among them.²⁴

There is no other evidence for Hilandar's possessions in the village of Plastara.

Papastathi

The monks of Hilandar came into possession of the *çiftlik* called Papastathi on 26 December 1669. There is no grounds for assuming its continuity with the medieval *metochion* of Ag. Trias, although undoubtedly both were in the same part of Kassandra.²⁵

Papastathi (Παπαστάθη) *metochion*, in Ottoman documents recorded as *Pāpā İstātī*, *Pāpā İstāt*, was about six kilometres northwest of Kassandra (former Valta). Seventeenth-century documents situate it either “near the village of Vilare” (*Vilāre*) or within its boundaries. In the eighteenth century the name Vilare ceased to be associated with the village. It has survived as the name of a valley.²⁶

Administratively and judicially, Papastathi *metochion* was in the same position as the *çiftlik* in Kalandra/Mavrokol. It also belonged to the *vakıf* of *Kapı Ağa Gazanfer Ağa*, which means that the *vakıf* administration was “master of the land” over Hilandar's land.

Had the documents revealing what really lay behind the transaction not survived, it would appear that monks of Hilandar *purchased* the *çiftlik* of Papastathi. Classical sales documents were drawn up: the *tapunāme* on the transfer of land and the *hüccet* on the sale of the entire estate. On 26 December 1669, the previous holder, monk Kalinik, son of Dimo, with permission of the *zābit* of the *vakıf*, sold (i.e. transferred the right of usufruct) the fields to the monks of Hilandar for 1(40) *guruşes*. The *tapu* tax of 1(4) *guruşes* was paid. (The figures in the brackets were added subsequently above the

²⁴ HMAT, 1/110b, 1/110a.

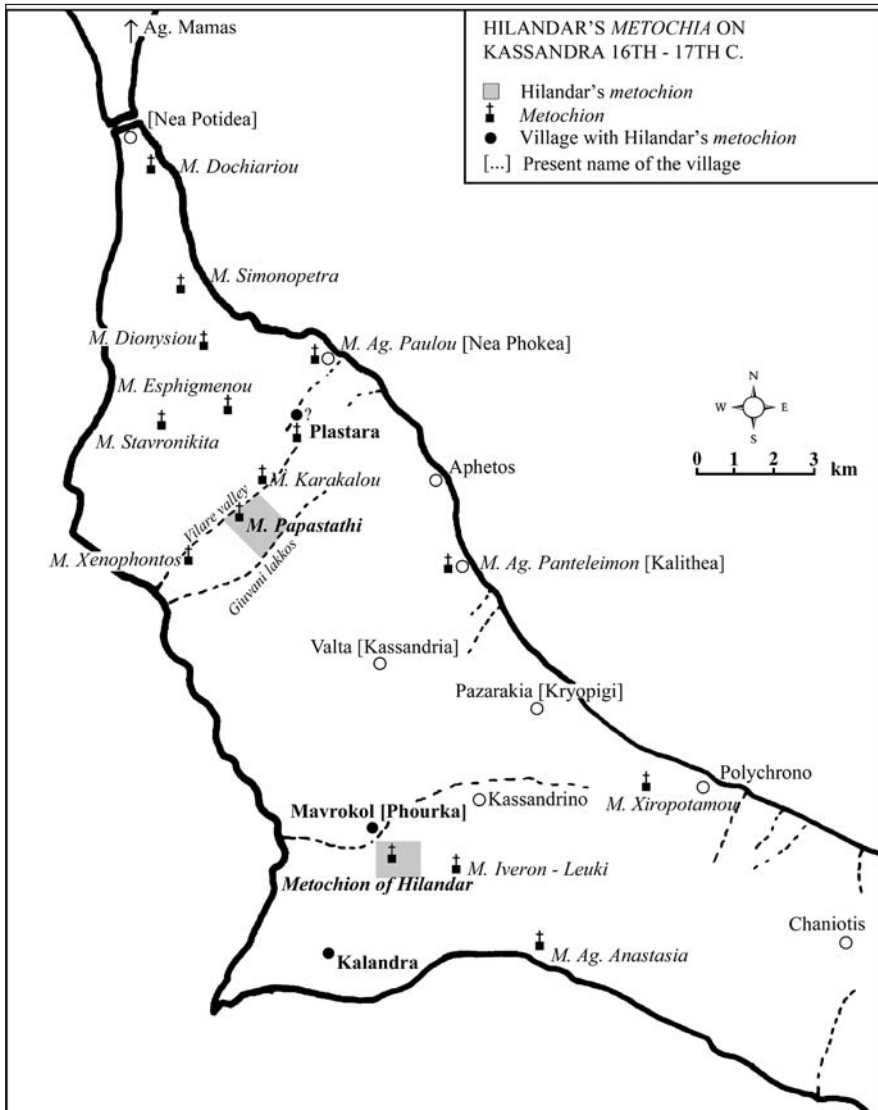
²⁵ The editors of the documents of the Monastery of Lavra have suggested that Papstathi *metochion* might have developed from the medieval Trinity *metochion* (*Actes de Lavra* IV, 110).

²⁶ HMAT, 12/4/16, 12/4/11, 12/3/1, 12/4/9, 12/4/10, 2/196a; Bellier et al., *Paysages*, 201; E. Krüger, *Die Siedlungsnamen Griechisch-Makedoniens nach amtlichen Verzeichnissen und Kartenwerken* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1984), 336, 609 (misread as *Papa Ustead*); Koder, “Die Metochia”, 222; Vasdravelles, “Anekdotia phirmania”, 295; Demetriades, “Phorologikes kategoriai”, 430–431, 452; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 361–362.

original ones in the original document!) It was nearly a year later (!?), in November 1670, that the *hüccet* on the irrevocable sale of the entire *çiftlik* in *mülk* possession for 200 *esedî guruşes* was authenticated by the *nā'ib* of Kasandra. The “purchase” transaction was overseen by the monk Petron, son of Dimo, from the *Bulgarian metochion* in Kalamaria, who probably served as *ikonomos* at the time. That the purchase was fictitious may be seen from Kalinik’s handwritten *omologia* of 21 November 1670 that has survived. This document of elder Kalinik, by then already a member of Hilandar’s brotherhood, shows that he made a gift of his previously bought *metochion* and small *bahçe* to the monastery. It in fact was a lifetime care agreement, because Kalinik asked for a novice to attend to him at the monastery and at his cell at Karyes in return. That it was a gift and not a sale is confirmed by the *hüccet* of February 1674, issued in connection with the inheritance dispute with Kalinik’s daughter. It accurately invokes the prescribed Shari’ah formula for gifts (bequests) made for God-pleasing purposes: the property is not donated to the monastery, but to the “monastery’s poor”. As for arable land, it was state-owned and therefore could not be donated. It is therefore clear why a *tapunāme* had to be drawn up and the *tapu* tax paid. The question remains open, however, as to why the sale contract authenticated by the *kādī* court included Kalinik’s privately owned property (*mülk*) which he was entitled to give away. The probable reason is that such a contract was safer, namely it was much more difficult to contest by potential claimants to the inheritance.²⁷

Together with the *çiftlik* the monks obtained a number of related documents, which reveal some of its previous history and the origin of its name. Before July 1647, the *çiftlik* had been held by the inhabitants of Ag. Mamas *Papa İstati* and his sons *Timoti*, *Yani*, *Duka*, *İstati*, *Kosta* and *Hristodulo*. They had given it to *muhassıl* Ahmed *Ağa* of Thessaloniki as security for a loan of 50,000 “weak” (*zayıf*) *akçes*. As they, in July 1647, paid back the loan, converted to 420 *guruşes*, the *çiftlik* was returned to them. In late 1648, *Papa Stathi*’s sons sold the *çiftlik* to *Yani*, son of *Katākale*, and *Sevāştīyānō*, son of *Angele*, for 100 *guruşes* (50 *guruşes* for the buildings, and 50 for the fields). The entire course of events is not fully clear, but in January 1650 *Yani* and *Sevāştīyānō* had to buy the *çiftlik* from the abovementioned *Ahmed Ağa*. Besides the money already paid, they gave 40,000 *akçes* more, 20,000 for the *mülk* property and 20,000 for the fields. It was then that the estate was first

²⁷ HMAT, 12/4/9, 12/4/10, 2/196a (in this document Kalinik is, probably by mistake, described as son of *Yani*, not of *Dimo*); Mošin in *Sovre, Dodatki*, 53. For the ways of donating property to monasteries, and for this particular case, see A. Fotić, “Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th–17th C.)”, *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 9–13 Eylül 2002). Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, II. Cilt – I. Kısım (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 2005), 721–728.



referred to as *Pāpā Īstātī çiftligi*. The only missing link is the one that would connect Yani and *Sevāštīyānō* with Kalinik, son of Dimo (Yani?)²⁸

The “purchase” documents contain no information about the size of the arable land or its boundaries. An earlier document, the *hüccet* of 1648 that the brotherhood obtained together with the *çiftlik*, refers to some 300 *dönüms* (about 28 hectares) of “scattered and neglected” (*müteferrik ve perişān*) fields. The *çiftlik* had been bounded by the *mülk* property of the

²⁸ HMAT, 2/178b, 12/4/12, 12/4/16, 12/3/1, 12/4/11; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 362.

buyers — Yani, son of *Katākale*, and *Sevāštijānō*, son of Angele — by the *mülk* property of the monastery of Ag. Anastasia (*Ay/a/naštāš rāhibleri*), a field of *Karamōyō* (?) and a field of *Karakār* (Karakalou Monastery?). It is an open question, of course, as to whether all those fields became the property of the *çiftlik* in 1670. The *metochion*'s boundaries in 1835 are known. It was bounded by the *metochion* of the Karakalou Monastery, the valley called Jovan, the *metochion* of the Monastery of Ag. Anastasia, and Vilare Valley. Hegoumen Methodije recorded in the early twentieth century that the *metochion* occupied about 500 hectares of fertile land and that the tenant paid an annual rent of 6,000 *okas* (7,692kg) of wheat. His contemporary, Sava Hilandarac, however, quotes a considerably lower rent of 70 *merica* (4,487kg) of wheat for both *metochia* (Papastathi and Phourka).²⁹

In 1670, in addition to fields, Hilandar acquired two vegetable gardens (*bostan yeri*). Perhaps the term referred to 10 *dönüms* of vineyards and 5 *dönüms* of gardens (*bagçe*) stated in a settlement deed of 1674. Before the *çiftlik* came into Hilandar's possession, not only fields but also vegetable gardens had been registered, at first only a half of a single one (1648), and later as many as six (1650).³⁰

In 1674 the core of the *metochion* consisted of buildings and a barn. In 1648, twenty years before it became Hilandar's, its core consisted of six ground-floor rooms/houses, a hay barn and a farmyard (*altı bāb tahtani odaları ve samanlığı ve havluyn müstemmel çiftlik*).³¹

The only dispute the monks of Hilandar residing on Papastathi *metochion* ever faced had to do with the very transaction of donation. It was launched by a relative of the donor's. Kalinik's sister Maruda confirmed to the court in 1674 that her brother had donated the *çiftlik* to Hilandar in his lifetime, but claimed 30 *muzurs* of wheat and 9,000 *akçes* which, according to her, had not been included in the gift. Petron, a monk of Hilandar, denied any knowledge about the wheat and money, but the protracted dispute eventually ended with a settlement calling for Petron to pay her 110 *esedi guruşes*.³²

Papastathi *metochion* in Kassandra was one of the largest *metochia* Hilandar acquired in the late period of Ottoman rule, towards the end of

²⁹ HMAT, 12/4/16; Vasdravelles, "Anekdotična phirmania", 294; Milovanović, *Život u srpskoj carskoj lavri Hilandaru* II, 39–40; Sava Hilandarac, *Istorija manastira Hilandara*, 81. On the Monastery of St Anastasia, see J. Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine. Notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Age. 1: La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris 1982), 88, 152–153; for the *metochia* of the monasteries of St Anastasia and Karakalou in Kassandra, see Koder, "Die Metochia", 218, 223.

³⁰ HMAT, 12/4/10, 2/196a, 12/4/11, 12/4/6.

³¹ HMAT, 2/196a, 12/4/16; Fotić, *Sveta Gora*, 362.

³² HMAT, 2/196a.

1669. It remained in Hilandar's possession for two centuries. *Kassandra* and *Kalamaria* were known as breadbaskets of the Athonite monasteries and it is no wonder that Hilandar sought to enlarge its possessions there.

Hilandar did not begin to acquire possessions in *Kassandra* until the very end of the sixteenth century. No connection has been found between the newly-acquired *metochia* and those Hilandar had held under Byzantine rule. The examined documents relating to the *metochia* within the boundaries of the villages *Kalandra* and *Mavrokol*, the now non-existent village of *Plastara*, and that of *Kassandria*, which was called *Valta* then, have provided useful information about the ways of property acquisition, the composition of the monastic estates, forms of tenure, relations with "master of the land", taxes and legal disputes. The Ottoman documents relating to *Papstathi metochion* are particularly interesting because they can be compared with the documents simultaneously drawn up in Greek. The widespread practice of donating property to monasteries in exchange for lifetime care has also been dealt with. On the other hand, the same documents show that gifts or bequests were sometimes disguised as sales, which is a little studied practice. Although most documents are title deeds and *hüccets* relating to immovable property transactions, they do offer information that may be useful for furthering our knowledge of the topography, the economy and everyday life in *Kassandra* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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The Sixteenth-century Altar Painting of the Cattaran (Kotor) Fraternity of Leather-makers

Abstract: The altar painting that the Cattaran Fraternity of Leather-makers commissioned from the Venetian painter Girolamo da Santa Croce in the first half of the sixteenth century contains the images of Sts Bartholomew, George and Antoninus. The presence of the first two saints is looked at from the perspective of a long-established religious tradition, while the reasons for depicting the archbishop Antoninus giving alms to the poor appear to reside in the then prevailing religious policy and the local social situation.

Keywords: altar painting, Fraternity of Leather-makers, Kotor (Cattaro), St Bartholomew, *caritas*, Fraternity of Shoemakers, Observant Dominicans

During the late medieval period, altar paintings, statues and polyp-tychs became an integral part of the everyday religious practices of the Catholic Church in Cattaro (Kotor).¹ For the most part commissioned by fraternities, altar paintings were nonetheless increasingly commissioned by lay persons from various socioeconomic strata. Information about the presence and importance of altar paintings in the spiritual life of medieval Cattaro can be gleaned from written sources, especially fraternity statutes and citizens' wills.

A distinctive type of lay associations, fraternities strongly combined occupational and daily-life concerns with typically late medieval religious requirements. The focus of their religious practice was on celebrating the patron saint, on whose feast day annual festivities were organized. Solemn oaths, associated with significant events, and daily prayers were offered to a fraternity's patron saint depicted in altar paintings or statues. The Cattaran fraternities usually had their altars set up at town churches, but rarely had the right of patronage (*ius patronatus*) of a church. An especially large number of altars could be found in the churches of the mendicant orders, which is not at all surprising given that Franciscan and Dominican teaching was designed to have a wide appeal and that their religious practice led to the multiplication of side altars in churches.

¹ Cattaro, modern Kotor in the Gulf of Kotor, Montenegro, was part of medieval Serbia between 1185 and 1371 and under Venetian suzerainty from 1420 to 1797.

After the extramural Dominican church of St Nicholas on the Škudra river was torn down for security reasons, in 1545 a new one was built within the town walls near the monastery of St Clara.² One of the craft fraternities that had their altar set up in the new Dominican church was the Fraternity of Leather-makers.³ The altar dedicated to the patron saint of their trade, St Bartholomew, was decorated with a painting (today in Kotor Cathedral Treasury) showing St Bartholomew, the mounted figure of St George slaying the dragon and St Antoninus of Florence, and signed *Heironymo da Santa Croce – P.* The painting has been drawing scholarly attention mostly for its unusual style. The style has been described as conservative, the composition as awkward, and the figures of saints as erratically arranged.⁴ Stylistic conservatism was typical of the Venetian painters Girolamo da Santa Croce (1480–1556) and his son Francesco, both followers of Giovanni Bellini. It was exactly Girolamo's adherence to the medieval tradition in a predominantly Renaissance setting that prompted churches and fraternities in Venetian Dalmatia to commission his paintings.⁵ Rather than result-

² For more about the Dominican monastery, see I. Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru* (Split 1938), 62–63; on the original church of St Nicholas on the river and the history of the Dominican order in Kotor, cf. S. Krasić, "Nekadašnji dominikanski samostan sv. Nikole u Kotoru (1266–1807), *PPUD* 28 (1989), 129–141.

³ The information about the decoration of the main and side altars of the Dominican church comes from the chronicle written in 1716 by Fra Vincentije Mario Babić. The intramural church of St Nicholas had eight altars, one each dedicated to Sts Nicholas, Dominic, Catherine of Siena, Vincent Ferrer, Bartholomew, Hyacinth, Barbara and Mary Magdalene, and each with a painting. The chronicle, "Sulle Boche di cattaro concernenti il culto", is now kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (III, 88). Its sections containing information about the altar paintings have been published in N. Luković, *Blažena Ozana Kotorka* (Kotor 1965), 38–39, and Krasić, "Dominikanski samostan", 133, 140.

⁴ The style of the painting has been discussed by D. Westphal, "Malo poznata slikarska djela XIV do XVIII stoljeća u Dalmaciji", *Rad JAZU* 258 (1937), 33; K. Prijatelj, "Nekoliko slika Girolama i Francesca da Santacroce" *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* III (1957), 191; V. J. Djurić, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola* (Belgrade 1963), 220; Luković, *Ozana Kotorka*, 15; K. Prijatelj, "Marginalije uz neke umjetnine relikvijara Kotorske katedrale", *Starine Crne Gore* III–IV (1965–66), 25–30; N. Luković, "Freske i slike katedrale sv. Tripuna", in *800 godina katedrale sv. Tripuna u Kotoru* (Kotor 1966), 67; J. Grgurević, "Oltari, slike i umjetnički predmeti kotorskih bratovština", *GPMK* XLI–XLII (1963–64), 89–90.

⁵ A list of the churches containing paintings by Girolamo and his son Francesco can be found in Prijatelj, "Marginalije", 27–29. On the work of the Santa Croce family, see G. Fiocco, "I Pittori da Santacroce", *L'Arte* (1916), 179; K. Prijatelj, "Starigradski triptih Francesca da Santacroce", *Bilten Arhiva komune brvatske* II/2 (1960), 8–22; idem, *Studije o umjetninama u Dalmaciji* (Zagreb 1963), vol. I, 44–46; C. Fisković, "Neobjavljena



Girolamo da Santa Croce, Altar painting of the Fraternity of Leather-makers

ing from the painter's lack of skill, the obviously conservative style of the Leather-makers Fraternity's altar painting should be seen as reflecting the patrons' taste. It seems likely that the Fraternity recognized in the classical three-figure composition the medieval form of polyptych which they were familiar with because it was in front of such altar paintings that they prayed

djela Girolama i Francesca da Santacroce na Visu, Lopudu i Korčuli", *Peristil* VI–VII (1963–64), 57–66; K. Prijatelj, "Le opera di Girolamo e Francesco da Santacroce in Dalmazia", *Arte lombarda* XII/1 (1967), 55–66.

in the town churches. The painting was commissioned by a group of Kotor citizens and for their local community, and therefore should not be looked at from the perspective of the Venetian environment, where its style would have certainly been considered old-fashioned. As we shall see below, the style of the painting, if looked at in the context of the community for which it was intended, goes hand in hand with its somewhat unusual iconography. Both have their origin in the medieval taste, outlook and religious practice of the townspeople in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The exact date of the painting is not known. It has been assumed to have been commissioned in 1545, when the intramural Dominican monastery was built, and its style does correspond to that date.⁶ A surviving document of 1540 makes mention of a *pala* of the Leather-makers Fraternity in the making of which the woodcarver Francisci took part.⁷ Yet, in dating the painting based on its style one should take into account that a conservative-style painting could have been produced at any point during a quite long period of time. In the absence of a documentary source, the only secure *terminus post quem* seems to be 1523, the year Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, was canonized. The other limit would be 1556, the year of Girolamo da Santa Croce's death.

In the centre of the painting is St Bartholomew, patron saint of leatherworkers. On his right side is the mounted figure of St George, on his left St Antoninus. The patron saint is raised, like a statue, on a Renaissance pedestal decorated with relief carvings of dolphins. With a cloak over his shoulders, he holds his own flayed skin in the left hand, and a long knife in his right. St Antoninus (1389–1459), a Dominican friar and archbishop of Florence, holds a book and a crucifix in his left hand, while giving alms to the poor kneeling behind the pedestal with the other. Sts Bartholomew and Antoninus are standing in the foreground, which is clearly set off by a stone slab, against a Renaissance landscape with a walled city in the distance. The part of the landscape closer to the viewer contains the figure of St George slaying the dragon, while the princess praying on a hill is shown in the distance. Next to the dragon is a skull and bones.

That the cult of St Bartholomew had a tradition in Kotor can be seen from the reference to a church dedicated to him which was made as early as 1288 in a document which shows that services in the church were celebrated by Dominicans with permission of its many hereditary owners (patrician families of Bisanti/Bizanti, Drago, Grubogna/Grubonja, Pasquali/

⁶ The dating was proposed by Prijatelj, "Marginalije", 30.

⁷ M. Milošević, "Prilozi za istoriju zanata u Kotoru", in *Pomorski trgovci, ratnici i mecene* (Podgorica–Belgrade 2003), 142, note 20 (after Historical Archives, Kotor, Court-Notarial Documents [IAK SN] XLVI, 662).

Paskvali, Buchia/Buča, Zaguri and Basili/Bazili).⁸ It was in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the leather-makers' painting was done, that the church of St Bartholomew rose to prominence. Blessed Osanna, a highly revered local Dominican tertiary and hermitess, chose for her first hermitage a small cell at the corner of the church of St Bartholomew between the town walls in the northwest part of the town. She lived there for seven years to the astonishment of the townspeople at learning that there was such a thing as a town anchorite.⁹ Also from the first half of the sixteenth century dates a reference to the relic of St Bartholomew deposited in the Cathedral. The bishop of Cattaro, Triffon Bisanti/Tripo Bizanti, ordered in 1515 that the saint's finger be put on display on the main altar on his feast day (*In sancti Bartholomei apostolic eius digitus*).¹⁰

The reasons for the presence of Sts George and Antoninus on the altar painting of the Leather-makers Fraternity should be looked for as much in the local tradition as in the then prevailing religious practices. St George, the previous patron saint of the city and patron of armourers and sword makers, enjoyed profound reverence in Kotor throughout the medieval period. Even after St Tryphon became Kotor's new patron saint, the old custom of electing town officials on St George's Day continued to be observed. A connection between the two cults can also be seen from a legend according to which the relics of St Tryphon during their translation were first brought to the abbot of the monastery of St George near Perast in the Gulf of Kotor. In memory of that event, the abbot of the monastery of St George was to celebrate Mass in the cathedral on St Tryphon's Day.¹¹ By commissioning the image of the city's old patron saint, the leather-makers of Kotor, described in a local dispute as incomers, probably wished to highlight the tradition as an evidence of their being well-adjusted to their environment.

⁸ On the document describing how Domnius, bishop of Cattaro, harshly offended the Dominicans by physically assaulting abbot Urban in the church of St Bartholomew in 1288, and on the errors made in a translation of the document, see L. Blehova Čelebić, *Hrišćanstvo u Boki 1200–1500. Kotorski distrikt* (Podgorica 2006), 45–46.

⁹ Osanna's ascetic endeavour was supported by honourable Slavuš, Toma Grubogna/Grubonja of the Ordine di San Francesco Osservante and the Dominican theologian Fra Vicko Buchia/Buča. Another Dominican, Serafino Razzi (1531–1611), penned her vita following his 1589 stay in Kotor and printed it in Florence in 1592. His *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio la madre Osanna da Cattaro, dell'ordine di San Domenico* was included in the third part of Timoteo Cisilla's *Bove d'oro* in the section "Dodaci" [Appendices] of *Analisti, Hroničari. Biografi*, ed. M. Milošević (Cetinje 1996), 102–129.

¹⁰ Stjepčević, *Katedrala*, 37, note 211.

¹¹ P. Butorac, *Opatija sv. Jurja kod Perasta* (Perast 1999), 18–19.

The most intriguing element of the altar painting is certainly the presence of St Antoninus of Florence. His presence on the altar painting commissioned by a Cattaran craft fraternity sheds light on many aspects of religiosity. Firstly, the leather-makers' altar was set up in a Dominican church, and St Antoninus was a prominent vicar general of the reformed Dominican order pursuing rigorous discipline. The fact that in Cattaro St Bartholomew was especially revered by the Dominicans favours the presumed connection between the iconography of the altar painting and Dominican teaching. As head of the Archbishopric of Florence in 1445–59, Antoninus put much effort into upholding the moral and spiritual strength of the faithful in order to encourage, but also to channel, lay religiosity, which by then had developed forms of expression in Italian towns; hence his particular commitment to organizing charity work on the city level. Pope Nicholas V supported Antoninus' charitable pursuits, which became particularly visible during a plague outbreak and in the wake of a strong earthquake. It should be noted that the pope proclaimed him as worthy of being venerated as St Bernardino of Siena.¹² The introduction of the cult of St Antoninus in Cattaro, where the saintly cult of the Observant Franciscan Bernardino of Siena was particularly strong, may be understood as the Reformed or Observant Dominicans' response.

Another motive for the introduction of the Florentine Dominican saint's cult in Cattaro should be looked for in Antoninus' ecclesiastical and political activity. His energetic pursuit of discipline, both within fraternities and in the city's communal policies, fitted into the widely accepted social and charitable ideology of the Catholic Church. With the view to exercising stricter control over the religious practices of the laity, Antoninus demanded that the Florentine fraternities observe their own statutes and comply with them in their devotional practices. His interest in fraternities and their religio-political activity may be explained by the fact that he belonged to a mendicant order. Both Dominicans and Franciscans strongly upheld the establishment and diffusion of various forms of religious lay associations. Of the latter, fraternities, with their combined pious and occupational goals, were certainly the most numerous in urban environments. The increasingly important role of penitence in religious practices was inspired by the new Observant movement, which swept over the mendicant orders in the fifteenth century. In Antoninus' Florence it resulted, among other things, in the founding of several flagellant fraternities. What distinguished the newly-founded lay associations inspired by the Observant movement was

¹² St Antoninus established the well-known Dominican monastery of St Mark in 1436 and took part in the 1439 Council of Florence. Cf. D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford 1992), 24–25.

their increased concern with pursuing the fundamental principles of charity. It was this marked concern for the poor outside their own fraternities that distinguished the flagellant associations founded under the auspices of the archbishop Antoninus. His commitment to *caritas*, which became obvious during the plague outbreak of 1448, was embraced by the *Buonomini di St Martino*, a fraternity founded in 1442 whose focus was on charitable work, especially for the benefit of the neediest categories of society.¹³

The leather-makers' altar painting depicts St Antoninus in a way that reflects the archbishop's religious ideas: he is giving alms to the poor. In that way, the saint sets the example of charitable activity that was expected from all craft and religious fraternities. The issue of Observant commitment to charitable work should nonetheless be looked at with caution and interpreted from the perspective of the period in which it originated. In towns with a tradition of self-government charitable activity usually had an organized form and was supported by the commune, the Church and the laity. The virtue of *caritas* was a bond connecting all strata of society and constituted the moral strength of any *Buon Comune*, because love of the neighbour was identified with peace maintenance. The underlying principle of the medieval *Buon Comune* was the interest of the community above self-interest. Charitable work, which was soon to be codified, rested on the idea of interconnection between poverty and wellbeing as a key to the development and functioning of an urban commune. In medieval society, *caritas*, although a central idea of Christian teaching, was interpreted in very diverse contexts and exercised accordingly. The Observant Dominicans and Franciscans particularly addressed the problem of endemic poverty. Two Observant friars, a Franciscan, Bernardino of Siena, and a Dominican, Antoninus of Florence, elevated *caritas* to a symbol of the *Buon Comune*, thereby producing harsh social and political criticism of how the Italian cities were governed. They were particularly harsh in describing usury as unnatural cruelty contrary to God's laws and to the basic principles of *caritas*. For them, delivering the poor from sin was a distinctly Christian imperative, and they devoted their preaching and their political work to it. Yet, it should be noted that Antoninus' understanding of the problem of poverty reflected an understanding that was not entirely new to Florence. The pursuit of *caritas* in daily life had already been discussed by Leone Battista Alberti in his *L'Architettura*. He believed that the responsibility for providing charity and especially for the poor lay on the Church, State and hospices. Like Alberti, the archbishop of Florence differentiated among the poor, dividing them into two catego-

¹³ The Florentine archbishop's role in the founding and activity of flagellant fraternities has been discussed by J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Medieval Florence* (Chicago & London 1997), 41–46 and 58.

ries: worthy and worthless. Contempt (*disprezzo*) inherent in this division is typical of the Florentine society of the time. Thus the concept underlying the *Buonomini di S. Martino* was, under the influence of Antoninus, to provide relief for a very limited number of *poveri vergognosi*, those ashamed to beg. Antoninus considered beggars and vagrants as worthless, continuing Alberti's idea that such poor should be expelled from the city after three days without labour. The "worthy" poor, according to Antoninus, were mostly the sick and the disabled, and it was up to hospices to provide care for them.¹⁴

An aspect of Antoninus' political activity is very important for understanding the circumstances under which the altar painting of St Bartholomew was commissioned by the Fraternity of Leather-makers. Namely, aware of the potential threat that lay associations posed to the preservation of Catholic dogma and to communal and social peace, the archbishop sought to place fraternities under strict control.¹⁵ Fraternities offered a markedly propitious setting for lay persons to cultivate their love of God and to act charitably towards their neighbours and the needy. Thus the fraternities in Cattaro were instrumental in shaping and cementing religious, economic and social relations. The aspirations and activities of the members of the fraternities had effect on the entire commune. The preservation of social peace became a hot issue in Cattaro in the first half of the sixteenth century, the actors of which were the artisans working with leather: leather-makers and shoemakers. The shoemakers maintained an altar to St Crispin in the Church of St Benedict, later transferred to the Church of St Jerome. The two fraternities entered a dispute in the early sixteenth century, when the leather-makers grew strong and able to commission an altar painting from an Italian painter. The dispute over the right to pursue leather craft, a craft which lay at the core of both trades, often led to litigation and was a starting point for social intolerance. The distinction between the shoemakers as natives and leather-makers as incomers surfaced in the first recorded dispute in 1509. The Gastald and the representatives of the Fraternity of Shoemakers described the shoemaking trade as having once been flourishing in the

¹⁴ Alberti's and Antoninus' concept of *caritas* and their distinction between the "worthy" and "worthless" poor is considerably different from the fourteenth-century all-encompassing concept of the Poor of Christ; cf. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 357–358 and 373.

¹⁵ While encouraging the founding of new fraternities and their charitable pursuits, Antoninus remained contemptuous of the Renaissance taste for material things and forbade members of such associations from taking part in the procession of the clergy on the feast day of the patron saint of Florence because of their earlier *cose di vanità e cose mundane*. Instead, they were to have a separate ceremony on the previous day, cf. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 418–419.

town and blamed its decline on the incoming leather-makers. They saw it as a gross injustice, because they had been citizens of Cattaro since the days of yore. What the situation was before the dispute is not quite clear. There is virtually no reference to leather-makers in the surviving documents of an earlier date, which suggests that the shoemakers had used to make leather themselves. With the development of crafts and the increasing inflow of leather-makers, the shoemakers' monopoly was naturally challenged. The reason for their effort to preserve their monopoly must have been the fact that leather was a much sought-for export commodity and hide processing a lucrative craft.¹⁶ This first recorded dispute ended in the shoemakers' victory. The leather-makers were permitted to process skins (goat and sheep), but not (cow) hides, which remained the privilege of the shoemakers who had their workshops in the city. The leather-makers were not allowed to process cow hides unless they opened shoemaking workshops, a condition they were hardly able to satisfy. That such a state of affairs was untenable in the long run is obvious from the continuous growth of the craft of leather-making in the city. The leather-makers are known to have had their statute in 1536 (a 1717 copy has survived and is kept in the Kotor Historical Archives). In 1575 they were exempted from paying the cow hide processing tax, which means that by then they had already been permitted to pursue the craft for some time.¹⁷

The sources analyzed above allow the conclusion that the leather-making craft developed at a fast pace, and the altar painting commissioned from Girolamo da Santa Croce for the Fraternity's altar of St Bartholomew seems to be an unquestionable proof that they were growing stronger and wealthier. It was an expression of piety carefully cultivated by all craft fraternities. On the other hand, the fact that this Fraternity was permitted to set up its altar reflects a certain degree of social acceptance on the part of the Cattaran community.

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¹⁶ Sixteenth-century Kotor mostly exported commodities coming from the hinterland of Montenegro and Herzegovina, above all goat leather (cordovan), and as many as 1,600 sheets a year, cf. M. Milošević, "Neki aspekti pomorske privrede Boke Kotorske", *Pomorski trgovci, ratnici i mecene*, 41.

¹⁷ For the dispute, see Milošević, "Prilozi", 140, 143-144 (after IAK SN XXVI, 592; LXI, 841).

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John Stuart Mill in Nineteenth-century Serbia: Influence on Political Thought and Gender Issues

Abstract: The paper deals with the reception of J. S. Mill's writings by contemporary Serbian intellectuals. As shown in the paper, the impact that Mill's ideas made on many important Serbian politicians and philosophers from all parts of the political spectrum was broad and profound. Special attention is paid to the work of liberal and socialist thinkers, notably Vladimir Jovanović and Svetozar Marković. The influence of Mill's ideas on Serbia's political development is also examined, as well as how Mill's attitude towards the question of women's rights impacted contemporary Serbian political thought.

Key words: John Stuart Mill, Serbia, Vladimir Jovanović, Svetozar Marković, Petar Kara-djordjević, liberalism, women's rights, politics

By the 1860s Great Britain and Serbia had had three decades of regular diplomatic relations behind them. As Serbia was only an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty at the time, from 1837 the relations were maintained through the British consul general in Belgrade and the ambassador in Constantinople. The relations between the largest empire in the world and a small autonomous principality landlocked on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire were very complex, though. Great Britain sought to thwart Russia's penetration into the Balkans and to contain her influence. British policy was controversial inasmuch as it supported the preservation of the Ottoman Empire and the emancipation of the Principality of Serbia at the same time. Britain, a far-off country without any obvious economic and military role in Serbia, nonetheless exerted a significant political influence on the Principality in the late 1830s (1837–39), during the Crimean War (1853–56) and at the time of the Kanli-dja Conference (1863). On an individual scale, one may mention Britons such as David Urquhart, a radical British politician and Russophobe who visited Serbia a few times in the 1830s and had an ideological influence on the question of her Constitution and the creation of a national programme, and Andrew Archibald Paton who published the first extensive account of travels through Serbia.¹ Ideas of British liberalism were first

¹ David Urquhart, *A Fragment of the History of Servia* (London 1843) (translated into Serbian and published in 1989); Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia, Youngest Member of*

introduced in Serbia in the late 1850s by Konstantin Bogdanović and Vladimir Jovanović. It was as a result of those ideas that the so-called St Andrew's Day Assembly (1858/9) became the first parliament to assume sovereign power in a South-East European country. It seems interesting to note that in the mid-nineteenth century democratism was considered to be a feature of Serbia by the British public. Thus in 1858 John Bright, a British radical politician and champion of parliamentary reform, described the Serbs as a "democratic" people who allowed "upper classes" to be represented in the National Assembly.² In such a society the influence of a philosopher of liberalism such as John Stuart Mill could be nothing less than considerable.

Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government, On Liberty and Centralization* strongly influenced political and state-building thought in Serbia, notably the evolution of liberal thought during the 1860s and 1870s. One of the leading theorists of liberalism, Vladimir Jovanović, was the first to introduce Serbian society to the writings of English utilitarianists and positivists. He became acquainted with the work of English theorists of liberalism during his stays in London in the 1850s and 1860s. Holding John Stuart Mill in highest esteem, he translated into Serbian and published Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* in 1876.³ Jovanović's sympathies towards Mill seem to have stemmed from the fact that Mill's utilitarianism did not exclude the state from playing a role in the economy and social affairs. Namely, the Serbian liberals believed that the economy of an underdeveloped country such as Serbia had better prospects if assisted by the state.⁴ Moreover, Mill was acknowledged as one of the greatest thinkers of his time in all of Europe.

It was Mill's seminal work *Considerations on Representative Government* that Djura Vukičević, a distinguished Vojvodina⁵ jurist, drew

the European Family or, A Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the years 1843 and 1844 (London 1845).

² Some members of the St Andrew's Day Assembly were appointed by the Prince. Cf. Č. Antić, "Britanske vesti o Svetoandrejskoj skupštini" [British press about St Andrew's Assembly], *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 63–64 (2001), 244.

³ D. T. Bataković, "Vladimir Jovanović – apostol liberalizma u Srbiji" [Vladimir Jovanović, the apostle of liberalism in Serbia], in *Liberalna misao u Srbiji. Prilozi istoriji liberalizma od kraja XVIII do sredine XX veka*, eds. J. Trkulja and D. Popović [Liberal thought in Serbia. Contributions to the history of Liberalism from the late 18th to the mid-20th century] (Belgrade 2001), 171.

⁴ B. Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji na srpski liberalizam u XIX veku* [European Influences on Serbian Liberalism in the 19th Century] (Sremski Karlovci–Novi Sad 2005), 757.

⁵ *Srbska Vojvodovina* or *Vojvodina Srbija* (Serbian Duchy) and Tamiški Banat, roughly Serbia's present-day northern province of Vojvodina, was an entity (*krunovina* or crown

on in writing his influential article “Representative system” published in 1876.⁶ He used a German translation because Jovanović’s was not published until later that year.⁷ Vukičević did not embrace Mill’s ideas unreservedly. Calling for a more radical democracy, he was critical of the English parliamentary system, and considered all limitations imposed on the right to vote as an injustice “violating the natural rights of man”.⁸ Vukičević concurred with Mill’s arguments against universal suffrage, mass participation in politics and the unlimited power of government, and with Mill’s belief that good education was the foremost and indispensable prerequisite for being able to make decisions of importance for a state. Convinced that a state governed by incompetent and ignorant people would inevitably end up in a general crisis, Mill argued that government should be performed by a minority, the educated elite, with the majority having enough liberties and rights to be able to control it.⁹ Vukičević therefore called for “general popular education” to be carried out before such a government could be instituted in Serbia. The right to vote would then be denied only to “criminals and mentally retarded”. On the other hand, he rejected Mill’s argument for giving individuals from the “better-educated” classes a double voting right, believing that it might make sense in countries with clear-cut class divisions, which was not the case in Serbia, where, according to his opinion, “social relations rest on much more natural foundations than in the European West”. According to some interpretations, Vukičević was also opposed to indirect voting under a bicameral system, which was later supported by most Serbian liberals.¹⁰

land) in the Habsburg Empire, established during the 1848/9 revolution by the political representatives of the Serbs from the south-eastern parts of the Habsburg Empire. After the revolution the Austrian government denied democratic and national rights to its ethnic Serb subjects, but the nominal existence of *Vojvodina Srbija* continued until 1860, when it was abolished.

⁶ Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji*, 656.

⁷ In 1876 this book of Mill’s became accessible to the Serbs who spoke Hungarian. It was translated by Benjamin Kállay, Austro-Hungarian consul general in Belgrade 1868–75 and administrator of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1882–1903.

⁸ Quoted after Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji*, 759.

⁹ M. Djurković, *Politička misao Džona Stjuarta Mila* [Political Thought of John Stuart Mill] (Belgrade 2006), 226 and 229.

¹⁰ Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji*, 759. However, the National Liberal Party’s official programmes (of 1888 and 1889) proclaimed a unicameral parliament as a party goal. Cf. V. Krestić and R. Ljušić, *Programi i statuti srpskih političkih stranaka do 1918* [Programmes and Statutes of Serbian Political Parties until 1918] (Belgrade 1991), 167, 171.

John S. Mill's famous essay *On Liberty* was translated into Serbian and published in Vienna in 1868 by Prince Petar Karadjordjević,¹¹ future King of Serbia (1903) and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–21). A little earlier the Prince had met Vladimir Jovanović in Pest and their discussion about Mill might have inspired him to embark upon translating the essay, although from a French translation. In the preface he described Mill as a famous philosopher and statesman but, considering himself as not competent enough to appraise “such a celebrated writer”, he relied on quotations from Henry Thomas Buckle for introducing Mill to the Serbian reader. On Mill's example, Karadjordjević put forth his own views on the freedom of an individual and a people: “Of all principles that have taken shape, none is as legitimate, let alone as important, in the lives of individuals, peoples and all humankind, as — Freedom... Only a free man is able to build up his will and use all of his energies to improve his personality and thus help the advancement of the people he is related to by blood, language, native land, fortunes and misfortunes. From the freedom of the members of a people arises the overall Freedom of the people ... all that bolsters human dignity, invigorates the strength of people — all of it is the fruit of man's Freedom, people's Freedom!”¹²

In order to demonstrate to the Serbian reader that Mill is both an excellent philosopher and a statesman, Karadjordjević refers to Mill's books *The Principles of Political Economy* and *A System of Logic*, describing the former as “a true treasury of practical advice on how to put proven truths into practice”. Unlike him, the Serbian liberal politician and economist Čedomilj Mijatović,¹³ although an Anglophile, criticizes Mill's *Political Economy*, arguing that Mill “discusses financial issues quite unsystematically and cannot be credited with making any contribution in that field”.¹⁴ As for Mill's *System of Logic*, Petar Karadjordjević describes it as being “written more profoundly and sharp-wittedly than any other [book] since Aristotle”.¹⁵ Although never translated into Serbian, this work greatly influenced the development of the science of logic in Serbia. Alimpije Vasiljević, a philosopher and one of the leading ideologists of the United Serbian Youth¹⁶

¹¹ Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji*, 656.

¹² P. Karadjordjević, preface to his translation into Serbian of Mill's *On Liberty*: Dž. S. Mil, *O slobodi* (Belgrade 1912), pp. IX, X, XII.

¹³ On Mijatović see S. Marković, “Čedomilj Mijatović: A Leading Serbian Anglophile”, *Balcanica XXXVIII*[2007] (2008), 105–133.

¹⁴ Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji*, 823.

¹⁵ Karadjordjević, preface to Dž. S. Mil, *O slobodi*, XII.

¹⁶ The United Serbian Youth was a pan-Serbian political movement of the liberally-minded youth founded in Novi Sad in 1866 and active until 1871.

(*Ujedinjena Omladina Srpska*) drew on it for his three-volume *Logic Adapted for School Use*, which became a textbook at Belgrade's Great School (*Velika Škola*), the highest educational institution in Serbia at that time.¹⁷ Even the subtitle of Vasiljević's book states that it was written following the example of John Stuart Mill and "other newest and best writers", while in the preface Vasiljević fully acknowledges his great debt to Mill's famous *System of Logic*. According to Vasiljević, "Mill has built a complete system of logic as a theory of knowledge, and in that respect his book stands at the top of everything ever done in that field".¹⁸ Mill's *System of Logic* also influenced Milan Kujundžić Aberdar, one of the first Serbs to receive education in Great Britain and, along with Vasiljević, the most important philosopher of the United Serbian Youth at the time he taught nineteenth-century philosophy at the Great School.¹⁹

In his preface to the translation of Mill's essay *On Liberty* Petar Karadjordjević offers a quite extensive analysis of Mill's claim that the principle of liberty has no application on immature persons and societies, observing the prevailing Western perception of Serbs as backward. Similarly to Vladimir Jovanović and other liberals, Karadjordjević rejects as groundless the claim that Serbs are immature for a parliamentary system: "Today, after so many centuries of our people not only not being independent but for the most part completely subjugated to foreigners ... today, a look into Serbian folk poetry, the life and customs of our people suffices ... — to see that our people is aware of the need to live and advance in community with other peoples; for it has the prerequisite qualities for such a development... And what does it need most for this progress? ... Freedom... Without enjoying freedom our people cannot progress: all this has inspired us to introduce our people to the book in which the famous writer expounds his thoughts on Liberty."²⁰

A thorough biographical study of Karadjordjević's years in exile interprets his preface as the political programme of a candidate for the throne of Serbia. Namely, the Prince claimed that the Serbian people did not enjoy

¹⁷ The Great School was a stage in the development of higher education in Serbia. In 1838 the Lyceum was established in Kragujevac. Three years later it was transferred to Belgrade and in 1863 replaced with the Great School that consisted of three faculties (Philosophy, Engineering, Law). During the following decades the Great School was being shaped on the model of modern European universities and thus became the core of the University of Belgrade established in 1905.

¹⁸ Quoted after Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji*, 786.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 792.

²⁰ Karadjordjević, preface to Dž. S. Mil, *O slobodi*, XIV, XV.

the liberties it deserved, because its large portion was living outside Serbia while the country was ruled by the rival Obrenović dynasty.²¹

The first reference to Prince Petar's translation can be found in a letter of his mother, Princess Persida, written a few months before its publication in 1868.²² In May 1868, the daily *Zastava* (Flag)²³ announced the book, and on 26th May brought out a review, whose author remains unknown.²⁴ Whether the announcement and review had any impact on the Serbian public remains an open question, given that the assassination of Prince Mihailo Obrenović in Belgrade just a few days later, on 29th May, understandably overshadowed all other events.

John Stuart Mill had many admirers and followers as theorist of liberalism, but he differed with most men of his times over one issue: the emancipation of women. While member of Parliament, Mill more than once endorsed and helped carry out actions of the British suffragette movement. In 1867 he proposed the amendment to a bill to replace the word "man" with the word "person".²⁵ In 1866 he presented to Parliament a petition signed by fifteen hundred persons demanding the right to vote for all real estate property owners regardless of gender.²⁶ Apart from Mill's actions in Parliament, the history of the struggle for women's rights remembers him as the writer of the essay *The Subjection of Women*, where he puts forward arguments for women being entitled to basic civil rights, and emphasizes the necessity of their having the right to vote.

The Subjection of Women first appeared in 1869, and its Serbian translation was published no later than 1871.²⁷ The preface to the Serbian edition of *The Subjection of Women* was penned by Svetozar Marković, the founder and leader of the socialist movement in Serbia. A year before (1870) he had published the text "Is a woman capable of being equal to a man?", which makes references to Mill's *Subjection of Women* and points out Mill's

²¹ D. Živojinović, *Kralj Petar I Karadjordjević u izgnanstvu 1844–1903* [King Peter I Kardjordjević in Exile 1844–1903], vol. III of *Kralj Petar I Karadjordjević* (Belgrade 2009), 47.

²² Ibid.

²³ *Zastava*, the Novi Sad-based daily, started in 1866 by the politician Svetozar Miletić, was the most influential and widely read newspaper of the Austro-Hungarian Serb community.

²⁴ Živojinović, *Kralj Petar I*, 49.

²⁵ L. E. Snellgrove, *Suffragettes and Votes for Women* (London 1984), 17.

²⁶ P. Bartley, *Votes for Women 1860–1928* (London 2001), 30.

²⁷ In 1870 the essay was translated into French, German and Polish; cf. N. Božinović, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku* [The Woman Question in Serbia in the 19th and 20th Centuries] (Belgrade 1996), 43.

view that patriarchy has arisen as a result of the physical dominance of men “while man was still in a state of savagery”, and that later on women have been brought up to be “slaves to their husbands”.²⁸ Marković begins the preface by assuming that the very title of Mill’s essay is likely to cause the reader to doubt: “We don’t need this; it’s too early for us.”²⁹ Assessing that issue as being one of the most important issues in the world, and thus in Serbia too, he wonders: “How should a half of all humankind, the *female sex*, be pulled out of the darkness of ignorance and won over for science and human advancement?”³⁰ It is on the solution to that issue that, in his opinion, the development of society and state institutions in Serbia would depend. Marković believed that less developed nations should rely on the knowledge and experience of others in solving that issue.

Marković proceeds to look at the moral role of women in the Serbian family and society, and emphasizes the importance and necessity of education: “In this kind of *domestic upbringing* mother plays quite a *pitiful* role. In most cases she is utterly uneducated. Even if she is educated as a *female*, she is not capable of imparting the *right knowledge* to her children, let alone of helping her children develop into human beings, *members of society* — *citizens*. A woman is not a citizen. She knows nothing about civil rights or even about civic and human duties and virtues.”³¹ As a result, Marković contends, mothers often tend to teach their children to be deceitful and dishonest; which is “not surprising considering that it is a slave who is bringing a future *citizen* up”.³² Looking at the economic position of women, Marković criticizes the female desire to dress up and buy flashy clothes, believing it to be the consequence of women’s lack of dignity as persons, of their being subjected to men and mere tools for male satisfaction rather than equal persons. In conclusion, Marković emphasizes that John S. Mill in his book stands up as a spokesman for women’s rights, as their advocate: “He speaks of the sufferings of women who have all duties and no rights in society. He points to the gross injustice that even the best, most learned, kindest woman has fewer rights than the worst, stupidest, meanest man.”³³ And underlines:

²⁸ Svetozar Marković, “Je li žena sposobna da bude ravnopravna s čovekom?” [Is a woman capable of being equal to a man], vol. II of *Sabrani spisi* [Collected Writings] (Belgrade 1965), 109. Marković appended to his own text the translation of John Bright’s speech on women’s right to vote delivered in Edinburgh in 1870.

²⁹ Svetozar Marković, preface to the Serbian edition of J. S. Mill, *Subjection of Women: Potčinjenost ženskinja* (Belgrade 1871), I.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., III.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., VII.

“By explaining how injustice is being done to women in society, Mill makes us inadvertently think about the other side of the woman question, i.e. that the injustice done to women rebounds on all of humanity. Readers who take time to study this book seriously will see that the issue of ‘women’s liberation’ is inseparably connected with overall social transformation, with the liberation of humanity from all evil, vice, tyranny and slavery. They will see that the ‘woman question’ is not too early for us, but the one that should be put on the top of the agenda.”³⁴

J. S. Mill and philosophers of British liberalism significantly influenced the development of Serbian political thought, the process of emancipation of women and cultural advancement. It seems interesting to note that liberalism inspired not only the liberally-oriented Serbian politicians and parties, but also early socialists, radicals and progressivists. The profound influence of British liberalism on nineteenth-century Serbian political thought was utterly disproportionate to Great Britain’s political or economic presence in Serbia, and perhaps was nearly comparable only to the influence of contemporary Russian philosophers.

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³⁴ Ibid.

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Anglophiles in Balkan Christian States (1862–1920)*

Abstract: The life stories of five Balkan Anglophiles emerging in the nineteenth century — two Serbs, Vladimir Jovanović (Yovanovich) and Čedomilj Mijatović (Chedomille Mijatovich); two Greeks, Ioannes (John) Gennadios and Eleutherios Venizelos; and one Bulgarian, Ivan Evstratiev Geshov — reflect, each in its own way, major episodes in relations between Britain and three Balkan Christian states (Serbia, the Hellenic Kingdom and Bulgaria) between the 1860s and 1920. Their education, cultural patterns, relations and models inspired by Britain are looked at, showing that they acted as intermediaries between British culture and their own and played a part in the best and worst moments in the history of mutual relations, such as the Serbian–Ottoman crisis of 1862, the Anglo–Hellenic crisis following the Dilessi murders, Bulgarian atrocities and the Eastern Crisis, unification of Bulgaria and the Serbo–Bulgarian War of 1885, the Balkan Wars 1912–13, the National Schism in Greece. Their biographies are therefore essential for understanding Anglo–Balkan relations in the period under study. The roles of two British Balkanophiles (a Bulgarophile, James David Bourchier, and a Hellenophile, Ronald Burrows) are looked at as well. In conclusion, a comparison of the Balkan Anglophiles is offered, and their Britain-inspired cultural and institutional legacy to their countries is shown in the form of a table.

Keywords: Anglo–Balkan relations, Balkan Anglophiles, Balkans, Serbia, Hellenic Kingdom, Bulgaria, British Balkanophiles

According to the *Merriam–Webster Dictionary*, the word Anglophilia first appeared in 1896 meaning “unusual admiration or partiality for England, English ways, or things English”. The *Oxford English Dictionary* traces the word “Anglophile” back to 1867 and defines it as a person “friendly to England or what is English”.¹ Yet another and much older word with very similar meaning appeared in 1787 — Anglomania.² Anglophiles in the title of this paper therefore refer to those rare Balkan Christians (Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians) who demonstrated this “unusual admira-

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¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), vol. I, 467.

² *Merriam–Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: Merriam–Webster Inc., 2001), 45.

tion” for England and Britain. Two of the five Balkan Anglophiles covered in this text are Serbs: Vladimir Jovanović (Yovanovich) and Čedomilj Mijatović (Chedomille Miyatovich), two are Greeks: Ioannes Gennadius and Eleutherios Venizelos, and one is Bulgarian: Ivan Evstratiev Geshov. Four of them were ministers, two were prime ministers, two were presidents of their national academies, and two were ministers plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James’s.

There are several instances showing a British influence on Balkan Christians in the first half of the nineteenth century. There was an English party in Greece even during the Greek War of Independence, and it continued to exist throughout the reign of the first modern king of the Hellenes, Otto. In Serbia, the first British consul was able to induce a despotic Serbian ruler, Prince Miloš, to adopt a pro-British foreign policy as early as 1837, although it came to an end with the Prince’s abdication in 1839. Yet, rather than being instances of Anglophilia, these are instances of overlap of interests between some Balkan Christian notables and British foreign policy priorities.

For Anglophilia something more was needed — a congruity with British cultural patterns. It is not surprising then that real Balkan Anglophiles did not appear until the second half of the nineteenth century, when young men from the Balkans were given the opportunity to pursue their studies at British universities, or became acquainted with Britain through trade or through marriage with a British woman.

Anglophilia was also encouraged by British interest in Balkan Christians aroused at two separate periods of the nineteenth century. Initially focused on Greeks, later it shifted to South Slavs, Bulgarians in particular.

The emergence of independent Balkan Christian countries between 1804, when the First Serbian Uprising broke out, and the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, when the emancipation of Balkan Christians from the Ottoman Empire was completed, elicited different, even opposing, responses in Britain at different periods.

A historical look at British public opinion suggests that four distinctive periods may be identified:

- 1) Period of classical affection (late 1700s to 1832)
- 2) Period of sporadic interest (1832–76)
- 3) Period of Christian affection (1876–1914)
- 4) Period of British war interests (1914–18)

In the period of classical affection Greece was included in the English Grand Tour as a must-see stop, especially after the conquest in 1796 of the Italian lands by Napoleonic France. It had all begun in 1764 when the Society of Dilettanti, established thirty years earlier, mostly for the purpose of visiting Italy, sent an archaeological team to Greece which safely returned

two years later; but the real interest in travelling to the Ottoman Empire to visit Greece came with the gentlemen travellers of the late eighteenth century, the Levant lunatics as Byron called them, who used to set off from England with Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece* in hand.³ Other Balkan Christians received considerably less interest from the British public. The First Serbian Uprising, for instance, went almost unnoticed even though it lasted nine years (1804–13). By contrast, the Greek War of Independence aroused a storm of support for the Hellenic cause among Western publics, and even inspired some 1,100 foreign volunteers to join the insurgents. More than a hundred of them were Britons, at least twenty-one of whom lost their lives.⁴

After the war, however, the installation in 1832 of a Catholic Bavarian dynasty in Greece and the domination of a French party in Athens contributed to the emergence in Britain of negative perceptions of modern Greeks. The main objection was the lack, from the Western point of view, of any substantial “progress”, i.e. modernisation of the Hellenic kingdom. Characteristic in this respect is the pamphlet of an MP, Alexander Baillie Cochrane. In 1847 Cochrane believes that Greece “cannot flourish under a cold and withering despotism, where great crime is the sure means of obtaining great place, and merit is supplanted by audacity” and, republishing the text fifteen years later (1862), observes that “the condition of the country has very little improved”.⁵

What happened with the British perceptions of Balkan Christians in this second period was amply summarised by George Macaulay Trevelyan:

During the fifty years between Canning's liberation of Greece and Gladstone's campaign of the Bulgarian atrocities the English people ceased to sympathize with national struggles for liberty against the Turks. [...]

The very name of Hellas, like that of Italy in the next generation, had a strange power to move our apparently unemotional grandfathers. But when once the heirs of Athens had been freed, Serb, Bulgar, and Armenian appealed in vain for British sympathy, though the cause was the same of delivering ancient races long submerged under the stagnant water of Turkish misrule. The classical and literary education that then moulded and inspired the English mind had power to make men sympathize with Greece and Italy, more even

³ Hugh Tregaskis, *Beyond the Grand Tour. The Levant Lunatics* (London: Ascent Books, 1979), 1–9.

⁴ William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free. The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (London: OUP, 1972), 355–356.

⁵ Alexander Baillie Cochrane, M.P., *The Kingdom of Greece* (London: Harrison, 1862), iii and 29.

than Christianity had power to make them sympathize with the Balkan Christians.⁶

The third period was very much the work of a single Briton — William Ewart Gladstone — and it was initiated during the Eastern Crisis (1875–78). At first, the British Conservative government of Benjamin Disraeli (prime minister 1874–80) was not too concerned about the crisis. Only after atrocities against Christians had been committed in Bulgaria (1876) did it become an object of bitter debate in Britain. The *Daily News*, a newspaper loyal to Gladstone, the former prime minister (1868–74), published an article revealing horrible details about children massacred, women violated, and young girls sold into slavery. On 6 September 1876, Gladstone published his illustrious pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which caused uproar in Britain and reached a circulation of 200,000 copies by the end of the month. That impressed neither Disraeli nor Queen and Empress Victoria who tersely stated her views on the Eastern Question in April 1877:

It is not the question of upholding Turkey: it is the question of Russian or British supremacy in the world.⁷

During the wars of Russia and Serbia against Turkey in 1877 and 1878 the anti-Turkish campaign reached its climax. Speaking of the importance of this issue R. W. Seton-Watson concluded:

The issue between Turk and Russian became a predominant issue, and for the time suspended personal intercourse between the warring factions and even divided families among themselves.⁸

Gladstone's sympathies for the Balkan Christians were at their peak in November 1879 and March 1880, during the famous Midlothian campaign which denounced Tory policies, and not only as regards the Ottoman Empire but also as regards their imperial designs. In a speech delivered 29 November 1879 in Edinburgh before an audience of 20,000, Gladstone advocated independence for all Balkan states, which should pass "to those who have inhabited them for many long centuries; to those who have reared them to a state of civilisation when the great calamity of Ottoman conquest spread like a wild wave over that portion of the earth, and buried that civilisation", and expressed his satisfaction with the fact that some Balkan Christian countries had already become independent: "Two million Ser-

⁶ G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After: 1782–1919* (London: Penguin, 1968), 216.

⁷ R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question. A study in diplomacy and party politics* (New York: The Norton Library, 1972), 171.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

vians, once political slaves, are now absolutely free. Three hundred thousand heroes such as Christendom cannot match — the men of Montenegro — who for four hundred years have held the sword in hand, and have never submitted to the insolence of despotic power — these men have at last achieved not only their freedom, but the acknowledgement of their freedom, and take their place among the States of Europe.”

The Midlothian campaign made Gladstone the most popular Briton among both the Balkan Slavs and Greeks, and the British public became so sensitive to any incident against the Christians in the Ottoman Empire that the Foreign Office had to take the region into consideration. Those who supported Balkan Christians in this period — Gladstone and the Liberal Party, the Church of England, especially the High Church, and those journalists and MPs who openly sympathised with the cause of the Balkan Christians — became idols of Balkan Anglophiles.

Finally, during the Great War the period of British war interests began. Once it became clear that the war would not end quickly, it became vital to find allies among Balkan Christians. There was a widespread naïve belief in Britain that both Greece and Bulgaria owed their independence to Britain, and that therefore neither country would have any doubt as to which warring side to join. To Britain’s visible disappointment, however, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers (October 1915) and Greece remained neutral.

A. Anglophiles in Serbia

Anglophiles appeared in Serbia during the second period, the one marked by lack of British interest in the Balkans. The first prominent Anglophile was **Vladimir Jovanović** (1833–1922), a liberal politician and economist.⁹ His son Slobodan, prime minister of the royal Yugoslav government in exile in London during the Second World War who died in exile in London, observed that his father “was one of our earliest exponents of Anglomania among the Liberals. That which Čedomilj Mijatović was later to be among the Progressivists and Stojan Protić among the Radicals”.¹⁰ Thus each of the three leading political parties in nineteenth-century Serbia had an Anglophile. Vladimir’s father, a bankrupt furrier, had moved from the then Austrian province of Srem to the autonomous Principality of Serbia. In 1850, Vladimir Jovanović enrolled at the Philosophy Department of the Belgrade Lyceum, predecessor of Belgrade University. An excellent but needy stu-

⁹ In all his works in English Vladimir Jovanović spelled his surname as “Yovanovitch”.

¹⁰ Slobodan Jovanović, “Vladimir Jovanović”, vol. 11 of *Collected Works* (Belgrade 1991), 113.

dent, he was eager to obtain a state scholarship to continue his education abroad. Not in a position to choose, he accepted in 1853 to study agriculture in Hungary and later at Hohenheim, Germany, where he completed his academic education in 1855.

By 1857 he had already become known for his liberal economic ideas and his advocacy of the modernisation of Serbia's economy. In 1858 political factions emerged for the first time in the Principality of Serbia. Jovanović joined the liberal faction led by two former Parisian students, Jevrem Grujić and Milovan Janković. Their efforts in 1858–60 to introduce liberal laws, even a liberal constitution, failed. However brief, it was the first period in modern Serbian history that a liberal political group played a major political role. This experiment forced Jovanović into a brief exile in May 1860,¹¹ during which he visited London and Brussels. Upon his return to Serbia, he launched, together with two other young liberals, an opposition newspaper, *Narodna Skupština* (National Assembly), which was soon banned by the new Prince, Michael Obrenovich (1860–68), who chose to rule in the style of enlightened absolutism.

Both his theoretical inclinations and practical policies were chiefly inspired, at least from 1860 on, by British ideals. Hebert Spencer was his favourite philosopher, John Stuart Mill, the greatest political thinker, and William Gladstone, the greatest statesman.¹² Ten years after the publication of Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), Jovanović, inspired by the idea of liberty which he mostly embraced through Mill, even invented a name for his newly-born son: Slobodan (meaning "free"). It was during his second exile from Serbia. His younger child, a daughter, was also given an unusual name: Pravda ("justice"). In 1876 he published a translation of Mill's *On Representative Government*. He also began the publication of the first *Political Dictionary* in Serbian, with a clear liberal inclination. Four volumes published in 1870–73 covered about one-fifth of the planned contents. The rest has never been published.

When, in June 1862, the city of Belgrade was shelled from its Ottoman-garrisoned fortress, animosities between Serbia and Turkey escalated and, in July 1862, a conference of the Great Powers on the Serbian question commenced in Constantinople, where Henry Bulwer, British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, defended Ottoman interests quite fervently. That was an unhappy moment for Serbia's Liberals, and they urged Jovanović to go to Britain to defend the cause of Serbia and other Orthodox Christian nations. Jovanović intimately believed that a free country like England could not but

¹¹ For more detail on the activity of this faction see Gale Stokes, *Legitimacy through Liberalism* (Seattle and London: Univ. of Washington Press, 1975), 18–32.

¹² Jovanović, "Vladimir Jovanović", 113.

sympathise with a freedom-seeking nation, but the reality was different: the Foreign Office, concerned about the consequences of the possible disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, took an explicitly anti-Serbian position on Prince Michael's plan to have the Ottoman garrisons withdrawn from Serbia. Thus, in September 1862, Jovanović went to the cradle of liberalism to try to convince British opinion-makers that Serbia was worthy of British support. He arrived in London in November and soon was asked to coordinate his effort with Serbian senator Filip Hristić, and Princess Julia, wife of Prince Michael, who came to London in February 1863 to promote the Serbian cause.

It was a time when a number of distinguished Britons became interested in Serbia and voiced their support for her, notably Richard Cobden (1804–1865), the famous British “apostle of free trade” and MP, an Irish MP, Sir William Henry Gregory, the priest William Denton (1815–1888), and Dr. Humphrey Sandwith (1822–1881). It was them who created what may be termed the first Serbian lobby in Britain.

In London Jovanović met Gladstone, after being recommended to him by Giuseppe Mazzini, but was not able to win him over for the Serbian cause. Gladstone, chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, showed sympathies for the Orthodox Christian population in the Ottoman-held Balkans, but warned Jovanović that he was obliged to pursue the policy of “European power balance” and status quo regarding the Eastern Question. He advised against Serbia's doing anything officially, but suggested that she could use unofficial ways to support Serbs, and insisted that Serbs and Greeks should make an alliance. Even so, Gladstone left a lasting impression on Jovanović. Jovanović had yet another important meeting, with Archibald Campbell Tait (1811–1882), bishop of London (1856–68), subsequent archbishop of Canterbury.

While in London, Jovanović published a pamphlet, *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question*,¹³ which was positively commented on in the Liberal press and in the Church of England's publications, but negatively in the Conservative press.¹⁴ The pamphlet's obvious intention was to elicit Liberal sympathies for Serbia. Jovanović applied the Whig interpretation

¹³ Vladimir Yovanovitch, *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1863). Just a few months earlier, the same publishing house issued two other books on Serbia: Rev. W. Denton's *Servia and the Servians*, and *The Case of Servia* by a Serb. It is interesting to note that in the very title of his booklet Jovanović used the adjective “Serbian” while the generally accepted English spelling until 1914 was “Servian”, with a “v”. To him as a Liberal even a spelling which could associate the Serbs with Latin *servi*, or English servitude, was completely unacceptable.

¹⁴ A very negative review appeared in *The Saturday Review* and was reprinted in *Glasgow Herald*, 11 April 1863.

of English history to the case of Serbs, the idea being “to demonstrate the ability of the Serbian nation for an intimate union with its liberal brethren, by proofs drawn from history, and from the political life of the Serbian people”.¹⁵ He sketched Serbian history from the seventh century on, emphasising repeatedly the distinctly Serbian institutions of self-government, which had been replaced by the Byzantine system, which in turn facilitated the Ottoman conquest of Serbia. But, even under Ottoman rule “nothing could destroy the Serbian spirit of freedom”.¹⁶ Jovanović offered a detailed account of Serbia’s nineteenth-century struggle for independence and then posed the central question:

It has been often said that the Christian races in the East have no claim to the considerations of the Western States. We would ask the leaders of English foreign policy why they are thus always opposed to the emancipation of the Eastern Christians from the Turkish yoke?¹⁷

He appealed to the English sense of morality:

Still less can such a policy be morally justifiable which forces the Eastern Christians to bear a yoke which the English would suffer anything rather than submit to, in their own case...¹⁸

In ideological terms, the book was meant to demonstrate to both the British and Serbian publics that Serbian institutions were *ab origine* liberal.¹⁹

Jovanović posed his question in March 1863, and a clear reply came only two months later, in the leader of *The Times* commenting on Gregory’s condemnation of Turkish tyranny. It admits that the Turkish administration “has always been, feeble, capricious, and corrupt” in every region under its control, and concludes that the inevitable withdrawal of Ottoman garrisons from Serbia is just a matter of time. Yet, the future of the rest of Turkey-in-Europe is seen as “dark, and we must admit, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that, though the Turks have been as bad masters as ever ruined a country, and though they are not likely to be reformed, yet there is little use in declaiming against them, since we cannot turn them out, or even for the present find a substitute for them.”²⁰

¹⁵ Yovanovitch, *Serbian Nation*, 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27–28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 31–32.

¹⁹ For Jovanović’s ideological interpretation in his book see Branko Bešlin, *Evropski uticaji na srpski liberalizam u XIX veku* [European Influences on Serbian Liberalism in the 19th Century] (Novi Sad 2005), 496–499.

²⁰ *The Times*, 30 May 1863, p. 11C.

This first co-ordinated effort of Serbia to influence British public opinion had some success since it promoted the Serbian cause in relevant sections of the public. It was obvious from Jovanović's visit to Britain that the Orthodox Christians in the Balkans could rely on two elements to promote their cause: individual liberal politicians and the Church of England. In British Parliament, Cobden spoke in support of Hristić and Jovanović, describing them as "the Serbian gentlemen, persons of eminence in their own country", but the Turcophile under-secretary for foreign affairs, Sir Austen Henry Layard, termed them "the clever and specious gentlemen".²¹

Jovanović's stay in England definitely strengthened his affection for the British system of government. A year after he returned to Belgrade he gave a lecture on the national economy at Belgrade's Great School: "Let us take a look at England whose name is so famed. Fortunate circumstances have made her a country where general progress of humanity has been achieved in the best way. There is no known truth or science that has not enriched popular consciousness in England... In a word, all conditions for progress that are known today are there in England."²²

A few years later, seeking to inspire the English-speaking world's solidarity with the project of the emancipation of Serbs and other South Slavs from the rule of the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary, he published a book in English in Geneva, ending it with an appeal:

We conclude with the hope that the liberal States of Europe and the New World will compete with one another to give moral encouragement and support to the Serbs in accomplishing their double duty towards themselves as a nation and towards the other neighbouring and suffering nations.²³

Jovanović remained an Anglophile even later. He believed that the introduction in Serbia of the British parliamentary system of the Victorian era would be a perfect way to limit the power of the ruler, but he does not seem to have fully realised the significance of the considerable difference in social structure between Serbia and Britain. Some aspects of parliamentarianism were indeed incorporated into the Serbian Constitution of 1869, but it was much more conservative than the Serbian liberals had hoped for.

²¹ Stokes, *Legitimacy through Liberalism*, 55 (Hansard, 171:125, 43).

²² Vladimir Jovanović, *Za slobodu i narod pokušaji* [Endeavours for Freedom and the People] (Novi Sad 1868), 11–12.

²³ Vladimir Yovanovitch, *The Emancipation and Unity of the Serbian Nation* (Geneva 1871), 178. This book did not go unnoticed in England, and received at least one positive review: "The Servian Nationalities", *The Examiner*, 21 July 1871, and a sympathetic comment appeared in *The Northern Eco*, 17 July 1876, during the Bulgarian atrocities affair.

Jovanović was soon able to put his views into practice, since he was three times finance minister of Serbia. In that capacity he was in charge of the Serbian economy during Serbia's wars with Turkey in 1876/7 and 1877/8. He was probably aware of the huge gap between the national ideals of the Serbian people as he saw them and the limitations imposed by practical politics. His third term as finance minister was his last position of political prominence. Yet, he did not forget his affection for England and, after the Annexation Crisis of 1908/9, he appeared in London with two more texts warning of the "pan-German peril" and advocating a Balkan confederacy respectively.²⁴

It was not Jovanović, however, but his political opponent Čedomilj Mijatović (1842–1932) who left the deepest mark on Anglo-Serbian cultural and diplomatic relations. Mijatović (Čedomille Mijatovich, also spelled Miyatovich, Mijatovitch, Miyatovi/t/ch, Mijatovics) occupies an important place in Serbian history in many ways.

Mijatović was a European-trained intellectual, a person who enjoyed high esteem and achieved important accomplishments. He was six times finance minister and twice foreign minister of the Principality (and Kingdom) of Serbia, a diplomat of great experience, minister of the Kingdom of Serbia in London, Bucharest and Constantinople, and one of the leaders of the Progressive Party in the 1880s. This covers only his career as a politician and a high-ranking government official. In the field of culture, he was one of the most popular writers of his times in Serbia, a Serbian Sir Walter Scott as it were. He was a distinguished historian, a successful intermediary between Serbian and British cultures, the first London correspondent for a Serbian newspaper, a prominent translator from English into Serbian, a leading economic and financial expert, and a well-known spiritualist. He was the second president of the Royal Serbian Academy, and an honorary member of the Royal Historical Society in London.

His Anglophilia was largely inspired by his marriage in 1864 to an English lady, Elodie Lawton (1825–1908). Before coming to Serbia she had been very active in the abolitionist movement in Boston. In 1872 she published, in London, *The History of Modern Serbia* and thus became the first woman historian in Serbia.²⁵

²⁴ Vladimir Yovanovitch, *The Near Eastern Problem and the Pan-German Peril* (London: Watts and Co., 1909); and "The Balkan Confederacy", *The Near East*, vol. 2, no. 21, 5 January 1910.

²⁵ Elodie Lawton Mijatovics, *The History of Modern Serbia* (London: William Tweedie, 1872). She also published *Serbian Folk-lore, popular tales selected and translated by Madam Csedomille Mijatovics* (London: W. Isbister & Co., 1874); *Kosovo: an Attempt to Bring Serbian National Songs, about the Fall of the Serbian Empire at the Battle of Kosovo, into one Poem* (London: W. Isbister, 1881).

In 1881, Mijatović, in his capacity as Serbia's foreign minister, signed a secret convention with Austria-Hungary. It provided Serbia with Austro-Hungarian diplomatic backing, but she had to sacrifice her independent foreign policy to Austria-Hungary in return. In Serbia Mijatović was mostly remembered for this convention which his political opponents regarded as an act of treason.

Although he advocated close relations with Austria-Hungary in foreign policy, in cultural matters he was an obvious Anglophile and his favourite post therefore was not that of a Serbian cabinet minister, but rather that of Serbia's diplomatic minister in London. The Serbian Legation was established in London after Serbia had become a kingdom in 1882, and Filip Hristić, who had participated in the first Serbian mission to London in 1863, was appointed Serbia's first minister to the Court of St. James's in 1883. Mijatović was his successor, and he served three terms (1884–86; 1895–1900 and 1902–03). What his cultural aspirations and his social life were while serving as a diplomat in London can be seen from a vivid portrayal in a contemporary London newspaper:

Like many other educated foreigners — superior to little prejudices, and capable of discerning strength of character under insularity of manner — M. Mijatovich is a hearty admirer of England and English ways. His leisure time is devoted, with restless energy, to English literature, and, before the present crisis, he was constantly to be found at the British Museum.²⁶

In 1889, after his Progressive Party was subjected to persecutions by political opponents, he left Serbia and spent almost all the remaining years of his life in England.

He was the most prolific and most influential Serbian translator from English in the nineteenth century. The bibliography of his translations comprises about a dozen titles, most of them dealing with religious topics, notably the sermons of well-known British preachers such as Dr. Spurgeon, Canon Liddon and Dr. Macduff. He also translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Dr. Brown's *Commentaries to the Gospels*. Particularly influential in Serbia were the following two titles: *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* by Lady Georgina Mary Muir Mackenzie and Adeline Paulina Irby (English edition in 1867, Serbian translation: Belgrade 1868, commissioned by Prince Michael Obrenovich), and H. T. Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* (English edition in 1857, Serbian translation: Belgrade 1871). While the former influenced the general public, the latter had a huge impact on the development of liberally-minded circles in Serbia. He was also the author or co-author of six books in English, four

²⁶ "Chat of the Gossips", *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 5 December 1885.

of them dealing with Serbia.²⁷ Mijatović was the first Serb to contribute to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. His first entries were published in the Tenth Edition, and the famous Eleventh Edition (1911) brought his lengthy article on Serbia, later republished in a special book. In the years round the Balkan Wars he became an unavoidable source of information on Serbia for interested persons in Britain.

J. D. Bourchier, a correspondent for *The Times*, remarked that “he is generally regarded by his fellow-countrymen as the most learned man in Servia”. Journalist William Thomas Stead, who met him during the Peace Conference in The Hague, was utterly enchanted:

It was almost worth while creating the Kingdom Servia if only in order to qualify Chedomille Miyatovitch for a seat in the Parliament of the Nations.²⁸

In 1903, Stead once again expressed his high opinion of Miyatovich as a diplomat: “He is far and away the best known, the most distinguished, and the most respected diplomatist the Balkan Peninsula has yet produced.”²⁹ The leading British daily *The Times* covered almost every step Mijatović took during the 1880s, especially through its Vienna correspondents. Never before had any Serbian minister or any Serb at all enjoyed such sympathies from *The Times* as Mijatović did in the 1880s and 1890s. When he resigned as president of the Serbian Royal Academy, the newspaper commented:

Of all the statesmen in Servia, M. Mijatovitch is probably the one who holds the highest character in foreign countries. He has filled the principal offices in Servia, not only those which are the rewards of party services, by those which are conferred by public consent, if not by public acclamation, on men whose abilities are not judged by mere party conflicts.³⁰

Like the other Balkan Anglophiles discussed in this paper, Mijatović was caught up in crisis situations which caused strain between their native countries and Britain. In his case, these were the Serbo-Bulgarian War and the May Coup. The peak of his activities in Britain during the 1880s and 90s

²⁷ Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy. Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga of Servia* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906); Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1908); Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Prince Kropotkin, C. Mijatovich and J. D. Bourchier, *A Short History of Russia and the Balkan States* (London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1914); Count Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* (London: Cassel and Co., 1917).

²⁸ *The Review of Reviews*, vol. XIX (1899).

²⁹ *The Review of Reviews*, vol. XXVIII (1903).

³⁰ *The Times*, 12 Nov. 1889, p. 5.

took place in the period of British sympathies for Balkan Christians, which, however, were directed to Bulgaria rather than to Serbia. Apart from Arthur Evans, Serbia could not boast having influential supporters in the Isles in the 1880s, certainly no one as influential as Gladstone. So the worst thing that could happen to Mijatović's diplomatic efforts was to have the Serbs perceived as a barrier to Bulgarian emancipation. And that was exactly what happened in 1885.

Sympathies for the Bulgarians, kindled several years earlier by the Midlothian campaign, were still very much alive, and the Serbian attack on Bulgaria elicited widespread condemnation in Britain. Mijatović, Serbian minister to the Court of St. James's at the time, was appointed the sole Serbian negotiator in peace talks with Bulgaria in late 1885. *The Times* covered almost every step he made from the moment he left London in early January 1886 until the peace treaty was signed in Bucharest.

Instructions that Mijatović had received from King Milan in Belgrade were phrased in such a way as to allow him to find an excuse for declaring a new war on Bulgaria. Mijatović, however, aware of the bad impression Serbia had already made in Britain, was not willing to risk further deterioration of Serbia's position, and took a conciliatory approach instead. That it did not go unnoticed in Bucharest can be seen from *The Times* of 25 February: "Although M. Mijatovics in point of conciliatory disposition is thought to be somewhat in advance of his Government, it is believed that he will carry his policy."³¹

Mijatović negotiated peace terms with the Bulgarian representative Ivan Geshov, a leading Bulgarian Anglophile, whom he did not fail to mention in his Memories: "It was then the season for balls, social gatherings and entertainments. Bulgaria's delegate Ivan Gueshov, and myself, cherishing admiration for the British people and their ways, entered at once into friendly relations."³² At one point during the negotiations, however, Geshov demanded compensation of twenty-five million leva from Serbia.³³ Mijatović had clear instructions from Belgrade to declare war should Bulgaria demand any compensation. Having warned Geshov that he would leave the conference immediately and that the war would soon be resumed, he got up and walked towards the door. The appeals of Medjid Pasha, chairman of the peace conference, brought Mijatović back to the table and he accepted the withdrawal of the Bulgarian demand as if it had never been

³¹ "The Eastern Crisis", *The Times*, 25 Feb. 1886, p. 5 a.

³² Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* (London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassel and Company, 1917), 62.

³³ Ivan Evstratiev Geshov, *Spomeni i studii* [Memories and Studies] (Sofia: P. Glukovu, 1928), 170–171.

made. Seconds before accepting it, he “remembered that that very morning the British chargé d’affaires, Mr. Francis Sanderson, told me he had had a letter from his brother Sir Thomas who sent his remembrances to me, adding that they all hoped I would succeed in making peace.”³⁴ Eventually, on 3 March 1886, the two Anglophiles concluded a peace treaty, one of the tersest in diplomatic history, as it contained a single article. This accomplishment of Mijatović’s was not forgotten in his lifetime. His obituary in the *New York Times* had the following title: “Count Miyatovitch, Serb diplomat dies: wrote ‘World’s Shortest Peace Treaty’ in 1886.”³⁵ Years later, Mijatović avowed:

In 1886 I, as Serbia’s delegate, and M. Ivan Gueshov, as Bulgaria’s delegate, signed the peace between Serbia and Bulgaria, that extraordinary and unique document in the diplomatic history of the world, consisting of only one article: ‘Peace is re-established!’ — of which phrase the true meaning was: ‘I hate you!’ Both M. Gueshov and I were sufficiently imbued with English notions of decency, and therefore, when signing the peace, we did not shake our fists menacingly in each other’s faces; but our nations did it behind our backs.³⁶

Another international peace conference attended by Mijatović was the first Hague conference, held from May to July 1899. It was during the conference that he and W. T. Stead befriended. Stead was fascinated by the Serbian diplomat: “Among the representatives of the minor States M. Miyatovitch of Servia stands conspicuous as the most fervent European of them all ... He is not merely a good European. He is a Cosmopolitan.” What particularly impressed Stead was Mijatović’s proposal that participants from Asia should be allowed to share in vice-presidencies of the sections. His proposal was rejected, but Stead did not fail to observe that “it was not for victory but for principle that the Servian delegate took his stand”.³⁷ There, as in Bucharest, Mijatović promoted some of his own pacifist ideas and was in favour of obligatory arbitration in certain international disputes. However, another member of the Serbian delegation, Prof. Veljković, took a much more cautious stand, and both the Serbian prime minister and the King were closer to his than to Mijatović’s position.³⁸ Anyway, Mijatović’s personal commit-

³⁴ Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, 65.

³⁵ *The New York Times*, 15 May 1932, p. N5.

³⁶ Cheddo Miyatovitch, “Serbia’s True Case. Interests of the Allies”, *Daily Telegraph*, 13 Nov. 1915.

³⁷ William T. Stead, “Character Sketches: Members of the Parliament of Peace”, *The Review of Reviews* (June 1899), 533.

³⁸ Slobodan G. Marković, *Grof Čedomilj Mijatović. Viktorijanac medju Srbima* [Count Chedomille Miyatovich. A Victorian among Serbs] (Belgrade: Belgrade Law School

ment at the Conference did not go unnoticed, and four years later Stead recollected that “no delegate from any of the minor, or indeed of the major, States contributed more to secure the success of the Conference outside the walls of the House in the Wood.”³⁹

The greatest strain on relations between Serbia and Britain was put by the 1903 May Coup. In the early morning of 11 June 1903 a conspiracy of Serbian army officers murdered the royal couple, self-willed King Alexander Obrenovich and his unpopular wife Queen Draga, and threw their bodies out of a window. The new government, composed of regicides, appointed Peter Karageorgevich as Serbia’s new ruler. Britain and the Netherlands broke off diplomatic relations with Serbia. Mijatović was Serbia’s representative accredited to both countries. Appalled by the events in Belgrade, he decided to stay in London and was the only Serbian diplomat who resigned (22 June) in protest at the regicide, the act he was never forgiven for by some influential political circles in Belgrade.

What the British official and public reaction was may be inferred from the reactions that he met with in London before and after his resignation. He received threatening letters and faced widespread outrage at Serbia. His successor’s daughter, Lena Yovichich, who wrote a biography of her father, described the obstacles that Mijatović and her father, Alexander Yovichich, faced in London:

Since the news of the Obrenovitch tragedy had been received, he [Mijatovich] met with the cold shoulder wherever he went. Official doors were suddenly closed, and the circumstances of the murder put a strain even on personal friendship... To mention Serbia was enough to raise a wall of prejudice; English people could have no association with a race who had murdered their King. Every one of Serbian decent must be made to feel responsible for that terrible deed. They were beyond the pale of a Society whose principles were irreproachable; with the best of intentions Englishmen never lost an opportunity to proclaim the fact that moral feelings were very high in their country, that what had happened in Serbia could not be condoned and must be expiated by the entire nation.⁴⁰

The regicide made a strong impact on the Mijatovići in more than one way. Being devout Christians, both he and his wife, a Wesleyan, were deeply shocked and shared British contempt for the regicides. Mijatović did con-

and Dosije, 2006), 220–222.

³⁹ W. T. Stead, “A Clairvoyant Vision of the Assassination at Belgrade,” *The Review of Reviews* XXVIII (July 1903), 31; The Hague Conference was held at the palace of Queen Wilhelmina known as Huis ten Bosch, meaning “the house in the wood”.

⁴⁰ Lena A. Yovitchitch, *The Biography of a Serbian Diplomat* (London: The Epworth Press, 1939), 190–191.

demn the regicide in his writings, but deep down he was tormented by a dilemma. As a Christian, pacifist and British-styled cosmopolitan, he believed that punishment of the regicides was a necessary prerequisite for Serbia's moral recovery. As a Serb, he was acutely aware that the severance of diplomatic relations with the largest and most powerful global empire would only harm Serbia. As in the case of other Balkan Anglophiles, cosmopolitanism and liberal nationalism inevitably contradicted one another. So he made a compromise. He decided to advocate the reestablishment of diplomatic relations following the punishment of at least some of the regicides.

In December 1908 his wife Elodie died. The same year he published the most popular of his books in English, *Servia and the Servians*, which saw three British and three American editions.⁴¹ After 1903 his reputation in Serbia suffered greatly as a result of the unfounded rumours about his being implicated in a conspiracy to bring Prince Arthur of Connaught, beloved son of Queen Victoria, to the throne of Serbia. In 1911, however, he met King Peter in Paris, and thenceforth was fully reconciled with the new regime in Serbia. It is not surprising then that he was considered as being an unofficial member of the Serbian delegation during the London Conference in December 1912.

Not even after his reconciliation with the new dynasty was the distrust of him fully overcome in Serbia; by contrast, his resignation boosted his reputation in Britain, as may be seen from the review of his book published in the highly reputable *Athenaeum* in 1908:

It may be remembered that he threw up his appointment rather than appear to accept the circumstances of horror in which a reign not regarded by him with favour was brought to a close. His life has been wholly honourable, and, however fierce may be the internal conflicts among the Slavonic parties of the Balkan Peninsula, all acknowledge the high character and the competence of Mr. Mijatovich.⁴²

As a diligent contributor to the leading religious journal in Serbia, *Hrišćanski vesnik* (Christian Herald), and translator of influential religious writings from English, and having become a widower, he was being seen, in 1914, as a serious candidate for the office of archbishop of Skoplje, part of Serbia

⁴¹ Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1908); the 2nd British ed.: London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1911, and the 3rd: London, Bath, New York and Melbourne: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1915. American editions: Boston: L.C. Page & company, 1908; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913; New York: Scribner, 1914.

⁴² "The Balkans", *The Athenaeum*, no. 4202, 9 May 1908, p. 569.

from 1913. This position involved the prospects of becoming the first patriarch in the Kingdom of Serbia once the Serbian Church was re-elevated to the rank of patriarchate. At first enthusiastic about the offer, he even gave thought to possible reforms: “I thought I could combine the most attractive qualities of the Anglican bishops with the best attributes of the Roman Catholic bishops, and inspire the Serbian Orthodox Church with the true spirit of Christ.”⁴³ As his possible appointment threatened to create strong opposition from Serbian bishops, in the end he declined, and instead accepted the post of manager of the Serbian Commercial Agency in London.

Writing on various religious topics, Mijatović also addressed the question of union between the Church of England and Orthodox Churches. In reaction to a text of Oxford Professor Leighton Pullan (1865–1940), sympathetic towards the possibility of union, Mijatović stated that now that the question of union had been reopened, “it should not be abandoned until the final solution has been found”.⁴⁴

During the Balkan Wars and throughout the First World War he supported Serbia in various British journals, this time with more success than in any other period, since the two countries were allies in the Great War. In 1916 he campaigned for Serbia in the USA and Canada, in company with the famous British suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst, who became a dedicated supporter of Serbia’s aspirations. It was shortly after Mijatović returned from the tour that Anglo-Serbian relations saw one of their brightest moments. In June 1916, a Kosovo Committee headed by Robert William Seton-Watson commemorated Kosovo Day with the participation of the highest state and church officials and amidst a nationwide display of sympathies for Serbia.⁴⁵ Sadly for Mijatović, that was also a clear sign that a group of Serbian intellectuals who had come to Britain during the Great War had taken over key roles in Anglo-Serbian relations.

Mijatović’s cosmopolitanism was strengthened in London, as may be seen from a letter of 1912 to his friend, journalist Pera Todorović: “I am an old man indeed, but it seems that there have never been in my heart livelier and more generous sympathies not only for the interests and progress of our Serbia, but also for the interests and progress of the world. In London a man cannot but feel like ‘a citizen of the world’, cannot fail to see higher, broader

⁴³ Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, 150.

⁴⁴ Č. M., “Pitanje o sjedinjenju crkava” [The question of church union], *Hrišćanski vesnik* XXVI, no. 5 (May 1909), 321–330.

⁴⁵ On the celebration of Kosovo Day in Britain and the USA see Slobodan G. Markovich, “The Celebration of ‘Kossovo Day’”, *The South Slav Journal*, vol. 28, no. 1–2/107–108 (Spring–Summer 2007), 85–96.

and wider horizons.”⁴⁶ Such views led him to become a sincere advocate of a Balkan federation. In a letter to *The Times* in 1908 he expressed his hope and belief “that the Providence which shapes history is leading the Balkan nations towards the formation of the United States of the Balkans”,⁴⁷ and only two months later he anticipated a United States of Europe.⁴⁸ Mijatović lived in London until his death in 1932.

Apart from ten books he translated from English into Serbian, Mijatović was the author of some twenty economic, historical and fiction books in Serbian. Almost all of his writings reveal how deeply influenced by Britain he was. His fiction was undoubtedly inspired by the Gothic novel and Sir Walter Scott. His most popular and least scholarly work in economics, *On conditions for success*, a booklet on how to become a millionaire while remaining a moral person, was chiefly influenced by Samuel Smiles and Scottish Calvinism. His theological contributions were very much inspired by the sermons of Dr. Spurgeon and Canon Liddon. In politics he was also inspired by William Ewart Gladstone and Salisbury, and he wished to introduce the British style of budgetary debate in Serbia. Moreover, encouraged by William Stead, he showed interest in spiritism, quite fashionable in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. All this made Mijatović a lonely Victorian among nineteenth-century Serbs.⁴⁹

B. Hellenic Anglophiles

Of all the Balkan Christian countries the Hellenic Kingdom had the most extensive economic and cultural relations with Britain, and gratefully remembered the British philhellenes' contribution to its independence. After the War of Independence, however, their relations deteriorated and in the late 1840s fell to their lowest ebb. On the Orthodox Easter Sunday (4 April) of 1847, the Athenian house of the rich merchant Don David Pacifico (*ca* 1783–1854), a British subject of Jewish origin, was looted and his private papers stolen. After the repeated appeals for compensation that the British minister in Athens made on behalf of the Palmerston government failed to produce any result, the British prime minister, who felt personal dislike of King Otto and his rule, imposed a naval blockade on Athens between Janu-

⁴⁶ Belgrade, Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, No. 9792/13, Č. Mijatović to P. Todorović, July 7th[20th] 1902.

⁴⁷ Chedo Mijatovich, “The New Era in Turkey”, *The Times*, 4 Aug. 1908, p. 6 f.

⁴⁸ Chedo Mijatovich, “The Agram Trial and the Servian Nation”, 4 Oct. 1908, p. 6 f.

⁴⁹ Cf. Slobodan G. Marković, “Čedomilj Mijatović: a Leading Serbian Anglophile”, *Balcanica XXXVIII* (2007), 105–132.

ary and early May of 1850.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it was Palmerston who, in 1864, did an unprecedented service to the Hellenic Kingdom by ceding, on Gladstone's advice, the Ionian Islands to Greece to mark the accession of the new king of Hellenes, George I. As Trevelyan observed: "Hellenic sympathies and Liberal principles were the motives of an action which has few analogies in history."⁵¹

So, Anglo-Hellenic relations reached one of their most glorious moments at the time when Anglo-Sebian relations were at their lowest. Only seven years after the cessation of the Ionian Islands, however, they entered a most serious crisis. It was then that another Angloophile, this time from Greece, entered the scene of Anglo-Balkan relations: **Ioannes Gennadios** (1844–1932). Gennadios came from an intellectual family. His father George (1784–1854) was a founder of the University of Athens and responsible for the establishment of the National Library of Greece. The home of George and his wife Artemis was described as "the intellectual centre of Greece at that time".⁵² His death, when Ioannes was ten, left the family with debts as a result of his numerous orders placed with booksellers. Ioannes and his siblings shared their father's love of books and became dedicated bibliophiles. Ioannes's mother Artemis (1811–1884), who came from the old and influential Athenian family of Benizelos, was connected with Britain in a most peculiar way. Her father Prokopios was in 1818 sentenced to death and sequestration of his Athenian property by Ottoman authorities, but the ship that was to take him to Constantinople was forced to dock at the port of Chios, where Benizelos was rescued by the British consul, and later he lived in hiding in Constantinople under the protection of the British embassy.⁵³

One of Ioannes's godfathers, Dr. John Henry Hill of the American Episcopal Church, for some time chaplain to the British legation at Athens, suggested to his widowed mother Artemis to enrol Ioannes and his younger brother in the English Protestant College at Malta, quite popular among well-to-do Greeks.⁵⁴ On his days at the College Gennadios noted:

⁵⁰ For the latest and most complete study of Don Pacifico Affair and Don Pacifico's biography see Derek Taylor, *Don Pacifico. The Acceptable Face of Gunboat Diplomacy* (London, Portland OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2008).

⁵¹ Trevelyan, *British History*, 322.

⁵² Dr. Th. Livadas, *Artemis G. Genadius. Biographical Reminiscences* (London 1890), 20 (originally published in Greek in 1884).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁴ Donald M. Nicol, *Ioannes Gennadios, The Man. A Bibliographical Sketch* (Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 1990), 3.

I remained there for about three years, perfecting my knowledge of English and obtaining that insight into English character and habits which stood me in good stead, later, when I had to devote my energies to the service and the promotion of the interests of my country.⁵⁵

He continued his education in Athens, but before he turned nineteen he gave up his university studies and went to London, where he found employment with the company of the wealthiest Greek family in the Isles — Ralli Brothers. Similarly to Jovanović, he appeared before the British public with a series of four letters in a liberal newspaper, the *Morning Star*, seeking to change the prevailing impression in Britain that Greece was not advancing properly. But the turning-point in his life ensued after an incident in Greece caused huge outrage in Britain.

In April 1870 the so-called Dilessi or Marathon murders took place. A group of Greek brigands kidnapped four aristocrats, three of them British, in the Boeotian village of Dilessi, and brutally murdered them after the Greek government's poorly planned rescue attempts failed. Romilly Jenkins sums up the European perceptions of Greece after the Dilessi murders: "Abroad, in Austria, in France, and in Turkey, the expectation that English troops would occupy Athens was universal: and such was the unpopularity of the Greek cause in those countries that most people also hoped they would."⁵⁶ In June 1870 *Notes on the Recent Murders by Brigands in Greece*, a pamphlet in some two hundred pages, was published anonymously in London. In fact, it was written by Gennadios "with a style and a facility nearly unexampled in a foreigner."⁵⁷ The strong resentment against Greece that the incident had fuelled in Britain compelled Gennadios to lament:

Our whole nation was vilified and dragged into the gutter; we were loaded with infamy, accused of all crimes, and made responsible for a murder committed by a band of malefactors; our past was cursed, our present imprecated, our future damned.⁵⁸

The pamphlet made Gennadios a national hero in Greece, and even though it cost him his job with the Ralli Brothers, his diplomatic career in Greece was secured. In 1870 he was invited to accept the appointment as attaché in Washington, but it seems that he never went. A year or two later he became secretary to the Greek legation in Constantinople, the key post for a Greek

⁵⁵ John Gennadios, "Autobiographical Notes"/Αφιέρωμα στον Ιωάννη Γεννάδιο, *The New Griffon* 4 (2001), 17.

⁵⁶ Romilly Jenkins, *The Dilessi Murders: Greek brigands and English hostages* (London: Prion, 1998), 87.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁸ Quoted after Jenkins, *Dilessi Murders*, 123.

diplomat. In 1875 he returned to London as secretary to the Greek legation, and his term as chargé d'affaires from 1876 to 1880 coincided with the Eastern Crisis which rekindled British sympathies for Balkan Christians.

At the annual general meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom held 26–28 February 1878, I. Gennadios, Greek chargé d'affaires, made a toast and confidently remarked: "It finds in us echo all the more ready as the two nations, great Britain and little Greece, have both attained to the highest position amongst the people of the earth, at different epochs, it is true, but by the identical pursuits of commerce and the same love of civilisation and progress..." He also found himself obliged to reply to the usual objection "that Greece has disappointed expectations of her friends":

Well, the drawback of over-sanguine friends is, that they always form unwarranted expectations; and our misfortune has been that the matchless beauty and god-like grandeur of ancient Greece, which, viewed from the distance of centuries, crushes and minimises our best endeavours, has led our impatient and enthusiastic friends to expect that, in one generation, after four centuries of debasing slavery, we should have resuscitated the age of Pericles, and that the sons of those who enjoyed liberty in no other form than that of taking to the mountains, would at once have acted as if endowed with the wisdom of Solon and the virtues of Aristides...⁵⁹

Shortly afterwards Gennadios was sent to Germany to assist the Greek delegation at the Congress of Berlin, and in 1879 he settled the problem of loans the Greek provisional government had taken from British creditors in 1824. This was an important diplomatic victory for Greece but, instead of being rewarded, he was recalled from his London post in 1880. However, Gennadios was soon reappointed as chargé d'affaires and served for one year, 1881/2. He became chargé d'affaires in London again in 1885 and, at long last, was rewarded by being appointed as minister resident to the Court of St. James's. He held that position until 1890, when he became envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in London, but only for a year, because in 1891 the government of the Hellenic Kingdom for diplomatic reasons recalled its representatives from many European capitals.

Gennadios apparently had poor relations with Trikoupis, a prominent Greek politician serving too many times as prime minister in the late nineteenth century. In the 1890s Gennadios battled with financial problems, but in 1904 he married a wealthy British woman, Florence Laing Kennedy. In

⁵⁹ *Miscellanea*, Hellenic Committee London, no. V (London, 1878?), 29–31; also published in the *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Association of Chambers of Commerce* (London: Dr. Johnson Press, 1878), 173–177.

July 1910 he was accredited as Hellenic minister in London for the third time. He was almost seventy-five when he offered, 16 October 1918, his resignation due to his age. On 18 November 1918 a dinner in his honour was given at the Carlton Hotel by Hellenic prime minister, E. Venizelos. Gennadios gave a speech:

To Constantinople and Vienna, to The Hague and Washington I was sent in succession, as well as to various international Congresses; but to this country I always returned — the country I admire and love so well, the country to which I feel bound by the dearest of ties, those of my wife, who although an Englishwoman, is the most patriotic of Greek women.⁶⁰

By the time of his retirement, Gennadios had gained the highest reputation in Britain for his diplomatic ability, his knowledge and his scholarship. A journalist who interviewed him in 1920 listed his many achievements:

Our discussion of administration led us insensibly to the question of education. There is no need to remind readers of *The Treasury* that in such a matter Dr. Gennadius joins to the authority of the diplomat that of the scholar and the antiquary. To him is due in part the foundation of the Society of Hellenic Studies, which gave birth in turn to the British School of Archaeology in Athens, and all the important work of that school. It is now nearly forty years since the University of Oxford gave him, as no merely formal compliment to diplomacy, a doctor's degree; Cambridge and St. Andrews have since followed the example of Oxford.

and summed up his contribution to furthering Anglo-Hellenic relations:

Certainly both Greece and England have been singularly fortunate in having Dr. Gennadius to represent his country here through a long and most eventful period of Modern Greek history. It is possible that other diplomats might equally have safeguarded the interests of Greece: it is certain that none could have won in fuller measure the warm esteem of Englishmen.⁶¹

Similar observations were made in the *The Times* obituary for him: "Few foreign diplomatists have ever held in London a position analogous to that of Gennadius."⁶²

⁶⁰ *The Retirement of Mr. Gennadius. Speeches of Monsieur Venizelos, M. Joannes Gennadius, Lord Robert Cecil, the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, Principal Burrows and others at a valedictory Dinner given by M. Venizelos on November 18, 1918 in Honour of M. Gennadius*, Pamphlet no. 38 (London: The Anglo-Hellenic League, 1919), 7.

⁶¹ E. Hermitage Day, "The Renaissance of Greece. An Interview with Dr. Gennadius", *The Treasury* (Sept. 1920), 419–423.

⁶² "M. Gennadius. Greek Diplomatist and Scholar", *The Times*, 8 Sept. 1932, p. 12 A.

Gennadios was also closely associated with two components of British culture: the Church of England and cosmopolitanism. His lengthy and learned introduction to the book *Hellenism in England*⁶³ was seen as “one of innumerable proofs which Dr. Gennadius has given, throughout his long residence in England, of his desire to see the resumption of communion between East and West.” He was a proponent of union between the Orthodox churches and the Church of England. In October 1908, at the Church House, Westminster, he addressed the anniversary meeting of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union: “The Greek Church has always had a desire for close union and has shown much friendliness towards all members of the Anglican Communion.”⁶⁴ He was a wholehearted supporter of the activities of Randall T. Davidson (1848–1930), archbishop of Canterbury (1903–28), who in 1919 appointed the Eastern Churches Committee to deal with the issues of union. The archbishop received a strong endorsement by the decision of the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate recognising to the Church of England the “Charisma of the priesthood derived from Apostolic succession”, and a very sympathetic letter from the patriarch of Constantinople, Meletios, in July 1922. In February 1923 Randall delivered an allocution on Anglican-Orthodox relations to the bishops and clergy of his province, which was published as a bilingual pamphlet, the Greek version being prepared by Gennadios.⁶⁵

Both Mijatović and Gennadios were enthusiastic about the creation of the League of Nations. Gennadios saw the entire legacy of ancient Greece, including her Amphictionic council, her greatest philosophers, even the church fathers, as a prelude to the League of Nations. Modern Greeks, in his view, were continuing that tradition and, since “the duty of the citizen of a free state is to manifest his convictions by an active concern in public affairs ... As Greeks, therefore, we are in honour bound to support actively and wholeheartedly the aims of this Union.”⁶⁶ He became particularly active in this field at the close of the Great War.

Gennadios often expressed his Anglophile sentiments, and his demeanour and the pride he took in being a member of two gentlemen’s clubs,

⁶³ Joannes Gaennadius, Litt. D., “Hellenism in England. Introduction”, in Theodore E. Dowling, D.D., and Edwin W. Fletcher, F.S.A. Scot., *Hellenism in England* (London: Faith Press, 1915), 19–57.

⁶⁴ “Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union”, *The Times*, 24 Oct. 1908, p. 19F.

⁶⁵ Most Rev. Randall T. Davidson, *Allocution on the Relations of the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches* (London: Faith Press, 1923).

⁶⁶ His article “The Greek Community and the League of Nations Union” was printed in two journals: *The Covenant. A Quarterly Review of the League of Nations* (July 1920 or 1921), 28, and *To-day and To-morrow*, vol. III, no. 5 (Aug.-Sept. 1920), 197.

the Johnson and the Cobden, is certainly something that reveals how strongly he embraced British culture.⁶⁷ Britain, in her turn, rewarded him amply. He was made an honorary doctor of the universities of Oxford (1882), St. Andrews and Cambridge, and an honorary member of the Royal Society of Literature (1891), and was also an honorary G.C.V.O. His Anglophile sentiment must have been nurtured by the reciprocal British admiration and appreciation for ancient Hellas, so common not only among the Oxbridge elite of the epoch, but also among people of humbler background, such as David Lloyd George. Gennadios once summed up his fondness of Britain:

Greece has maintained with no other country in Europe relations so ancient, so historic, so full of romance, so important to scholarship, so bound up with the interest of both nations, as the relations with this country in which I have spent the best years of my life, and which I love of all others best — next to my native land.⁶⁸

He set up a visible monument to that mutual fondness, a library in Athens named “Gennadeion” after his father. He spent a lifetime collecting books, and not just any books: everything that had ever been published on ancient Hellas, Byzantium, modern Greece or the modern Balkans in Britain and other major European countries found its place in this collection which also includes journals, pamphlets, photographs, maps and newspaper clippings. In 1922, after decades of passionate collecting, his library had 24,000 volumes. During his visit to Washington in 1922, when he became an honorary doctor of George Washington and Princeton universities, he made an agreement with the American School of Classical Studies. The Gennadius Library, an impressive classicist building constructed with a donation from the Carnegie Endowment on the slopes of Lycabettus next to the building of the British School in Athens, was opened in April 1926. Thus the edifice reflects three cultural strivings: more than a century-long American and British philhellenism, and the Anglophilia of Ioannes Gennadios.

Gennadios died in London in 1932. Prominent British ecclesiologist, antiquary and expert on Eastern Orthodoxy John Athelstan Riley (1858–1945) wrote for *The Times*:

Those who followed his career will know that his conspicuous success as the representative of his country at St. James’s was largely due, not only to his knowledge of England and English ways, but to his identification with the English spirit; talking to him was like

⁶⁷ L. F. Powell, Prior of the Johnson Club at the time of Gennadios’s death, noted that he had been the first scholar of non-English birth to be elected a member of the Johnson Club. Gennadios received additional distinction by being elected the Club’s Prior two times in a row (1898–1899); cf. *The Times*, 12 Sept. 1932, p. 12F.

⁶⁸ Gaennadius, “Hellenism in England”, 56.

talking to an Englishman [...] it was difficult to believe that this Orthodox Greek was not an Anglican Englishman.⁶⁹

An epigram in Gennadios's honour contributed by the distinguished Greek academic Theogenes Livadas on the occasion of his birthday reads:

*Excellenti viro
Domini Joanni Genadio
Graeciae apud Britannos legato*⁷⁰

The last line indeed epitomizes Ioannes Gennadios's lifelong mission: he was Greece's envoy among Britons.

The highest point of British philhellenism was not its affection for a modern writer or artist, but for a politician. **Eleutherios Venizelos** (1864–1936) was born in Crete, but became a refugee at the age of two, since his father was deported to the island of Syros as punishment for participating in a rebellion against Ottoman rule. This experience left an indelible mark in Venizelos's life. Throughout his career he persistently fought for the freedom of the Hellenic people and the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, and in all possible capacities: as an insurgent, a political propagator, minister of justice of autonomous Crete, and finally as prime minister of the Hellenic Kingdom.

His political rise was meteoric. In August 1910, he entered Parliament, in October, he was prime minister, and from then on remained an unavoidable factor in Greek politics. He headed six Hellenic governments (1910 – March 1915; 23 August – 5 October 1915; 1917–20; 1924; 1928–32; 1933).

Once the Great War proved to be a world conflict Venizelos looked for a chance to bring the Hellenic Kingdom into the war on the side of the Entente. This, naturally, made him popular in London and Paris, but then he had already been noticed and highly praised for his integrity during the London Conference of 1913. When in November 1914 the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers, the Entente was compelled to strike back by launching, in February 1915, the Dardanelle Expedition, which encouraged Venizelos to make another attempt to bring Greece into the war. The opposition he met with from King Constantine resulted in his resignation on 6 March 1915.⁷¹

⁶⁹ "M. Gennadius", *The Times*, 17 Sept. 1932, p. 15c.

⁷⁰ Gennadios, "Autobiographical Notes", 45.

⁷¹ See Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 85; N. Petsalis Diomidis, *Greece at the Paris Peace Conference (1919)* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1978), 34.

In June 1915, however, Venizelos won the parliamentary election, taking 184 out of 317 seats, and was back in power before the end of August. How good his reputation was in Britain at that time may be seen from the caricature "The Return of Ulysses" published in the *Punch* of 23 June 1915. Upon Bulgaria's entry into the war, Venizelos decided that the 1913 Agreement with Serbia became enforceable. The King, however, considered that Greece was under no obligation to Serbia since a world war was in progress, and the Agreement of 1913 could not have envisaged such a course of events. Faced with the resistance not only of the King but also of the General Staff, by early October Venizelos had decided to resign again, which caused dissatisfaction in the Entente camp. The most important consequence of the dispute between Venizelos and King Constantine was that the Allies accepted his suggestion to send in troops, and their disembarkation near Salonica began on 3 October 1915.

What was Greece's image in Britain in this period? There were still many influential philhellenes in Britain on the eve of the First World War, but there was an opposite trend as well. Arnold Toynbee came to believe, in 1912, in "the soundness of racial prejudice" and began to "religiously preach mishellenism" to any philhellene he came across.⁷² Yet, an important pro-Hellenic association which was to play a major role in the pro-Hellenic and pro-Venizelist propaganda effort during the Great War was founded in 1913 in London: the Anglo-Hellenic League initiated by Ronald Burrows (1867–1920), principal of King's College London. The League whose aim was to defend the "just claims and honour of Greece"⁷³ was instrumental in changing the image of both Venizelos and Greece in Britain.

Burrows and other British philhellenes finally found a hero symbolising both ancient Hellas and modern Greece and suitable for being presented to the British public. How high Burrow's esteem of Venizelos was may be seen from his poem "Song of the Hellenes to Veniselos the Cretan":

Veniselos, Veniselos,
Do not fail us! Do not fail us!
Now is come for thee the hour,
To show forth thy master power.
Lord of all Hellenic men,
Make our country great again.

Venizelos had been known to the British public from 1906, when *The Times* began reporting on his Cretan activities. By the end of July 1914 the leading

⁷² Cited in Richard Clogg, "The British School at Athens and the Modern History of Greece", *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 10 (1993), 95.

⁷³ Richard Clogg, *Britain and Greece* (London: Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1995), 6.

London daily had mentioned him 343 times.⁷⁴ Venizelos's participation in the London Conference in 1912 earned him a good reputation and provided him with the opportunity to establish good connections in Britain. His personality and diplomatic abilities were noticed both by British statesmen and by other Balkan politicians and diplomats. Čedomilj Mijatović, who joined the Serbian delegation semiofficially, observed:

Of all the Balkan delegates, Greece's first delegate, Mr. Venizelos, made the best impression in diplomatic circles and in London Society. He looked a born gentleman, of fine mannerism consideration for others, dignified, yet natural and simple.⁷⁵

British journalists were equally impressed: "I recall that famous dinner given to the Balkan delegates in London in the midst of the First Balkan War when all our hopes were so high and I remember how the personality of the man stood out from the commonplace figures of his colleagues."⁷⁶

Greece's image in Britain had been declining from the beginning of 1915. The reaction of the British public to the situation in Hellas had some reasons other than the strategic position of Bulgaria. As Ronald Burrows somewhat overenthusiastically pointed out in 1916: "From the moment the war began, there was not a doubt in either country [France and Great Britain] that Greece was a friend, a good friend, and a brave friend... There was no question then in the Western mind of anyone in Greece being pro-German. Up to the beginning of 1915, there was no nation more trusted and believed in than Greece."⁷⁷ Yet, there was one exception to this general trend. Venizelos's efforts throughout 1915 to bring Greece into the war on the side of the Entente strengthened his good reputation in Britain, and he gave several interviews assuring the British public of Greeks in general being loyal to Britain, France and Russia: "Whatever happens within the next few critical weeks, let England never forget that Greece is with her, heart and soul, remembering her past acts of friendship in times of no less difficulty, and looking forward to abiding union in days to come."⁷⁸ His reputation in England by that time is obvious from the following paragraph:

⁷⁴ Using three different spellings: usually Venezelos, less frequently Venizelos, and only once Veniselos.

⁷⁵ Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, 237.

⁷⁶ A. G. G., "M. Venizelos and his Conflict with the King", *The Daily News and Leader*, 17 April 1915.

⁷⁷ Ronald Burrows, "Philhellenism in England and France", *The Contemporary Review* (July 1916), 163.

⁷⁸ "Greek Faith in Allies. Interview with M. Venizelos. The Elections. Mandate Expected for Ex-Premier", *The Daily News*, 7 April 1915.

For Greece knows that in him she has touched greatness, and that through him she has caught a vision of a nobler destiny than has been hers since the Turk brought his blight upon the Balkans. Venizelos is for the Allies for no mean thing. He is for them because he knows that with all their deficiencies they stand for freedom, for the moral law in the world against the law of Krupps and that in their triumph is the hope of liberty, of democracy and of the small nationality all over the world.⁷⁹

By the time of his parliamentary victory Venizelos had become so popular in Britain that journalists began a search for his noble ancestors, tracing his origin to the famous fifteenth-century family of Benizeloi (Venizeli).⁸⁰

When he took the office of prime minister again the British press was more sympathetic. The periodical *World*, reminding its readers that it had described Venizelos as “one of the most striking personalities among European statesmen” on the occasion of his visit to London in January 1914, now went even further: “No one, however, then thought that all Europe would be watching with painful anxiety the line of policy he might elect to pursue in the course of a great international struggle. Eighteen months ago, therefore, he was a celebrity; now he is almost a super-celebrity.”⁸¹

When he established a provisional government in October 1916, this mood was revived, most of all by Ronald Burrows, his supporter ever since the Balkan Wars. He praised Venizelos in several articles and championed him through his many and influential private contacts, and in frequent letters to all major London dailies, *The Times* in particular. Many others soon followed suite. Burrows, of course, had paved the way, writing as early as May 1915:

The one thing that can be said with certainty is that in the eyes of Europe Venizelos is the greatest asset Greece has possessed since she became a kingdom, and that it will be many years before his successors win, as he has done, the implicit confidence of the statesmen and the people of England and France.⁸²

A. W. A. Leeper wrote, in November 1916, an Allied portrait of Venizelos, describing him as “the man who was to prove the most stalwart opponent to Prussianism in S. E. Europe”.⁸³ Crawford Price completed a book on

⁷⁹ A. G. G., “M. Venizelos and his Conflict with the King”.

⁸⁰ A letter signed by “A Greek” as a reaction to the previous text of *Guardian’s* correspondent, *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 June, 1915.

⁸¹ “Celebrities at Home”, *The World*, no. 1787, 24 Aug. 1915.

⁸² Ronald M. Burrows, “Venizelos and the Greek Crisis”, *The Contemporary Review* (May 1915), 552.

⁸³ A. W. E. Leeper, “Allied Portrait: (I) Eleutherios Venizelos”, *The New Europe*, 23 Nov. 1916, p. 183.

Venizelos in November 1916, and called for Allied action on the side of Venizelos:

If we are sincere in our devotion to the cause of freedom, justice and righteousness, then this Venizelist movement is one which ought to receive our unstained support and full official acknowledgment. If we are determined in our intention to crush militarism in Europe, then it is illogical to us to support any offshoot of it in the Balkans.⁸⁴

Another important element in pro-Hellenic and pro-Serbian propaganda was the founding in 1916 of the journal *New Europe* by R. W. Seton Watson, Ronald Burrows, T. Masaryk and two influential journalists of *The Times*, Henry Wickham-Steed and Harold Williams.⁸⁵ It promoted the cause of small nations and supported the war effort of the Kingdom of Serbia and Venizelist Greece. For Britain's monarchist public, however, the legitimate government was in Athens as long as there was a king, and they naturally tended to assume the subjects' loyalty to their sovereign. The very existence of a royal government reluctant to take any decisive step towards Hellenic participation in the war produced in some sections of British public opinion an unfavourable image of the Hellenes as a nation,⁸⁶ which not even Venizelos's arrival in Athens to take the office of prime minister of a unified Hellas could change. Burrows criticized some British journalists:

No Philhellene can fairly complain of the attitude of the English Press as a whole. There has been a tendency, however, natural enough, to throw Venizelos into high relief by contrasting him with his fellow countrymen. It is a left-handed compliment to one who is Greek of the Greeks, and, above all men, stands for the solidarity of the race. So able a war correspondent as Mr. Ward Price found nothing in the welcome given to the Allied troops by the population of Thessaly, but a proof that "the Greek mind has little consistency, and no shame at suddenly renouncing one allegiance to embark on the opposite".

Burrows was equally dissatisfied with the *Daily Chronicle's* interpretation of the shift of allegiance from King Constantine to Venizelos as something

⁸⁴ Crawford Price, *Venizelos and the War. A Sketch of Personalities & Politics* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd, 1917), 9.

⁸⁵ George Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows: A Memoir* (London: Nesbit & Co., 1924), 198–199.

⁸⁶ In a letter to Burrows of 17 November 1916, Venizelos noted that the Entente Powers had warned his movement that it "must not assume an anti-dynastic character". Venizelos believed that "the preservation of the dynasty should be thought a sufficient concession to the 'sentiments très respectables des Souverains des Alliés de la France'", *ibid.*, 243, 246.

that “does not impress one with the strength of Hellenic character. The nation ... has shown, on the whole, more resemblance to the Greeks of Juvenal than to those of Pericles!”⁸⁷ The same ambiguous attitude can also be seen from an article of the famous anthropologist Sir J. G. Frazer, who described the anathema on Venizelos by the archbishop of Athens as a “barbarous ritual” common to “savages all over the world”.⁸⁸

The dazzle of Venizelos’s image did not necessarily shine on all of Greece, especially in the eyes of locally deployed British and French soldiers during the existence of two rival governments. The American journalist of Greek origin Demetra Vaka, travelling from Italy to Corfu on a boat full of Entente troops in early 1917, heard comments which made her realise:

... where Greece stood in the eyes of other nations. Hatred and scorn were her portion. “Cowered” was the least of the epithets applied to her, and because no one suspected a Greek under my American name I received the full blast of the world’s opinion on my race. With entire lack of justice no distinction was drawn between Old Greece, which would not abandon its neutrality, and New Greece, the members of which have left their homes, their business, their friends, to fight for the Entente, and to rehabilitate their good name toward Serbia.⁸⁹

Between September 1914 and October 1918 Venizelos was mentioned in 627 different articles in *The Times*. In terms of quality rather than quantity, he was mentioned seventeen times in editorials and leaders all of which depicted him in superlatives in the period between October 1915 and the end of the war, and in some twenty letters mostly written by members of the Anglo-Hellenic League. Between 1913 and 1918 the League published thirty-seven pamphlets, four of them entirely devoted to Venizelos and almost all referring to him in laudable terms.⁹⁰ This sustained effort made Venizelos probably the most popular foreign prime minister in Britain.

During and immediately after the First World War four biographies of Venizelos appeared in Britain, an unprecedented honour not only to a Hellenic statesman but to any Balkan statesman of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first biography, by Dr. C. Kerofilas, was complet-

⁸⁷ Ronald M. Burrows, “Venizelos in Athens”, *The New Europe*, 5 July 1917, p. 373.

⁸⁸ Sir J. G. Frazer, “The Cursing of Venizelos”, *The New Europe*, 22 Feb. 1917, p. 174.

⁸⁹ Demetra Vaka, *Constantine King & Traitor* (London: John Lane, 1918), 14.

⁹⁰ Pamphlet no. 19: *Eleutherios Venizelos and English Public Opinion* (1915), 29 p.; Pamphlet no. 28: *Speech of Mr. E. Venizelos to the people delivered in Athens on Sunday, August 27, 1915 [Greek and English]* (1916), 15 p.; Pamphlet No. 30: *Venizelos and his fellow countrymen, by P. N. Ure* (1917), 14+1 p.; and Pamphlet no. 35: *England’s Welcome to Venizelos* (1917), 20 p.

ed in Greek in August 1915 and then translated into English. Kerofilas's sympathies for Venizelos were more than open, as shown by his preface: "Carlyle would assuredly have included him among his 'Heroes'," since he is a man "who, finding his country in the throes of a military revolution, restored it and raised it to the highest triumphs of victory."⁹¹ The second biography, from the pen of Crawford Price, a strongly pro-Hellenic and pro-Serbian British journalist, was completed in mid November 1916 and published in January 1917. Inspired by Venizelos's departure from Crete to Salonica, it was an attempt to strengthen pro-Venizelist feelings in Britain. In conclusion to his preface Price noted: "If we are sincere in our devotion to the causes of freedom, justice and righteousness, then this Venizelist movement is one which ought to receive our unstinted support and full official acknowledgement."⁹²

After the First World War there appeared, in 1921, the biography by S. B. Chester,⁹³ as well as the one by Vincent J. Seligman. The latter, intended as a study of Greek politics from 1910 to 1918, was a clear laudation of its hero. Seligman dedicated his book to Venizelos, as "a small tribute of the author's respect and admiration".⁹⁴

Venizelos's image in Britain saw a shiny moment during his visit to London in November 1917. Two months earlier *Punch* had made a tribute to Venizelos, portraying him and Kerensky as liberators in the style of *Ex oriente lux*. To a worried Kerensky, Venizelos says with determination: "Do not despair, I too went through sufferings, before achieving unity."⁹⁵ On 16 November 1917 the Anglo-Hellenic League organized a meeting to welcome Venizelos at the Mansion House. Apart from the lord mayor, it was attended by leading British politicians, such as Arthur James Balfour (foreign minister), Lord Curzon, and Winston Churchill (minister of munitions), by Mr. and Mme. Gennadius, Mr. and Mme. Burrows, and many other distinguished figures.

At the beginning Ronald Burrows read the message of the archbishop of Canterbury and then the lord mayor yielded the floor to A. J. Balfour:

⁹¹ Dr. C. Kerofilas, *Eleftheriois Venizelos. His Life and Work*, transl. by Beatrice Barstow (London: John Murray 1915), xv.

⁹² Price, *Venizelos and the War*, 9.

⁹³ S. B. Chester, *Life of Venizelos* (London: Constable, 1921).

⁹⁴ Vincent J. Seligman, *The Victory of Venizelos. A Study of Greek Politics, 1910–1918* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1920), 5. Venizelos's fifth biography in English was published in the United States: Herbert Adams Gibbons, *Venizelos* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920).

⁹⁵ "Liberators", *Punch or the London Charivari*, 5 Sept. 1917.

By common consent Mr. Venizelos is the most distinguished living representative of the great historic race to whom, as the Archbishop of Canterbury observes in the letter just read out to you, civilisation owes much...

Mr. Venizelos has now been travelling through Allied countries for some time. He has seen Rome, he has seen Paris, he has finally come to London; and I do not think that in any Entente capital will he find a warmer welcome than he will find in the capital of the British Empire. [Cheers.] And that is not merely because he has shown qualities greatly admired by our race – moderation, courage, love of liberty – but also because he has, from the very beginning of these hostilities, seen with a sure and certain intuition that the cause of nationalities and the cause of international freedom lay in the keeping of the Entente Powers. [Cheers.]⁹⁶

Having expressed his thanks to the lord mayor and the Anglo-Hellenic League for organising the meeting, Venizelos made a brief historical overview of his policy. He wanted to assure the British public that ordinary Greeks had remained loyal to the Entente and particularly to Britain throughout the crisis between Venizelos and King Constantine. That he knew how to approach Britain's highest classes and win their hearts for the Greek cause can be seen from an excerpt from his speech:

I can assure you that during that protracted and painful crisis, the great majority of the Greek people never approved of that treacherous policy. The good opinion of your great Empire is a precious asset for the Greek people. Ever since their resuscitation to a free political existence, the Greeks have looked for guidance to the great and splendid lessons which British political life offers. In it we have found harmoniously blended personal liberty with that order which ensures progress. All the public men of modern Greece, worthy of that name, have been unanimous in their belief that the edifice which has been reared by the genius of the British people, and which is known as the British Empire, or the British Commonwealth, is the grandest political creation in the life of man. [Cheers.]⁹⁷

There is one thing in Venizelos's biography that remains unclear though. Was he a genuine Anglophile or he simply knew what it was that Britons liked to hear? Or to put it differently: Was his publicly displayed Anglophilia during the First World War just a natural but superficial response to the resurgence of British philhellenism? An answer may be that, unlike Jovanović, Mijatović, Gennadios or Geshov, he may not have been an An-

⁹⁶ *England's Welcome to Venizelos*, 3 and 5–6.

⁹⁷ *England's Welcome to Venizelos*, 15.

glophile from the outset. By 1917, and probably as early as 1912/3, he had definitely become a genuine one and strongly believed Greece's future to be entirely and justifiably in Britain's hands. It was as early as December 1912 that Venizelos told Lloyd George: "All the national aspirations of Greece tended towards a closer union with England," and six months later he said to the British minister in Athens that Greek policy was "to conform absolutely to the advice of Sir Edward Grey".⁹⁸ His pro-British position was reinforced when a British Hellenophile, Lloyd George, became British prime minister (December 1916 – October 1922).⁹⁹ His Anglophilia developed at the time when British Hellenophilia was at its peak, when a trend that may be termed Anglo-Hellenism reached its climax. Throughout the crucial years from 1913 onwards the Anglo-Hellenic League acted fervently in support of Venizelos. The fact that he had a kind of PR agency in London and that so many Britons volunteered to support him must have had genuinely impressed him.

What Venizelos nonetheless lacked in his early years was cultural Anglophilia. His library indicates a greater inclination for books in French than in English, and is dominated by the French historian François Guizot, although Thomas Carlyle, G. M. Trevelyan, Arnold Toynbee and, unavoidably, John Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, are also there.¹⁰⁰ Little by little, however, his Anglophilia expanded to include the field of culture. He presided over the founding meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation held on 20 November 1918. The Foundation's aim was "to advise and assist in the foundation in Greece of schools conducted on English principles and in general questions of English teaching in Greece."¹⁰¹ When on 14

⁹⁸ Michael Llewellyn Smith, "Venizelos' Diplomacy, 1910–23: From Balkan Alliance to Greek-Turkish Settlement", in Pashcalis M. Kitromilides, ed., *Eleutherios Venizelos. The Trials of Statesmanship* (Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 148, 150.

⁹⁹ The two statesmen dined together on 19 May 1919. Frances Stevenson, Lloyd George's personal secretary, noted: "The two have a great admiration for each other, and D.[avid] is trying to get Smyrna for Greeks, though he is having trouble with the Italians over it." Cf. A. J. P. Taylor, ed., *Lloyd George. A Diary by Frances Stevenson* (New York and London: Harper & Row, 1971), 183. Through one of his closest friends, Sir Arthur Henry Crosfield, Lloyd George had a personal link with Venizelos since Crosfield's Greek wife, Lady Domini, was a close friend of Madame Venizelos. Frank Owen, *Tempestuous Journey. Lloyd George his life and times* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), 196. Crosfield was also very active in the Anglo-Hellenic League.

¹⁰⁰ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Venizelos' Intellectual Projects and Cultural Interests", in Kitromilides, ed., *Eleutherios Venizelos*, 377–378.

¹⁰¹ Richard Clogg, "The 'ingenious enthusiasm' of Dr. Burrows and the 'unsatiated hatred' of Professor Toynbee", *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook IX* (1993), 83. His reform of the Greek education system during his last premiership in the late 1920s and early

May 1920 the great supporter of the Hellenic cause, Ronald Burrows, died, Venizelos wrote: "By the death of Dr. Burrows, Greece has lost a staunch friend and an enlightened advocate. His friendship was the more valuable as it was entirely free from the atmosphere of the romantic Philhellenism of the last century ... For all his deep knowledge of Ancient Greek Life and Letters, it was not primarily because of his appreciation of the grandeur of classical Hellas that Dr. Burrows loved the Greece of to-day."¹⁰² Burrows indeed did a lot for establishing a favourable Hellenic image and almost a cult of Venizelos in Britain, but it was also very much thanks to Venizelos that the British public remembered Hellas pleasantly in the decades that followed the Great War. It is not at all surprising, then, that Venizelos enjoyed substantial respect in Paris, and particularly in London. Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative Party at the time, said in the House of Commons in April 1920: "No single statesman has supported the Allied cause through good report and ill so strongly as M. Venizelos."¹⁰³

At the Paris Peace Conference, Venizelos once again demonstrated his ability to ensure significant concessions in favour of the Hellenic cause. The peace treaties with Bulgaria (Neuilly, November 1919) and Turkey (Sevres, August 1920) as well as the San Remo conference (February 1920) were triumphs both for Venizelos and for Hellenism. However, in the 1920 election Venizelos suffered a defeat, and even lost his own seat. He immediately went into voluntary exile, escorted by a British war ship.

As has already been observed, "Venizelos's guiding principle was to associate Britain with his main goals".¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Britain associated her goals in the eastern Mediterranean with Venizelos's expected long tenure as prime minister of Greece. His electoral defeat therefore signalled the end of Britain's staunch commitment to a Greater Greece.¹⁰⁵ Once the new Odysseus was no longer prime minister of Hellas, British regional plans which counted on new Greece as a key ally in the eastern Mediterranean collapsed. He remained in opposition and abroad at the time Hellenism suffered its greatest modern defeat: the Greek-Turkish War of 1921/2, which ended with what a pamphlet of the Anglo-Hellenic League termed "the

1930s was also based on the British model. Cf. Ioannis D. Stefanidis, "Venizelos' Last Premiership", in Kitromilides, ed., *Eleutherios Venizelos*, 198.

¹⁰² Foreword of E. K. Venizelos to Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows*, xi.

¹⁰³ Chester, *Life of Venizelos*, 202.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes. Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 180.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Eric Goldstein, "Great Britain and Greater Greece 1917-1920", *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 2 (1989), 356.

Smyrna holocaust”,¹⁰⁶ the massacre of at least 30,000 Greek and Armenian Christians. Almost all of his First World War achievements were thus effaced. The Hellenes were expelled from their millennia-old cultural centres in Asia Minor. Venizelos was only able to save some territories in the Aegean with the peace treaty signed in Lausanne (1923). In 1924 Greece became a republic, but remained divided into the Venizelist and anti-Venizelist camps. The former was strengthened by the influx of some 1.1 million Greek refugees from Turkey. In July 1928 Venizelos returned to power and, apart from two brief interruptions, was prime minister of the Republic until March 1933. His policy of reliance on Britain pursued in 1912–20, however, was no longer feasible due to a shift in the balance of power in Europe. To secure peace for Greece Venizelos needed to change his foreign policy and to conclude a pact of friendship with Italy (1928), to restore good relations with the Serbs through an alliance with Yugoslavia (1929), and to make a bold agreement with Turkey (1930). As his recent biographer has put it, Venizelos became “Prime Minister of peace”.¹⁰⁷

Although his careful handling of the Anglo-Greek crisis over Cyprus, caused by Cypriote agitation for unification with Greece, demonstrated that he was still very committed to having good relations with Britain, it was a far cry from his fascination with Britain in 1912–20. Venizelos lost the election in March 1933. In June, he was the target of an assassination attempt in Athens, after which he moved to his native Crete. In March 1935 he supported a conspiracy against the government of Panagis Tsaldaris. As two attempted military coups, in Athens and in the north, were suppressed, Venizelos fled to the Italian-ruled Dodecanese and then left for Paris, where he died on 18 March 1936. The British government acted neutrally during this crisis, albeit with some benevolence towards Venizelos. The British public, parliamentarians and even the Foreign Office were still sympathetic towards their war ally.¹⁰⁸

C. A Bulgarian Anglophile and a British Bulgarophile

As for Bulgaria, Gladstone’s openly displayed affection for the nation made a huge impression in Bulgaria and produced a favourable response towards

¹⁰⁶ *The Tragedy of the Christian near East, by Lysimachos Oeconomos, Lecturer in Modern Greek and Byzantine History at the University of London (King’s College). Appendix, the Smyrna holocaust by Charles Dobson, M.C., Late British Chaplain of Smyrna, Pamphlet No. 50 (Anglo-Hellenic League, 1923).*

¹⁰⁷ Nikolaos Emm. Papadakis, *Eleftherios K. Venizelos. A Biography* (Chania: National Research Foundation Eleftherios K. Venizelos, 2006), 48.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ioannis S. Koliopoulos, in Kitromilides, ed., *Eleftherios Venizelos*, 242–243.

Britain. The latter was to be obscured by Bulgaria's alliance with Britain's enemies in both world wars, but an affinity for Britain nevertheless existed in some influential circles in Bulgaria. One of its most significant exponents was the politician and writer **Ivan Evastratiev Geshov** (1849–1924). Geshov came from a well-known family of merchants and bankers. His father and four uncles were prosperous merchants in Philippopolis (modern-day Plovdiv). In 1834 they had started a trading company, The Geshov Brothers (*Bratya Geshovi*), expanding their business and opening branch offices in Vienna (1835), Constantinople (1847) and Manchester (1865).

Geshov attended a Bulgarian grammar school in Plovdiv for eight years, where he was able to learn literary Bulgarian, Greek, Turkish and French. The school was imbued with the Bulgarian national spirit in opposition to the Hellenisation of Bulgarian culture. At the age of fourteen Ivan began to learn English, intensively in the winter of 1864/5. In September 1865, sixteen-year old Ivan and his family left Constantinople for Manchester. After a year with a private tutor, he entered Owens College, part of the University of London at the time and subsequent Victoria University.

He was the first Bulgarian to address the British public on the issue of Bulgarian nationality. He was only seventeen when he sent a letter, dated 18 September 1866, to the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

No Bulgarian, in the present state of our national advancement, will think of himself as Russian or Servian — nationalities whose language and history are wholly distinct from ours. And, of course, the mere supposition that there are Bulgarians who think of themselves as Greeks is an anachronism. In proof of this, I beg to state that those Bulgarians who were and are educated in Russia, Servia, and Greece, and who naturally ought to have some tendency towards these countries and their nationalities, are the boldest champions of the claim to our being a separate nationality — speak and write much more purely the Bulgarian than any others...

Much later he wrote: “So far as I know, this letter was the first political utterance of a Bulgarian, addressed in English to a newspaper. It appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of September 26, 1866. Lord Strangford who had written the article ‘The Language Question in the Tyrol and Istria’, published it with a long commentary.”¹⁰⁹

His studies at Owens College took three years (1866–69). He finished his first year as the best student in Latin, German and in English language and literature, and subsequently as the best student in political economy, and was a frequent visitor to the Manchester literary club Athenaeum. He was much influenced by his professor of logic and political economy, Wil-

¹⁰⁹ I. E. Gueshoff, *The Balkan League* (London: John Murray, 1915), v.

liam Stanley Jevons (1835–1882): “If there is a lecturer to whom I greatly owe for what I am, it is he.”¹¹⁰

Having obtained a decent education, he believed it his calling to enlighten Bulgaria. In his *Memories* Geshov sorrowfully remarks that before his family moved to England he had not been able to see a single Bulgarian barrister, engineer or architect.¹¹¹ As his parents saw his education as a prelude to a successful career in trading, after the college he worked in the family company from 1869 until its closure in 1872, but he never gave up self-education. For the three years at the company he keenly read English political thinkers and economists. As he put it: “I was influenced by English political and social life amidst which I was developing. And what especially remained in my mind were thoughts and works of John Stuart Mill.”¹¹² So, upon his return to Bulgaria in 1872, he spent several years improving the educational situation in the country.

In April 1876 an uprising against Ottoman rule began in Bulgaria. Ill-prepared as it was, it failed to recruit the expected number of insurgents as no more than 10,000 answered the call, but it nonetheless demonstrated that there was a movement for political freedom. The brunt of the reaction to the uprising, however, did not come from regular Ottoman troops but rather from Circassians and Bulgarian Muslims, and it involved serious atrocities against Bulgarian Christians, the most notorious cases being the massacres in Bratsigovo, Perushtitsa and, particularly, Batak.¹¹³ It is estimated that some 15,000 Bulgarian men, women and children were slaughtered, “with all attendant circumstances of atrocities”.¹¹⁴ The news of the

¹¹⁰ Iv. Ev. Geshov, *Spomeni iz godini na borbi i pobedi* [Memories from the years of struggles and victories] (Sofia: Gutenberg, 1916), 33. Geshov was particularly influenced by Jevons’s *Principles of Science* (1874).

¹¹¹ Geshov, *Spomeni*, 31.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 35. Describing Mill as a formative influence on his worldview (p. 36), Geshov says that “Jevons’s lectures and Mill’s books” laid down “the groundwork for my ideology” (p. 37).

¹¹³ R. J. Crampton, *Bulgaria* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 91–92.

¹¹⁴ R. T. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation* (Hassocks, Sussex: The Harvester Press 1975), 22, adopts the estimates made by American consul Schuyler who found evidence for 65 villages burnt entirely or in part and for at least 15,000 Bulgarians killed in the districts of Philippopolis and Tatar Bazardjik. British consul Baring estimated the number of murdered Bulgarian Christians at 12,000 and the number of Bulgarian villages totally or partially burnt at 51, while the missionary Stoney reduced the death toll to 3,694. Ottoman authorities admitted (in the *Turquie*) at first 1,836 and later 6,000 dead, while Bulgarian authorities claimed that 100,000 persons were killed. Harold Temperley, “The Bulgarian and Other Atrocities, 1875–8, in the Light of

massacres soon reached Britain, Europe and the United States. By July they had provoked agitation and in August became the main topic in the British press. Yet, the Conservative prime minister, Benjamin Disraeli, seemed utterly unmoved by the events in June and July. His pro-Ottoman position remained unshaken even by Queen Victoria's letter of 11 August urging him to prevent further atrocities.¹¹⁵

The campaign in the British press, however, had an effect on the general mood in the country and even on Britain's foreign policy. In August 1876, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, American journalist Januarius Aloysius MacGahan (1844–1878), already well known by then as the *New York Herald* war correspondent, published a series of articles offering his account of the atrocities against the Bulgarian Christians in the village of Batak. The articles caused outrage in Britain. They all quoted the American consul-general, Schuyler, as a source confirming his accounts. His accounts were used by Gladstone for his famous pamphlet on Bulgarian horrors published in September 1876. At this crucial moment in Bulgarian history Geshov's role was quite prominent. He supplied the British vice-consul in Adrianople, J. Hutton Dupuis, with the notes that he used for his reports, but also MacGahan from the *Daily News*, Schneider from the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the American consul Schuyler.¹¹⁶

It was clear that the Great Powers had to do something and, eventually, in late December 1876 and January 1877, a conference was held in Constantinople to devise a series of reforms. It was at the time of the conference that Eugene Schuyler, apparently the first professional American diplomat, and consul-general in Constantinople since 1876, encouraged Geshov to become a contributor to *The Times*.¹¹⁷ So, on the eve of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877, Geshov wrote a series of seven letters for *The Times*. The first was published 14 February and the last 11 April 1877,¹¹⁸ and, as he put it

Historical Criticism”, *The Proceedings of the British Academy* XVII (1931), 124–126. Cf. *Mr Baring's and Mr. Schuyler's Reports on the Atrocities Committed upon the Christians in Bulgaria* (London: Goubaud & Son, September 1876), where Baring (p. 5) estimated that the number of Muslims “killed in cold blood does not exceed 200 for the whole Sandjak of Philippopolis”.

¹¹⁵ Shannon, *Gladstone*, 54.

¹¹⁶ Ivan Evstratiev Geshov, *Vizgledi i deinost* [Views and Activity] (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1926), 23–24.

¹¹⁷ Peter Bridges, “The only diplomatist”, *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 16, no. 1 (March 2005), 13–22; “Obituary. Eugene Schuyler”, *The New York Times*, 19 July 1890.

¹¹⁸ I have identified seven letters published in *The Times* between 14 February and 11 April 1877 which were sent from Philippopolis and written by the same person, obviously Geshov, between 26 January and 29 March 1877: “Bulgaria. (from an Occasional Correspondent)”, 14 Feb. 1877, p. 5D [written 26 Jan.]; “The Bulgarian Commission.

himself, they “voiced the sufferings and hopes of my people”.¹¹⁹ This was apparently the main reason why, in August 1877, he and a relative of his were imprisoned and sentenced to death by Ottoman authorities in Philippopolis.

The Times commented on this affair as late as 22 September, but in a tone which was an obvious warning to the Ottoman authorities. Its special correspondent wrote from Karlovo that his failure to report timely about “a very hard case” was due to personal reasons and his fear that his writing might fall into the wrong hands, but that he then decided to take a risk. He informed the readers that two cousins by the name of Gueshoff had been arrested in Philippopolis and charged with treason: “By careful inquiry, however, I satisfied myself that the real reason of their arrest was that they were suspected of having addressed letters to the Editor of *The Times*.” According to him, there was a consideration “which recommended them to British sympathy. They have been educated at Owens College, in Manchester, and were in speech and ideas as British as if they had been born and brought up in our own land.” Fortunately, their case was taken up by British ambassador Layard and the American minister, “and I believe they are now as good as saved”. *The Times* correspondent claimed that one of the two had been appointed American vice-consul two days prior to his arrest, but that the papers did not arrive in Philippopolis until later.¹²⁰ W. T. Stead later revealed, in a leader for the *Northern Echo*, that it was the American minister who had insisted that no harm should befall Geshov, while the British ambassador had refused to submit an official appeal since Geshov was an Ottoman subject. Moreover the Foreign Office had initially backed Layard. Fortunately, the news of Geshov’s arrest reached England and Manchester’s Bulgarian merchant community initiated a petition. Signed by more than four hundred local businessmen, it was submitted to the British foreign secretary, Lord Derby, and British diplomacy was encouraged to act.¹²¹ Finally, in late September 1877, Lord Derby

(from an Occasional Correspondent)”, 21 Feb. 1877, p. 4E [written 5 Feb.]; “Misgovernment in Bulgaria. (from an Occasional Correspondent)”, 1 March 1877, p. 8A [written 12 Feb.]; “Turkish Tax-Gatherers. (from an Occasional Correspondent)”, 16 March 1877, p. 10B [written 28 Feb.]; “Bulgaria. (from an Occasional Correspondent)”, 3 April 1877, p. 6A [written 16 March]; “Bulgarian Symptoms. (our Philippopolis Correspondent)”, 6 April 1877, p. 10D [written 26 March]; “The Governor of Bulgaria. (our Philippopolis Correspondent)”, 11 April 1877, p. 5B [written 29 March]. There are articles in *The Times* sent by the correspondent from Philippopolis both before February and after April, but it is obvious from both contents and style that they were written by different author(s).

¹¹⁹ Gueshoff, *Balkan League*, viii.

¹²⁰ “The ‘Terror’ in Bulgaria”, *The Times*, 26 Sept. 1877, p. 8A.

¹²¹ *The Northern Echo*, 24 April 1879; cf. Geshov, *Vüzgledi*, 27–28.

instructed the British ambassador in Constantinople to urge the Porte to take steps regarding the affair.¹²²

Geshov had considerable luck with the whole affair since the British ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Henry Eliot, was much closer to Disraeli's stance than to the outraged British public, by then already quite sensitive to the sufferings of Slavs in general, and Bulgarians in particular. In his infamous letter to Lord Derby, Eliot adamantly argued that British interests in the Ottoman Empire should not be affected by "the question whether it was 10,000 or 20,000 persons who perished in the suppression".¹²³ The new British ambassador in Constantinople appointed in March 1877, Austen Henry Layard, was also opposed to Gladstone's position on Turkey, finding the commotion stirred by the Bulgarian horrors naively sentimental. Therefore it is still not quite clear who was instrumental in saving Geshov, American minister or British ambassador.

During his imprisonment Geshov witnessed the horrible fate of the Christian captives from Karlovo who were hanged on a daily basis. Awaiting the same end, he learnt one day, from the Turkish newspaper *Vakut*, that his execution was postponed due to British ambassador's and American minister's interventions. Later he read in the same newspaper that his death sentence was commuted to imprisonment. In late October three families of the Geshov clan with twenty-two members, including Geshov and his relative, were ordered by Ottoman authorities to move from Philippopolis to Constantinople. The latter two were transferred to a prison in the Ottoman capital and later were held under house arrest. They were released after general amnesty was proclaimed following the Treaty of San Stefano.¹²⁴ This Russian-dictated treaty envisaged a Greater Bulgaria, but other Great Powers refused to accept it. In July, under the new Treaty of Berlin, Bulgaria was divided into the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire with its seat at Philippopolis. Under the same treaty, the large Slav-inhabited parts of Macedonia which had been ceded to Bulgaria at San

¹²² Elena Stelova, *Ivan Evstratiev Geshov. Ili trūnliviat pūt na sūzidanieto* [Ivan Evstratiev Geshov. Or the thorny path to building] (Sofia: Academic Press – Marin Drinov, 1994), 23.

¹²³ Shannon, *Gladstone*, 23. Even Lord Derby reacted and wrote to Eliot that "no political considerations would justify the toleration of such acts." Temperley, "Bulgarian and Other Atrocities", 127.

¹²⁴ Geshov first published his reminiscences of his days in prison in the Bulgarian journal *Periodichesko spisanie* (vol. XXXIV and XXXVI), under the title "Zapiski na edin osūden" [Notes of a convict]. They were republished in 1916 in his *Spomeni* and in 1928 in his collected memories and studies *Spomeni i studii*, 13–62. His memories from prison were retold in English by W. R. Morfill, "The Sufferings of a Bulgarian Patriot", *The Westminster Review*, no. 135/1 (Jan. 1891), 524–531.

Stefano were now restored to the Ottoman Empire. The terms of the Treaty of Berlin left Geshov desperate; formally, his native Plovdiv was still part of the Ottoman Empire. The new autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia came to be known in Bulgarian as Yuzhna Bulgariya (Southern Bulgaria).

In August 1878 Prof. Marin Drinov and Geshov drew up a protest note to the ambassadors of the Great Powers in Constantinople. In March 1879 Geshov was sent to European capitals again. He visited Bucharest, Vienna and Paris, where he was joined by Dr. Georgi Yankulov. The goal of their mission was to express protest against the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin splitting Bulgaria into two. On 6 April they arrived in London, where they met prominent British politicians, including Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, subsequent British commissioner for Eastern Rumelia (1880/1), Duke of Argyle, Lord Granville, Dr. Sandwith. Yet, they failed to meet Lord Salisbury, British foreign minister, and were only able to leave a memorandum with the Foreign Office.¹²⁵ By then Geshov was already quite well known in Britain and a reader of *The Times* wrote that there was interest in the north of England in organising a public welcome.¹²⁶

Before Geshov set off on his European tour, he received a personal letter from Gladstone denying that he withdrew “sympathies from the Bulgarians on account of the outrages upon the Mahomentans committed by some among them”, but observing that it was true “that some of them have been so corrupted by the brutalising *regime* which has lasted so long in their country, that they have committed acts shameful in any man, but especially disgraceful when perpetrated by Christians.”¹²⁷ This gave Geshov one more reason for a mission to London. After the debate on “Bulgarian atrocities”, Ottoman diplomacy realised that they might profit if they could prove that Bulgarians had committed atrocities against Turks, and so Geshov had to struggle to downplay such claims.¹²⁸

He did not succeed in winning the British political mainstream for the Bulgarian cause and a leader in *The Times* went so far as to even wonder if the two gentlemen were “really qualified to speak for the inhabitants of East Roumelia”.¹²⁹ By contrast, the Liberal press supported Geshov. Thus Stead wrote: “There are at present in England waiting for an audience with Lord Salisbury two representatives of the nationality for whose freedom the

¹²⁵ Statelova, *Ivan Evstratiev Geshov*, 32–34.

¹²⁶ “M. Gueshoff and the Bulgarians”, *The Times*, 23 April 1879, p. 9F.

¹²⁷ “Mr Gladstone and the Bulgarians”, *The Northern Echo*, 17 March 1879, p. 3E.

¹²⁸ Rumén Genov, *Gladston* (Sofia: Open Society, 1996), 264.

¹²⁹ *The Times*, 2 May 1879, p. 9A. Geshov denounced this comment in a letter to *The Times* published three days later, “The Deputation from East Roumelia”, *The Times*, 5 May 1879, p. 8E.

English nation has pleaded, but whose liberties the English Government has betrayed.”¹³⁰

After East Rumelia was joined to the Principality of Bulgaria in 1885, Geshov was sent again to Britain to promote the interests of Bulgaria, and thus played the role of Bulgaria’s main advocate in Britain in the early years of her statehood.¹³¹ Geshov arrived in London in October 1885 and soon received an encouraging letter from Gladstone. The British politician was explicit that he was “favourable to recognising the accomplished fact”, hoping that the union “will be a real one”, and dismissing Greek and Serbian aspirations.¹³² This time Geshov received conditional support for the Bulgarian position from prime minister Salisbury and head of the Eastern Department Philip Currie.¹³³

Shortly afterwards Geshov was appointed Bulgarian delegate at the peace negotiations in Bucharest. There two Anglophiles, a Serb, Mijatović, and a Bulgarian, Geshov, concluded a peace treaty. It is obvious that both of them demonstrated a determination towards peace, which was their individual line rather than the line of their governments. Mijatović noted in his *Memoirs* that “Bulgaria’s delegate Ivan Geshov, and myself, cherishing admiration for the British people and their ways, entered at once into friendly relations.”¹³⁴ Thus Britain played an important role at the peace negotiations in Bucharest through two Anglophiles who headed the negotiating parties.

In his *Memories* Geshov gives a list in more than one page enumerating various fields of J. S. Mill’s activity which profoundly influenced him. The list includes Mill’s protection of freedom, of those deprived of their rights, such as workers, Irishmen and the Negroes of Jamaica; his advocacy of proportional representation; his support for peasant-proprietors, for co-operatives in agriculture; his stand against state intervention in the economy, and his activity as MP into which he “put all his ardent love for freedom”, all of which “left lasting marks on my mind”.¹³⁵ He wanted to implement these ideas in Bulgaria once she became independent and once he was in power: “I was almost hanged because I fought for the freedom, for the self-government that I learned to appreciate in England.” His guiding principle was “the greatest happiness for the greatest number”, and he did everything

¹³⁰ “The Delegates from Southern Bulgaria”, *The Northern Echo*, 24 April 1879.

¹³¹ He held a high position at home at the time. The National Bank of Bulgaria was established in 1879, during the Russian administration of Bulgaria, and Geshov was its governor from 1883 to 1886. The first law on the National Bank was passed during his tenure (1885), and his British experience must have been of great assistance.

¹³² “Mr Gladstone and the Bulgarian Question”, *The Morning Post*, 17 Oct. 1885, p. 5G.

¹³³ Genov, *Gladston*, 317.

¹³⁴ Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, 62.

¹³⁵ Geshov, *Spomeni*, 37–38.

he could “for the greatest majority of our people — small peasants”. Finally, during his tenure as prime minister of Bulgaria (1911–13), proportional representation was introduced. This last achievement prompted him to say: “I finished with what had initiated my political career, the struggle for the freedom of the slave.”¹³⁶ By promulgating the law on proportional representation Geshov proved to be a man of principle, since his National Party could only lose from its implementation and his bitterest enemy, Bulgarian King Ferdinand, could only gain.¹³⁷

At this point due attention should be given to a prominent British journalist who did much to inspire Anglophilia in some leading Balkan Christian politicians: **James David Bouchier**. With the background of a classical scholar at Trinity College, Dublin, and King’s College, Cambridge, he went, in April 1888, on a trial mission to Romania and Bulgaria for *The Times*. He soon became so fascinated with the Balkans and with Bulgaria in particular that he chose to be an advocate of the Balkan Christians’ liberation. Before Bouchier’s arrival there was no special correspondent for Balkan Christian countries. In July 1895, he was promoted to “Our Own Correspondent”, which meant that he became *The Times* first permanent full-time correspondent in the Balkans.

Considering that Bouchier was *The Times* correspondent in South-East Europe for some twenty-five years, that he sent dispatches almost daily, and that no other British daily had a permanent correspondent in the Balkans, his influence was unprecedented. It is not far-fetched to claim that neither before nor since has any British journalist had such an influence on Balkan politics.

On the eve of the Balkan Wars a peculiar set of circumstances occurred. In Greece Venizelos became prime minister in 1910, in Bulgaria Geshov took the same office in March 1911 and won the election in September 1911. At that point (1911), the creation of a Balkan alliance, a dream of many British supporters of Balkan Christians, very much depended on Greco-Bulgarian understanding. The fact that two admirers of Britain were prime ministers of the two Balkan countries centrally important for the alliance provided Bouchier with a unique opportunity.

Bouchier worked towards the establishment of a Balkan alliance both openly, through his newspaper articles, and secretly, through his special activities. After his death, Geshov recalled: “There is no foreigner who so efficaciously worked for shaping public opinion in Bulgaria in favour of a Balkan League as he.”¹³⁸ Proposals with historical implications were de-

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ See Richard J. Crampton, *Bulgaria 1878–1918. A History* (Boulder Co: East European Monographs, 1983), 401–402.

¹³⁸ Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bouchier* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1925), 211.

veloped in his room at Grande Bretagne Hotel in the very heart of Athens. It was there that he held long talks with the Anglophile prime minister of Greece, Eleutherios Venizelos, between autumn 1910 and spring 1911. The idea of proposing an alliance to Bulgaria gradually crystallized. Through a colleague of Bouchier's, it was secretly transmitted to the Bulgarian legation in Vienna, to the Bulgarian court and to Ivan Geshov. Bouchier had meetings with Geshov on 3 November 1911 and 6 February 1912 in Sofia. On the latter occasion Geshov gave him a personal message for Venizelos.¹³⁹ Finally, the Greco-Bulgarian Treaty was signed on 29 May 1912. After this treaty was signed all Christian states in the Balkans became allies and in the First Balkan War (October 1912 – May 1913) the rest of Balkan Christians were finally liberated from Ottoman rule.

That Bouchier created the Balkan Alliance, as Sir Reginald Rankin¹⁴⁰ or Lady Grogan suggest,¹⁴¹ is an overstatement, but he certainly fostered it. Yet, the formation of the Balkan League was a rare, if not unique, instance in the history of the Balkans of a British journalist being able to influence the course of Balkan history. Bouchier's joy was short-lived, though. The Second Balkan War broke out on 29 June 1913, as a result of antagonisms among the winners of the First Balkan War (Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia), and their inability to reach a compromise as regards Macedonia.

At this point Geshov proved to be a conciliatory voice in Bulgaria, but the militarist party which consisted of Macedonian-born officers blocked his peacemaking efforts. Aware that he would not be able to pursue an initiative for arbitration, Geshov resigned. His successor, Danev, was much less inclined to negotiations and a new Balkan war soon broke out.¹⁴² The animosities between former allies reached a high pitch, and were sustained as the Balkan states took different sides in the First World War to settle the issues that the Second Balkan War had left behind.

Subsequently, Geshov was well received in Britain for being in favour of Bulgaria's alliance with the Entente rather than with the Central Powers. His book on the Balkan League was published in London in 1915. The book and his contributions published in the British press made him widely known among the portion of the British public interested in the Balkans. His writing style differed greatly from other Balkan propaganda efforts in Britain which simply attacked opponents. He always sought to present his adversaries' position correctly, and then to offer Bulgarian arguments as the

¹³⁹ Ibid., 137.

¹⁴⁰ Sir Reginald Rankin, *Inner History of the Balkan War* (Constable and Co.).

¹⁴¹ Edward Boyle, "M. Ivan Gueshoff", *The Times*, 18 March 1924, p. 13G, credited Geshov, Venizelos and J. D. Bouchier with the formation of the Balkan League.

¹⁴² Gibbons, *Venizelos*, 143–145.

most acceptable. In this respect, all three prominent Balkan Anglophiles portrayed here, Gennadios, Mijatović and Geshov, demonstrated their appreciation of the British sense of fairness.

Of all the Balkan Anglophiles Geshov was the wealthiest one. In 1897 he became sole inheritor of the huge property of his uncle Evlogii, who had lived in Bucharest, which caused great dissatisfaction of his family, and was accompanied by various unpleasant rumours spread by his political opponents in Bulgaria.¹⁴³

Humanitarian work was yet another important activity in Geshov's career. He was a member of the Bulgarian Red Cross from its founding in the 1880s, and became its life-long president in 1899. Under his presidency, it quadrupled its branches to sixty in 1924. He was instrumental in creating a nursing school in 1889, and in building a special 100-bed hospital for the Bulgarian Red Cross. In both initiatives he was the pioneer in the Balkans.¹⁴⁴

He is also a central figure in the history of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The Bulgarian Literary Society founded in Braila in 1869 was transferred to Sofia in 1881, when Geshov became a member. He was elected its treasurer in 1884 and its president in 1889. He was instrumental in the transformation of the Society into the Bulgarian Academy, and he contributed to its founding with 120,000 leva in 1908.¹⁴⁵

Geshov's fondness of Britain was aptly summarised in *The Times* obituary: his education "together with his subsequent residence in Manchester made him thoroughly at home with the English language and with English modes of thought."¹⁴⁶

D. Some parallels between the Balkan Anglophiles

Although only five Balkan Anglophiles have been covered in this paper some parallels between them seem obvious. Common features include institution building inspired by Britain, mostly in the field of banking and liberal laws (Mijatović and Geshov) or education (Gennadios and Venizelos). The Balkan Anglophiles found their most fervent supporters in Britain amongst the clergy of the Church of England, particularly the High Church. Therefore they were very active in the effort to bring the Orthodox Churches and the Church of England as close together as possible. In this

¹⁴³ Statelova, *Ivan Evstratiev Geshov*, 199–224.

¹⁴⁴ Geshov, *Vizgledi i deinost*, 167–168.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 169–173.

¹⁴⁶ "M. Ivan Gueshoff", *The Times*, 8 March 1924, p. 13g.

respect, Gennadios was the most active of all, but the other Balkan Anglophiles were also sympathetic towards the idea. Mijatović, who had a Non-conformist wife, was also very much inspired by Scottish Presbyterians and personally protected a Protestant Nazarene sect in Serbia while holding the office of minister in Belgrade. Two of them had British wives (Gennadios and Mijatović) and Venizelos's second wife came from a well-known family of the British Greek community. Being married to British ladies, Gennadios and Mijatović were natural bridges between cultures, and published dozens of articles and books on their native countries in England, but also translated books and articles from and into English. Both were fortunate in that their British wives fully embraced the national ideas of their native countries. Jovanović was also active in translating from English into Serbian. The table below offers a summary of the legacy of Anglophilia in Balkan Christian countries:

	<i>Institutions inspired by Britain</i>	<i>Foreign policy</i>	<i>Church affairs and the Church of England</i>	<i>Cultural affairs and institutions inspired by Britain</i>	<i>Incident/major event in relations with Britain</i>
Vladimir Jovanović		•Pro-Russian	•Close relations with the Church of England	•Political Dictionary •Translation of Mill's works	•Crisis in Serbo-Ottoman relations in 1862
Čedomilj Mijatović	•National Bank of Serbia •Free trade	•Pro-Austrian •Pro-Anglo-American during WWI	•Possible union with the Church of England	•Gothic novel •Protestant sermons •Work inspired by Samuel Smiles •Translations	•Serbo-Bulgarian War •May Coup
Ioannis Gennadios	•Renewal of Greek bonds at London Stock Exchange	•Pro-British	•Possible union with the Church of England	•Gennadius Library in Athens	•Dilessi Murders •Resignation in 1916
Eleutherios Venizelos	•British-style educational system	•Pro-British and pro-French in 1912–20 •Balanced foreign policy in 1928–33		•English schools in Greece	•Crises in 1913 and 1915 •Greek Schism
Ivan Evstratiev Geshov	•National Bank of Bulgaria •Proportional representation	•Pro-Russian and pro-Entente		•Philanthropy	•Support for the Unification in 1885

All the Balkan Anglophiles had cosmopolitan ideas and supported global initiatives, in particular the League of Nations, although they all were nationalists at the same time. Their nationalism was liberal and, while supporting their respective national causes, almost all of them believed in a general emancipation of humankind. This duality is best exemplified by a statement in Geshov's *Memories*: "There is no greater history in the history of mankind than that of the resurrection of a nation."¹⁴⁷ Indeed they all believed that the emancipation of their nations would contribute to the progress of mankind at large. In this sense, they all shared ideas that combined Mazzini and Gladstone. All five were passionate admirers of Gladstone, and four of them met him personally.

Finally, all five used every opportunity to try to influence British public opinion. All were well-informed about what the British press liked, and knew how to present their countries to the reading public. Therefore, it is only natural that they played major roles in the efforts to alleviate the effects of the incidents and developments that threatened to undermine relations between Britain and their countries. Jovanović stood up for Serbia after the Ottoman bombardment of Belgrade in 1862. Gennadios was most directly involved in the passionate debate following the Dilessi murders and also in the situation that arose in 1915 when Greece remained neutral. Mijatović struggled relentlessly to lessen the antagonisms towards Serbia during the Serbo-Bulgarian War and after the May Coup. Geshov defended Bulgarian interests in 1879 and in 1886 in Britain, and under very difficult circumstances after Bulgaria joined the Central Powers. Finally, Venizelos was singularly effective in presenting the Greek side of things to Britons on all occasions, but particularly in 1912–20.

Through all their cultural and political activities the Balkan Anglophiles left a lasting mark on the history of relations between Britain and Balkan Christian countries, but also an important legacy to the Balkans: recognition of the need for cooperation among the Balkan nations. They disseminated Victorian messages of Christian affection and promoted liberal ideas. Their fondness of Britain undoubtedly inspired their cosmopolitanism and had some influence on their advocacy of peaceful conflict resolution.

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The Aspects of French Literature in the Belgrade Journal *Delo* 1894–1915

Abstract: In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the press in Serbia underwent a substantial change and began to reflect cultural trends in society. *Delo*, defined as a magazine for science, literature and social life, attracted a wide circle of contributors, intellectuals with different outlooks and views. Its editors and contributors, mostly educated and trained in European cultural centres, contributed to the creation of a climate conducive to the modernization of Serbian culture. This paper focuses on the role of French cultural and literary trends launched in the *Delo*, whose editors and contributors closely followed the leading French journals, translating and publishing the texts they deemed important for Serbia's cultural development. French literature offered guidelines and models to the realist and naturalist movements, subsequently also to modernist and avant-garde tendencies in Serbian literature. The start of the journal in 1894 is associated with the Radical Party, but the Radical ideological influence on the journal was not as strong as might be expected. Choosing science, literature and social life as the journal's areas of interest the founders and editors demonstrated their commitment to modernizing the young Serbian state and society by way of culture.

Keywords: *Delo* journal, Serbia, French culture and literature, Radical Party, Realism, Modernism, avant-garde, Serbian culture, modernization of Serbia

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, France was an indisputable and worldwide synonym for culture, as most readily seen from the example of Serbian society, engaged in building a modern state at the time. An abundance of scholarly works have been devoted to relations between France and Serbia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and to French influences on Serbian society.¹ And yet, some pieces of the mosaic

¹ Franco-Serbian relations have been an unavoidable subject of numerous monographs, papers and edited volumes, to mention but Lj. Aleksić-Pejković, *Odnosi Srbije sa Francuskom i Engleskom: 1903–1914* [Serbia's Relations with France and England 1903–1914] (Belgrade 1965); M. Vojvodić, *Srbija u međunarodnim odnosima krajem XIX i početkom XX veka* [Serbia in International Relations in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries] (Belgrade 1988); Č. Popov, *Francuska i Srbija: 1871–1878* [France and Serbia: 1871–1878] (Belgrade 1974); D. T. Bataković, "Evropski poredak i srpsko pitanje: francuska perspektiva" [European order and the Serbian issue: the French perspective], in *Evropa i Srbi* (Belgrade 1996); M. Pavlović, *U dvostrukom ogledalu: francusko-srpske kulturne i književne veze* [In a Double Mirror: Franco-Serbian Cultural and Literary Ties] (Belgrade 1996); D. T. Bataković, "Francuski uticaji u Srbiji 1835–1914.

are still missing. This paper is an attempt to add a small piece to the mosaic of historical knowledge about relations between the two states, two cultures and two nations. Literature has been chosen as a sphere where influences on the culture of an environment or a society as a rule leave a more lasting mark, and the aspects of French literature are looked at from the perspective of the journal *Delo*, the personages and oeuvres of its contributors and editors, its editorial policy and literary pieces published in it.

Delo, list za nauku, književnost i društveni život (*Delo*, Magazine for Science, Literature and Social Life) was launched at the beginning of 1894 by a group of people close to the Radical Party,² the leading protagonist of political and social life in Serbia at the time. There were two interruptions to its publication: from 1899 to 1902, and from 1914 to 1915.³ During the second publication run, between 1902 and 1915, the *Delo* sought to maintain the balance against the famed *Srpski književni glasnik* (The Ser-

Četiri generacije parizlija” [French influences in Serbia 1835–1914. Four Generations of Parisians], *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 56 (1997), 73–95; *Medjunarodni naučni skup srpsko-francuski odnosi 1904–2004* [Serbo-French Relations 1904–2004] (Belgrade 2004); Lj. Glumac-Tomović, *Francuski klasičari kod nas* [French Classicists in Serbia] (Belgrade 2005)

² *Narodna radikalna stranka* (National Radical Party) was founded on 21 January 1881 when its political programme was published in the party newspaper *Samouprava* (Self-Government). Its motto: “Intra-national welfare and freedom, external state independence and liberation, and unification of other parts of the Serbian nation” summed up the most important objectives of the programme. Constitutional reform; strengthening of the legislative power of the Assembly; simplified administration, the abolition of counties and the introduction of local self-government in districts and municipalities; progressive taxation; a people’s army; general, compulsory and free education; support to the as yet unliberated Serbs; laws on the freedom of the press, public assembly and association, personal and property safety, those were the goals aspired for by the Radicals led by Nikola Pašić, one of the most important political figures in the history of modern Serbia. In the 1890s, the Radicals began to split over the issue of fight against the Obrenović dynasty, which led to a final rift in 1901. An accord between the Radicals and the Progressivists, brokered by King Alexander Obrenović, and the April Constitution of 1901 marked the final split between the older and younger wings. The younger wing formed the Independent Radical Party, announcing a return to the original tenets of Radicalism in its programme published in the newly-founded party newspaper *Odjek* (Echo) in 1902. In the leadership of the Independents were Ljuba Živković, Ljuba Stojanović and Ljuba Davidović. Besides their political careers, most Radical leaders were well-known and recognized in their respective professions and, as such, had an impact not only on political, but also on social, economic and cultural developments in Serbia.

³ The first interruption was caused by the assassination of King Milan on St John’s Day in 1899. The second break was shorter and resulted from the state of war and the temporary relocation of the editorial office from Belgrade to Niš.

bian Literary Herald).⁴ It had no specific programme, which resulted in its tolerant attitude towards and open cooperation with the exponents of different political beliefs. With such an attitude, the group rallied around the *Delo* encouraged the acceptance of pluralistic tenets of modern culture.⁵ The *Delo* frequently changed editors and contributors, which led to changes in its conception and contents.⁶ The position of editor-in-chief was mainly held by Radical leaders and Belgrade's Great School (since 1905 University) professors, namely the political and cultural elite of Serbia. The magazine attracted a wide circle of contributors: scholars, poets, writers, critics, theoreticians and politicians — intellectuals with different outlooks and views.⁷ Even if their collaboration with the *Delo* throughout the twenty years of its publication was not continuous, these notable figures of Serbian culture and history left an indelible mark in the journal.⁸ They were the driving force

⁴ *Srpski književni glasnik* was launched in 1901 and its first series ran until 1914. A group of young intellectuals, mostly educated in France, rallied around the journal with the aim of modernizing Serbian culture based on a clearly defined literary programme. Among the editors and contributors were distinguished figures of Serbian science and culture, most of whom had been educated abroad: the Popović brothers (Bogdan and Pavle), Jovan Skerlić, Jaša Prodanović, Slobodan Jovanović, Milan Grol etc.

⁵ Cf. *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. VI-2 [The History of the Serbian Nation] (Belgrade 2000), 405.

⁶ In the period between 1894 and 1915, 74 volumes of the *Delo* journal were printed. Over the same period, the *Delo* had as many as seven editors.

⁷ The founders, editors and contributors to the magazine were intellectuals with different outlooks and views such as: Ilija Vukićević, Milovan Milovanović, Bogdan Popović, Stojan Protić, Dragoljub Pavlović, Mihailo Vujić, Rista Odavić, Jovan Skerlić, Sima Matavulj, Janko Veselinović, Svetolik Ranković, Branislav Nušić, Radoje Domanović, Isidora Sekulić, Sima Pandurović, Vladislav Petković Dis and others.

⁸ The *Delo's* editors and contributors were such notable figures of Serbian history as Stojan Protić (1857–1923) and Mihailo Vujić (1853–1913). Protić was a member and ideologist of the Radical Party. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy (Department of History and Philology) in Belgrade. Protić was a contributor to political magazines, a contributor and editor of the newspaper *Samouprava* from 1882, and the founder of the newspaper *Odjek* (Echo) in 1884. He was elected member of Parliament in 1887, Secretary of the Great Constituent Committee in 1888, Head Of Department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs from 1889, provisional Mayor of Belgrade in 1903, Director of the National Library in 1900, Minister of Internal Affairs (1903–1905, 1906–1907, 1912–1914) and Minister of Internal Affairs Representative (1910–1911), Minister of Finance (1909–1912, 1917–1918). He served as Prime Minister in the first Government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes between 1918 and 1919, and again in 1920. Protić published a large number of works in the field of history and politics, to mention but *Albanski problem i Srbija i Austro-Ugarska, Srbi i Bugari u Balkanskom ratu*, *Tajna konvencija između Srbije i Austro-Ugarske*. Mihailo Vujić graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and pursued economic studies in Germany.

behind new cultural and intellectual trends in the Serbian environment. The most important for the topic of this paper are cultural and literary currents and the diffusion of French influence launched on the pages of the *Delo*.

One of the requirements in an analysis of the aspects of French literature in the *Delo* is to establish the extent of French literary presence in a journal dominated by Radicals, who are known to have been dedicated Russophiles.⁹ On the whole, the *Delo*, with its liberal attitude towards different literary trends and styles, contributed to the development of new and diversified trends in Serbian literature and culture.¹⁰ It should be borne in mind that personal preferences and literary judgements of the journal's editors and contributors had a bearing on the selection of literary works published. Contributors to the journal closely followed French literature and acquainted the Serbian readership with current cultural developments almost concurrently with those in any other major European city. Leafing through the journal, one can notice that French topics and works occupied a more prominent place when its editors or close collaborators were French-educated, such as Ilija Vukićević, Bogdan Popović and Milovan Milovanović.¹¹ In addition, it should be stressed that political circumstances,

Vujić was professor at the Great School in Belgrade (1879–1887) and member of the Royal Serbian Academy. As a member of the Radical Party, he served as Minister of Finance (1887, 1888, 1889–1891, 1893, 1893–1894, 1896–1897), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1901) and Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia (1901). Vujić published a large number of works in the field of economics and politics.

⁹ The *Delo* provides sufficient material for exploring the ties between political radicalism and literary realism. It testifies to the fact that the bond between literature and politics in the sphere of periodicals, so typical of the nineteenth century, was not completely severed even in the early twentieth century, cf. D. Mladenović, “*Delo* na raskršću vekova i epoha” [The *Delo* at the crossroads of centuries and epochs], *Bibliotekar* 1–3 (Belgrade 1986), 64.

¹⁰ Z. Petković, “Engleske teme u Srpskom književnom glasniku i Delu do 1914” [English topics in the *Srpski književni glasnik* and the *Delo* until 1914], in *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima 1894–1914* (Novi Sad–Belgrade 1992), 352.

¹¹ Milovan Milovanović (1863–1912) was the first Serb to receive a doctoral degree in law in Paris. He graduated from Paris Law School in 1884 and received his doctoral degree from the same university in 1888 with the thesis *Les Traités de garantie au XIX^e siècle* (Paris 1888). At the age of twenty-five, he was elected professor at Belgrade University and drafted Serbia's liberal Constitution of 1888. He served as Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs (1890) and Minister of Justice (1896), but was dismissed in 1897. In 1899 as a result of the government's repression against Radical Party members, he was sentenced in absentia to two years in prison. He was reinstated in 1900 and, as Minister of Economy, took part in drafting the new Constitution in 1901. Milovanović represented Serbia at the second Hague Conference in 1907. He steered Serbia's foreign policy (Foreign Minister 1908–1912) through the crisis following the annexation of

i.e. international relations, Franco-Serbian in particular, had implications for the intensity of cultural exchange. Therefore, there are two aspects to the presence of French literature in the *Delo*. One is direct and involves all French works translated and published in the journal. The other is indirect and comprises all Serbian literary authors who published their pieces in the *Delo* and whose literary outlooks developed and crystallized on the model of French writers.

The first translation of a French author appeared in the *Delo* in 1895.¹² The *Delo* editors, members of Serbian intellectual circles, selected Lemaître, a contributor to two French journals they were well familiar with, as the first French writer to be published in their journal. The editorial staff of the *Delo* regularly kept track of the *Revue bleue*, *Journal des débats* and *Revue des deux mondes*, and occasionally published translations of some articles, thus accomplishing the mission of broadening cultural horizons in Serbia. The *Delo* also closely followed the emergence of new journals, French in particular, and notified the readers accordingly.¹³ Towards the end of that year (1895), the *Delo* began to publish Guy de Maupassant, who was soon to become the most translated French writer in the journal,¹⁴ and whose style and subject matter made a powerful impression on Serbian realists. In 1897, the *Delo* published his *Le gueux* translated by Jovan Skerlić, the jour-

Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908, and succeeded in raising the question of Serbian national unification without provoking a war with Austria-Hungary. Despite his preference for close relations with Russia, he initiated negotiations that led to a trade agreement with Austria-Hungary (1910). In July 1911 he was appointed Prime Minister, while retaining the foreign affairs portfolio. The fact that he negotiated the first Serbo-Bulgarian alliance makes him one of the chief founders of the Balkan Alliance of 1912, even though he died before a more substantial alliance was concluded. Milovanović's major works include: *Naša ustavna reforma* [Our Constitutional Reform] (Belgrade 1888); *Srbi i Hrvati* [Serbs and Croats] (Belgrade 1895); *Srbi i Bugari* [Serbs and Bulgarians] (Belgrade 1898); *Jedan ili dva doma* [One or Two Chambers] (Belgrade 1901). See his biography by D. Djordjević, *Milovan Milovanović* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1962).

¹² Jules Lemaître's story *L'ainée* in *Delo*, Vol. 7 (1895).

¹³ In 1902, the editorial board recommended the freshly started French literary journal *Minerve*, which shows that they kept abreast of contemporary literary developments and conveyed such information to the Serbian public.

¹⁴ Maupassant's *Il* and *Le suicide* appeared in the *Delo*, Vol. 8 (1895), and his book *Mademoiselle Fifi* was translated and released the following year in Vol. 10 (1896). The journal continued to publish and translate Maupassant even during the second publication run. His short story *Fort comme la mort* was published in 1906 (*Delo*, Vol. 38) and *Le tomb* six years later (*Delo*, Vol. 62 (1912)). See M. Savković, *Bibliographie des réalistes français dans la littérature serbocroate* (Paris 1935) and *L'Influence du réalisme français dans le roman serbocroate* (Paris 1935), 211–221.

nal's young French-educated contributor and future great Serbian literary critic.¹⁵ Although quite brief, Skerlić's collaboration with the *Delo* included several important texts, notably "Poslednji roman Dodeov. O romanu Kućni hranitelj Alfonsa Dodea" (Daudet's last novel. On the novel *Soutien de famille* by Alphons Daudet) and "Pogled na današnju francusku književnost" (An overview of present-day French literature).¹⁶ Both texts point to the presence, familiarity with and understanding of French literature in Serbian society.¹⁷ The editors and contributors of the *Delo* were interested in other French authors as well.¹⁸ They describe Alphonse Daudet as a widely-read author, and suggest that the creativity of this realist and representative of the novel of manners and observations has influenced Serbian writers.¹⁹ Later on, an extensive review of Daudet's *Nabob* published in the journal empha-

¹⁵ Jovan Skerlić (1877–1914), a Serbian literary historian and critic. Having graduated in French language and literature and literary theory from Belgrade's Great School in 1899, he continued his studies abroad: in 1899–1901, he studied in Lausanne and Paris, where he received his doctoral degree. Skerlić's doctoral thesis "French Public Opinion in Political and Social Poetry between 1830 and 1848" garnered vast interest among the academic community. He started his teaching career in a Belgrade grammar school, but was soon appointed assistant professor of French language and literature and literary theory at the Great School in Belgrade. During the 1903/4 academic year, he completed advanced training in Munich and Paris and on return, devoted himself to teaching at the newly-established University of Belgrade (1905). Jovan Skerlić can be described as the spiritual leader of the educated Socialist youth given his collaboration with the journals *Zanatlijski Glasnik* (Artisan Herald) and *Socijaldemokratija* (Social Democracy). After joining the Independent Radicals, Skerlić was editor of the left-faction newspaper *Dnevni List* (Daily Newspaper). In 1912, he was elected MP for Kragujevac County. Apart from his notable work in the field of literary criticism and literary history, he also authored two short stories dealing with Belgrade life, and did translations of V. Hugo. Skerlić contributed to the *Delo* during its first publication run. Later on he was a long-standing contributor and editor of the *Srpski književni glasnik* (with Pavle Popović in 1905–1907 and thereafter on his own). Skerlić's major works include: *Francuski romantičari i srpska narodna poezija* [French Romanticists and Serbian Folk Poetry]; *Istorijski pregled srpske štampe* [A Historical Overview of the Serbian Press] and *Istorija nove srpske književnosti* [The History of New Serbian Literature]. As a critic, Skerlić was a French school follower giving precedence to intrinsic value over perfection of form and expression.

¹⁶ *Delo*, Vol. 18 (1898) and Vol. 23 (1902).

¹⁷ See M. Begić, *Jovan Skerlić et la critique littéraire en Serbie* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes slaves, 1963) and by the same author, *Jovan Skerlić, čovek i delo* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966).

¹⁸ Savković, *L'Influence du réalisme français*.

¹⁹ *Delo*, Vol. 17 (1898), 536.

sizes that Serbian writers indeed have models to follow.²⁰ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the *Delo* publishes the text “Viktor Igo i renesans francuski” (Victor Hugo and the French Renaissance) to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Hugo’s birth. It seems that the Serbian elite, if we are to judge by its representatives contributing to the *Delo*, considered Hugo as being “a man who embodies the ideal of his century and the need for social justice and political freedom, [and] is, at the same time, a popular representative and a great poet”.²¹ Hugo believed in the mission of writers and the role of the intellectual elite among the people, and it is precisely these and similar views that the young Serbian intelligentsia identified with.²² In 1902, the contributors to the *Delo*, mainly Radicals or politically close to the Radicals, oppressed by the authoritarian Obrenović regime, profoundly shared Hugo’s belief that scientists, artists, philosophers and poets, rather than generals and rulers, were the great and brave of humankind. The Serbian Radicals were aware that during Hugo’s exile an entire political generation led by Gambetta and Ferry imbibed *Les peines* “as the strong and bitter wine of their regained liberty”.²³ No wonder then that Hugo was seen as “the greatest” representative of the French spirit.²⁴

French literature lost its supremacy in the journal in 1908, which may be attributed to the Francophiles’ weakening influence, particularly in view of the fact that the editor of the journal became German-educated Dragoljub Pavlović.²⁵ It should be borne in mind, however, that the An-

²⁰ *Delo*, Vol. 38 (1906), 268–269.

²¹ *Delo*, Vol. 23 (1902), 76.

²² Savković, *L’Influence du réalisme français*, 23.

²³ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁵ Dragoljub Draža Pavlović (1866–1920) graduated from the History and Philology Department of the Great School in Belgrade in 1888. In Vienna in 1891/2, he studied the secondary education system. He became a teacher at the Teacher Training School in Belgrade in 1893, but left for Germany later that year to pursue his studies, first in Freiburg (Baden) and then in Tübingen, where in 1897 he defended his doctoral thesis “O borbi za nacionalitet ugarskih Srba 1848–1849” [On the Hungarian Serbs’ Struggle for National Rights 1848–1849]. He was appointed associate professor of modern history at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Great School in 1897, and full professor in 1901. With the growth of the Great School into Belgrade University in 1905, he was appointed one of the initial eight full professors and Chair of General History. He was elected a member of the Royal Serbian Academy (corresponding in 1905, full in 1920). He pursued his political career under the wing of the Radical Party acting as the Main Committee Secretary, a MP, Vice-chairman of the Independent Radicals Club (1916), and first President of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1919). Pavlović was one of the first professors of general history and he spe-

nexation Crisis was at its peak and that literary topics in the journal were naturally pushed into the background.²⁶ In the course of the following year, 1909, Denis Diderot's essay *Le neveu de Rameau* was published in a serial form. Upon the appearance of the first part, Grgur Branković, probably the most responsible for its publication, wrote that its author's realism "often grows into austere naturalism fraught with lechery and debauchery, into the type of naturalism that was to be championed by Zola and Guy de Maupassant in the latter part of the following century".²⁷ It was the work of Diderot, Zola and Maupassant that was to exert a crucial influence on Serbian realists and naturalists, some of whom published their works in the *Delo*. Addressing French themes, a contributor to the *Delo*, Grgur Berić, published his study "Francuski duh u književnosti" (The French spirit in literature).²⁸ Seeking to define what the French spirit is and what its features are, Berić concludes that such spirits "will always go beyond the narrow confines of their time and nationality, while remaining the best all-time representatives of their race and their time. They have inspired men to higher ideals and purposes, and that is what makes them great."²⁹ These words show perhaps most vividly how enthralled the people rallied around the *Delo* were by the high achievements of French culture. In 1912, the *Delo* began to publish a translation of Paul Bourget's novel *Les mensonges*.³⁰ During that period, the *Delo*'s editor and contributor was a Francophile, Rista Odavić, initiator of trends in Serbian literary and theatrical life.³¹ In 1913, apart from Bourget, the journal also published the novel *Thais* by Anatole France.³² The *Delo*

cialized in the history of Europe and the history of South-Slavic lands and the Serbian nation under foreign rule. The most important works of this erudite scholar include: *Ujedinjenje Nemačke* [German Unification]; *Ličnost u istoriji* [Personality in History], *Delo* (1897); *Istorizam i racionalizam* [Historicism and Rationalism], *Delo* (1898); *Kultura i ratovi* [Culture and Wars], *Letopis Matice srpske* (1901) and *Leopold Ranke. Istorioografska skica* [Leopold von Ranke: A Historiographic Sketch], *Delo* (1895).

²⁶ In the course of 1908 the *Delo* published René Pinon's *La crise balkanique*, and *Congrès de Berlin* by Gabriel Hanotaux, former French Foreign Minister and professor at Paris University. Apart from that, most of the journal's coverage was devoted to *Political Overview: Delo*, Vols. 47 and 48 (1908).

²⁷ *Delo*, Vol. 50 (1909), 283.

²⁸ *Delo*, Vol. 53 (1909).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

³⁰ *Delo*, Vol. 62 (1912).

³¹ Rista Odavić (1870–1932), professor, translator, playwright for the National Theatre in Belgrade and Director of State Archives; he was also founder and editor of the *Delo* and *Nova Iskra* (New Spark).

³² *Delo*, Vol. 66 (1913).

paid great attention to literary criticism and the appearance of a translation of Karl Becker's *On the Evolution of Contemporary French Criticism* made a great contribution to literature in Serbia. Becker largely addresses the clash between methodic criticism and talent criticism, the oeuvre of Hippolyte Taine and the crisis of French criticism after his death, topics which elicited a great deal of interest from Serbian critics, too.³³ Paul Bourget's study on Charles Baudelaire, Jacques Cezanne's "Cimetière" and Alfred de Musset's "Nuits de mai" published by the *Delo* in 1914 seemed harbingers of the difficult times lying ahead. No wonder then that most of the journal in the wartime period was devoted to war poetry, primarily that of the Allied countries i.e. French.

The first issue of the first volume of the *Delo* brought a study on Beaumarchais by the young Bogdan Popović (1863–1944),³⁴ which was instrumental in ushering Serbian essayist literature into a new era and in developing the so-called *Belgrade style*.³⁵ With the publication of this study, the *Delo* certainly sought to symbolically reinforce the positions of the French-educated Popović and his follower Jovan Skerlić, himself a contributor to the *Delo* during the first publication period. The publication of Bogdan Popović's texts and his influence on the editorial policy of the journal were particularly intensive in the course of the initial two years. In his "Introductory Lecture on the History of World Literature" (*Uvodno predavanje iz istorije svetske književnosti*), besides a brief historical overview of Serbian philology, Popović laid down the guidelines for the development of Serbian literature and literary scholarship.³⁶ He argued that "one of the main virtues of fine literature is in developing this universal and multifaceted, moral and aesthetic sympathy in human souls"; moreover, literature

³³ *Delo*, Vol. 67 (1913).

³⁴ "Behind the hitherto unimaginable diversity and pliancy of phrase, original turns, stylistic refinement and, at times, evident endeavour to establish direct communication with the reader, lay the writer's scrupulous work and, even more, his fine French education. In his programmatic writings, Popović suggested the emulation of more advanced models as critically important: 'Foreign literature is what Serbian literature needs most'," *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 263.

³⁵ "The flourishing period of the Belgrade style was also the period of the most powerful French influence on the Serbian literary language. An enthusiasm for French culture and French democracy, French books, strong political ties, and many young people educated in France or in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, contributed to the adoption of the ideal of crystal clarity and seemingly casual elegance characteristic of the best-written products of the French spirit, and to the import of a multitude of French words into the Serbian language", *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 265. See also M. Savković, *La Littérature yougoslave moderne* (Belgrade 1936), 179.

³⁶ *Delo*, Vol. 2 (1894), 103.

may also contribute to the development and diffusion of ideas, so that “not only its ideas and contents, but also its wittiness, make it increasingly more suitable for being used as a powerful educational means [...] such an influence of literature is observable in most historical and social movements in recent times”.³⁷ Relying on the insights gained during his schooling abroad, Popović encouraged the emergence of a new trend in Serbian literary criticism. Even this study by Bogdan Popović makes it clear that through his work the Serbian science of literature and language was to reach European standards.³⁸ Important for Popović’s work in the *Delo* is his text “Radovan Košutić: Causes of the revival of literary criticism. A study in French literature review” (*Radovan Košutić: Uzroci preporodaju književne kritike. Studija iz francuske književnosti*).³⁹ Popović harshly criticizes Košutić as a clown and his work as having “no merit whatsoever”.⁴⁰ The article brilliantly demonstrates Popović’s knowledge of French literature, taking a closer look at Hippolyte Taine, Descartes, Racine and Molière, authors widely read and discussed by the young Serbian elite. On the occasion of the death of Alexandre Dumas *fils*, Bogdan Popović wrote an obituary describing Dumas as “the greatest French, and probably European, dramatist of the century”, which is indicative of the repute Dumas enjoyed in Serbia.⁴¹ Popović particularly dwelled on Dumas’ *La Dame aux camélias* and *La question aux femmes*. It cannot be known with certainty whether the *Delo* wrote about Dumas and reviewed Dumas’ texts and plays at the insistence of Bogdan Popović or such a policy was jointly adopted by the editorial board. It is certain, however, that the editors and contributors, especially prior to the first interruption to its publication, were all educated under the influence of French models. This primarily goes for Svetislav Simić, the *Delo*’s conceptual originator, Ilija Vukićević, its first editor, and the diplomat Milovan Milovanović, one of its subsequent editors. Bogdan Popović’s work, especially that connected with the *Srpski književni glasnik* and his *Anthology* of modern Serbian lyric poetry published in 1911, were an unquestionable and great contribution to

³⁷ Bogdan Popović particularly highlights the example of France, or more precisely, the magnitude of Rousseau’s contribution to the transformation of Europe or “how helpful literature was to the French Revolution”, *ibid.*, 109–110.

³⁸ “As early as the end of the nineteenth century, new winds began to blow in Serbian literary criticism, bringing the spirit of analytical positivism, faith in the power of artistic individualism and high standard of universality of aesthetic impact”, *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 333–334.

³⁹ Savković, *Bibliographie des réalistes français*, 114.

⁴⁰ *Delo*, Vol. 5 (1895), 134.

⁴¹ *Delo*, Vol. 8 (1986), 329.

Serbian literature and literary criticism.⁴² Therefore, the *Delo* may be said to have had in its ranks a critic whose intellectual outlook conformed to the standards of modern European civilization, and who was clearly and profoundly engrossed in French cultural trends. The publication of Popović's "Beaumarchais" marked a turning-point, paving the way for the restoration of Serbian literary language and literary style on the model of the vivid, elegant, logical and flexible French phrase, thus revealing the true possibilities and tendencies of Serbian expression.⁴³

The first editor of the *Delo*, also French-educated Ilija Vukićević (1866–1899), explicitly advised the reading public to "read Hugo".⁴⁴ Vukićević edited only the first volume of the journal, after which he left for Geneva to continue his studies. The obituary of Ilija Vukićević published in the *Delo* in 1899 makes reference to the former editor's keen interest in French language and literature: "the latest literary trends in France encouraged him to try his hand at the new forms of poetic short stories. That is how a whole series came into being of fairy tales which had much in common with our folk tales, while being inspired by modern French poetry."⁴⁵ Vukićević created a genre that was to become a distinguishing mark of modern twentieth-century prose: the literary fairy tale.⁴⁶ The realist approach to the world in general and the realist style, manifest in the work of Vukićević and other Serbian realists, resulted from the adoption of new European models in Serbian literature. Cervantes, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Goncharov, Tolstoy were translated into Serbian as early as the 1850s and 1860s. In the 1860s, besides Russian writers, French authors such as Hugo, George Sand, Mérimée, Dumas *filis*, Zola, Maupassant and Daudet also began to be translated,⁴⁷ finding their way to the Serbian readership, expanding their literary horizons and acquainting them with the contem-

⁴² Popović's "*Anthology*" was an announcement and application of theoretical positivist and empirical principles of aesthetic criticism on the one hand, and setting of new aesthetic standards of poetic beauty, on the other. It was accepted as the highest achievement of sober taste", *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 334.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 480.

⁴⁴ *Delo*, Vol. 1 (1894), 56.

⁴⁵ *Delo*, Vol. 21 (1899), VII.

⁴⁶ Vukićević's short story *Priča o selu Vrećima i Simi Srupici* published in the *Delo* (Vols. 5–7) in 1895 occupied a prominent place in the new genre.

⁴⁷ "Les traductions de Victor Hugo, de Daudet, de Zola et de Maupassant, celles de Gogolj, de Tourguéniev, pour ne citer que ceux-là, fournissent à la littérature yougoslave de grandes modèles", Savković, *La Littérature yougoslave moderne*, 100.

porary styles of realism and naturalism.⁴⁸ Vukićević, Svetolik Ranković and Janko Veselinović introduced elements of folklore, ethnography, the common people's worldview and folk storytelling.⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that Veselinović's literary models were Russian rather than French.⁵⁰ The work of Vukićević, Matavulj and Ranković played a significant role in Serbian prose attaining the heights of the finest realist literature.⁵¹ In terms of style, their models were Turgenev's descriptions of nature, Tolstoy's psychological analysis, Maupassant's interior descriptions, and Daudet's poeticization and imagination.

With the appearance of a rival magazine, *Srpski književni glasnik*, in 1901, the *Delo* was left without some major figures of the domestic literary scene, but it nevertheless published Radoje Domanović, Bora Stanković, Petar Kočić, Veljko Petrović and Isidora Sekulić. The literary production of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed some major changes, primarily as a result of changed literary models. Gogol and his contemporaries gave way to Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Chekhov, the dominance of Russian and German literature dwindled before the models found in French (Zola, Maupassant and Daudet), English (Dickens) and Scandinavian literatures (Ibsen). The *Delo* kept abreast of those trends. Realist poetry gave way to that of parnassists, impressionists and symbolists. Borisav Stanković, Petar Kočić and Milutin Uskoković became the champions of twentieth-century modern Serbian literature. Jovan Skerlić, editor of the *Glasnik*, sought to curb the pessimistic strain of modernism in Serbian literature, even to reduce it to the level of subculture. During 1909 and 1910, the *Delo* and *Glasnik* published the opposing literary opinions and views of the two editorial boards. Sima Pandurović, Vladislav Petković Dis and Isidora Sekulić, heralds of the new strain, were met with Skerlić's adverse criticism, which was the reason that some of their works were pub-

⁴⁸ The works of Janko Veselinović, Simo Matavulj, Svetolik Ranković, Svetozar Ćorović, Branislav Nušić, Radoje Domanović, and those of Bora Stanković, Veljko Petrović, Sima Pandurović, Isidora Sekulić, Vladislav Petković Dis and other distinguished Serbian authors, were printed during the first and second publication periods of the *Delo* respectively. See *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 301, and *Delo*, Vols. 1-74 (Belgrade and Niš, 1894-1899, 1902-1915).

⁴⁹ Svetolik Ranković caused "the Serbian prose of the late nineteenth century to move towards disintegration of realism and to display all elements of *fin-de-siècle* literature." In 1895, the *Delo* published "Propast, scena iz školskog života" [Failure: a school scene], *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 302.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 295-297. In 1896, the *Delo* published Veselinović's novel *Hayduk Stanko*, a Rousseauian idealistic portrayal of the Serbian countryside and rural life.

⁵¹ With "intensified psychological motivation, refined novelistic composition, and artistic expression in terms of style", *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 302.

lished by the *Delo*.⁵² In that way, the *Delo*, that is its editors and contributors, introduced European trends in prose and poetry to Serbian culture.

Of all the abovementioned Serbian authors who published their works in the *Delo*, the strongest influence of French models is observable in Simo Matavulj (1852–1908).⁵³ We learn from his *Notes* that he read the *Temps* and *Revue de deux mondes*,⁵⁴ but his two-month stay in Paris in the autumn of 1882 was most important for deepening his ties with French literature. According to his *Notes*, his roaming through Paris evoked literary associations with famous French authors such as Hugo and Zola,⁵⁵ he was introduced to Anatole France by his long-standing acquaintance Étienne Lamy,⁵⁶ and as he himself put it: “My visit to Paris, apart from other benefits that I had, influenced my literary taste and style more than any other experience I have had over the years.”⁵⁷ Matavulj visited France two more times:

⁵² In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Sima Pandurović published the following literary pieces: “S večeri” [In the evening] and “Biserne oči” [Pearly eyes], while Božidar Purić published “Prolećne varijacije” [Spring Variations], *Delo*, Vol. 56 (1910); the *Delo* published the works of Vojislav Ilić, whose poetry initially emulated post-romantic, parnassist tendencies and methods, and turning to the world of symbolist forebodings, visions and restlessness in the early 1890s. Vojislav Ilić endowed Serbian lyric poetry with European form or, more precisely, introduced it to the modern European trends and contributed to its artistic perfection. This course set by Ilić’s poetry was maintained by Serbian symbolists: Jovan Dučić, Milan Rakić, Vladislav Petrović Dis and Sima Pandurović. The *Delo* also published “Nirvana” by Vladislav Petković Dis. In this period, the *Delo* published Milutin Bojić’s poems “Kroz vekove” [Through Centurie], “Avet” [Spectre] and “Majka” [Mother], early works of the author of the famous “Plava grobnica” [Blue Tomb] and initiator of modern dramatic poetry in the early twentieth century. Radoje Domanović excelled in the realm of allegoric and satirical story. See *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 302.

⁵³ As a young teacher in the village of Islam, in Ravni Kotari, Matavulj became acquainted with the work of many French writers, and was taught French by Count Ilija Janković, a “Voltairean and Russophile”. It was then that Matavulj began to read Rousseau, Voltaire, Fénelon, Bossuet, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Hugo, George Sand, Dumas, and even Flaubert. The *Delo*, which published a number of Maupassant’s works, pointed to the French writer’s influence on Matavulj on more than one occasion during the twentieth century. The mid 1890s were the most prolific period of Matavulj’s cooperation with the journal: short stories “Snaga bez očiju” [Eyeless strength], Vol. 1 (1894); “Frontaševa ljubav” [Soldier’s Love], Vol. 7 (1895); “Djukan Skakavac”, Vol. 9 (1896). For more, see G. Eror, *Simo Matavulj i francuska književnost* [Simo Matavulj and French Literature] (Belgrade 1974).

⁵⁴ Eror, *Simo Matavulj*, 7.

⁵⁵ S. Matavulj, *Beleške jednog pisca* [A Writer’s Notes], vol. 4 of *Collected Works* (Belgrade 1953–1956), 162.

⁵⁶ “That evening Matavulj, if he is to be believed, was a great success, making Anatole France roar with laughter”, G. Eror, *Simo Matavulj*, 8.

⁵⁷ Matavulj, *Beleške jednog pisca*, 166.

Paris in 1900, at the time of the Universal Exhibition, and Nice in 1903, when he wrote an article for *Le Figaro*. In his articles and essays, he mentions or assesses a number of French authors, which speaks both of his erudition and of these authors' literary influence.⁵⁸ As expected from a realist, Matavulj closely followed the work of his contemporaries, primarily French realist novelists and story writers.⁵⁹ It cannot be said with certainty whether and to what extent Matavulj, being a realist, encouraged the publication of Maupassant in the *Delo*, but he was certainly pleased to see his own works published in a journal that brought Maupassant. Matavulj learned storytelling techniques from the best European models, primarily Maupassant, introducing the reader into the heart of the story with brief and powerful strokes, and depicting simple but memorable events, often with anecdotal elements.⁶⁰ It should also be noted that he was no less interested in the work of yet another French author, Zola.⁶¹ Besides, his work was connected with that of Prosper Mérimée and Alexandre Dumas *films*. Just as Maupassant was published in the *Delo* almost concurrently with Matavulj, so Dumas' plays were staged at the same time, constituting the backbone of the repertoire of the National Theatre in Belgrade.⁶²

In the first year of its publication, the *Delo* paid attention to the French plays and playwrights staged by the National Theatre in Belgrade. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Theatre in 1894 prompted the *Delo* to comment on the work of the theatre, acknowledging and commending the fact that Sardou's *Patrie* was included in the celebratory repertoire.⁶³ In the course of the same year, the *Delo* brought reviews of two works by

⁵⁸ Matavulj makes mention of the following authors: Racine, Molière, Bossuet, Rousseau, Voltaire, Chateaubriand, Hugo, Lamartine, Vigny, Musset, Bonville, George Sand, Dumas, Daudet, Moréas, Flaubert, France, Maupassant, the Goncourt brothers, Zola, Bourget, Balzac, Vauguillet, Sue, de Kock, Sardou, Mirabeau, Eror, *Simo Matavulj*, 10.

⁵⁹ In 1893, he translated Maupassant's travelogue *Sur l'eau*, and the following year both his and Maupassant's works appeared in the *Delo*. Matavulj also translated a part of Zola's novel *La Revo*, with the famous writer's permission, and published it in the *Glas Crnogoraca* in 1888. Of Molière's works, he translated *Le bourgeois genti homme* and *Le misanthrope*. Cf. Savković, *Bibliographie des réalistes français*, 115, and Eror, *Simo Matavulj*, 12–13.

⁶⁰ *Istorija srpskog naroda* VI-2, 314.

⁶¹ In 1894, the *Delo* published Matavulj's article "O Zolinom poreklu" [On Zola's origin]. The influence of Émile Zola and his movement on Matavulj is reflected mainly in his inclination to naturalist *tranches de la vie* and portray the seamier side of bourgeois life. Eror, *Simo Matavulj*, 47.

⁶² Savković, *L'Influence du réalisme français*, 360–379.

⁶³ "Sardou's magnificent drama *Patrie* (translated from Czech!) was performed on the third day. The beauty and grandeur of this play makes it quite appropriate for celebra-

Dumas, *père* and *fils*: *Henri III et sa Cour* and *La dame aux camélias*. The journal's theatre critic M. K. Dragutinović, pointing to the significance of both for furthering and innovating the art of drama, underlined that "as a play, *La dame aux camélias* is very important because it has set French dramatic art on a fresh course: moderate realism, which has gradually prevailed on the modern stage."⁶⁴ In the journal's first two years, its editors and contributors closely followed Dumas' work, and not only literary, as shown by the text in which Dumas put forth his views on the position of women in society. Beside Dumas, another favourite of the theatre lovers found its place in the *Delo*: the famous French dramatist Jean Racine and his play *Phaedra*. The *Delo*'s critic described Racine's *Phaedra* as "so profound and so powerful that hardly any poet has ever taken such a deep look into the human innermost soul and shed so much light on passion as Racine in his *Phaedra*."⁶⁵ The *Delo* also carried the reviews of *Frou-Frou*, a comedy by Meilhac and Halévy, and Febre's drama *Jeanne d'Arc*.⁶⁶ In its ninth volume, the *Delo* published Albert Malet's "Srpsko pozorište i francuska dela" [Serbian Theatre and French Works].⁶⁷ Giving credit to the former French students for translating French plays, Malet concludes that "the Serbian audience prefers French works to any other translations."⁶⁸ Apart from Dumas and Racine, the *Delo* devoted much attention to Victor Sardou.⁶⁹ In a number of issues, it brought the statistics for the National Theatre in Belgrade, which reflect-

tory performance, and it is very good that this patriotic and powerful play has been included in the celebratory programme", *Delo*, Vol. 4 (1894).

⁶⁴ *Delo*, Vol. 1 (1894), 422. The *Delo* extensively wrote about Dumas *fils* on the occasion of his death. Bogdan Popović, a French-educated literary critic and professor, wrote his obituary. In addition to this brief overview of the oeuvre of Alexandre Dumas *père*, the *Delo* printed his letter to Maria Shelga Levy: "La question aux femmes". *Delo*, Vol. 8 (1895), 283–286.

⁶⁵ *Delo*, Vol. 1 (1894), 191. Jean Racine plays were not often staged in Serbia, and before the First World War only *Phaedra* was staged in Belgrade. Cf. Glumac Tomović, *Francuski klasičari*, 124.

⁶⁶ *Delo*, Vols. 2–3 (1894).

⁶⁷ The article was taken from *La Revue bleue* of 7 September 1895. King Alexander Obrenović's former professor, Albert Malet, wrote quite commendably about the Serbian theatre, which, despite lack of funds, managed to keep up with Europe, primarily with the famous French scene. According to Malet, French plays accounted for one-third of the repertoire of the National Theatre in Belgrade, which testifies to a tremendous influence of French culture on Serbian society. *Delo*, Vol. 9 (1896), 473–479.

⁶⁸ *Delo*, Vol. 9 (1896), 478.

⁶⁹ *Delo*, Vol. 14 (1897), 546–552.

ed the Serbian audience's great interest in French works.⁷⁰ The profound and lasting influence of French literary works and plays on cultural life in Serbia became evident in the early twentieth century. The abovementioned authors and their works opened the way for the French cultural influence on the public scene in Serbia. Along with them, distinguished authors of other literatures stirred the Balkan backwaters and made the public aware of international trends.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the press underwent a substantial change, becoming a reflection of cultural trends in society. With the interior of the country becoming increasingly aware of the significance of the written word, Belgrade ceased being the only literary-minded public. Moreover, the reading public became choosier and their interest shifted from politics to everyday life, culture, science. The editors of journals sought to encourage their readers' interest in reading books and in reflection, thereby fostering the process of civilizational progress. The Serbian journals of that period, the *Delo* included, mirrored their time and current circumstances.⁷¹ As the *Delo* emerged in the interval between two other important literary journals, *Otadžbina* (Fatherland) and *Srpski književni glasnik*, its role in Serbian culture was at its strongest during its first publication run, from 1894 to 1899. And, although its importance declined with the appearance of the *Glasnik* in 1901, its openness to different views and perspectives, as shown by the analysis of the presence of French literature on its pages, introduced a pluralism of ideas and a wide range of foreign models to the Serbian cultural scene. The editors and contributors to the *Delo*, mostly educated and trained in major European centres, contributed to the creation of a climate conducive to the modernization of Serbian culture and its "opening to European trends".⁷²

⁷⁰ The *Delo's* review of the theatrical season 1911/2 states that of 110 productions forty were original and thirty-nine were French performed ninety-three times; there were nine German plays performed twenty-five times, six English plays performed twenty-two times, five Italian plays performed six times, four Danish plays performed eleven times, and three Russian plays performed twenty times. There were also one Italian, one Greek and one Hungarian play. The French plays obviously accounted for more than one-half of the theatre's repertoire. Moreover, the financial data show that the productions of French plays were best attended. *Delo*, Vol. 66 (1913).

⁷¹ "As journals form part of popular culture and as they communicate and are intended for communication with a large number of people, it is interesting to look into the interaction between all participants in literary communication — the author, the text, the intermediaries and the reading public", S. Peković, "Model časopisa na početku veka" [Journal model at the beginning of the century], in *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima*, 9.

⁷² Petković, "Engleske teme", 348.

As noted above, the *Delo* did not lay down an explicit programme, but an implicit one is clearly observable: to further Serbian culture. France and her cultural values were seen as a model and basis on which to build and improve the cultural climate in Serbia as a prerequisite for the state to move forwards. The start of the journal is associated with the Radical Party, i.e. its younger wing. And yet, a Radical ideological influence on the journal was not as strong as might be expected. Its editorial policy was largely shaped by individuals, the journal's editors and contributors, and its content often depended on their personal preferences. Choosing science, literature and social life as the journal's areas of interest, the founders and editors demonstrated their commitment to modernizing the young Serbian state and society by way of culture. Seeking to make progress, the editors and contributors turned to the leading cultural centres of the time. Their goal may sometimes seem vague and obscure, but the reason is the absence of a clear-cut programme and the frequently changing editors and contributors. It was these changes, however, that enabled the presence in the journal of different, even diametrically opposed, views.

As for the *Delo*'s literary policy, it showed a tendency observable in other literary journals of the time: to show Serbian literature "the ways it should follow".⁷³ French culture and literature became an unavoidable instrument in pursuing that goal. Russian literature was an equally strong presence on its pages. Of all foreign literatures, these two prevailed in the journal, which in a way shows how the Russo-French political rapprochement, viewed in an idealized manner in Serbia, became reflected in the cultural pursuits of Serbian society. It is obvious that the proportion of French literature in the *Delo* was greater when its contributors were intellectuals educated in France.⁷⁴ Under the editorship of Ilija Vukićević and Milovan Milovanović, the latter being known as "the Balkans' greatest European", French influence was more marked than under the editorship of Stojan Protić and Dragoljub Pavlović. These stronger French influences were reflected primarily in the number of contributions by French authors or in the number of references to the French state and society made by domestic authors. That French culture was highly appreciated by Serbian intellectuals is suggested by the fact that the journal announced the publication of new French literary works each time the subscription fee was to be increased.⁷⁵

⁷³ Peković, "Model časopisa na početku veka", 11.

⁷⁴ The most important role in disseminating the influence of French culture, ideas and habits in Serbia was played by the so-called "Parisians", Serbian intellectuals educated in France from 1841. Upon their return to Serbia, these young and educated men usually assumed high and influential positions. See Bataković, "Četiri generacije *parizlija*".

⁷⁵ *Delo*, Vols. 1-74.

Analysis of the journal's content reveals the presence of almost all recognized French authors, both contemporary and past. Molière, Dumas *filis*, Racine and Sardou dominated not only the stage of Serbian theatres, but also the pages of the *Delo*. The distinguished literary critics Lemaitre, Sainte-Beuve and Taine were unavoidably referred to in the domestic authors' contributions to the *Delo*, such as those of Svetislav Simić and Bogdan Popović. Their original work opened the way to new ideas and movements and to the advance of Serbian literature. During the first publication run, when Bogdan Popović, Svetislav Simić, Jovan Skerlić and Mihailo Vujić were contributors, though very briefly and in few issues, the French spirit and contemporary trends featured quite prominently. The *Delo* lost the majority of its contributors to the *Glasnik* in the early twentieth century, but it did not lose all cultural influence, its French aspect in particular. The French spirit and contemporary trends were rather prominent. After Popović and Simić, French topics in the *Delo* were dealt with by Nikola S. Petrović and Grgur Berić. The latter published his study "The French Spirit in Literature", which provided an overview of French literature from *La chanson de Roland*, Rabelais, Calvin and Ronsard to Molière and Racine, and further on to the literature of the "age of philosophy and revolution". The number of French literary topics during the second publication run is smaller, but it should be remembered that in Serbia, under the threat of war from the beginning of the 1900s, political themes naturally took precedence; but even in that situation, the *Delo* published several works by French authors, in the spirit of establishing closer relations with France. Among the most important was the translation of Denis Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau*. Together with Zola and Maupassant, Diderot's literary work decisively influenced the shaping of Serbian literary trends and the formation of the Serbian greatest literary figures. French literature offered guidelines and models to the realist and naturalist movements, subsequently also to modernist and avant-garde tendencies in Serbian literature. Moreover, the journal's editors and contributors closely followed the then leading French journals, such as *Revue bleue*, *Journal des débats* and *Revue des deux mondes*, translating and publishing the texts they deemed important for Serbia's cultural development. This is yet another proof of the great effort the group rallied around the *Delo* put into keeping abreast of cultural trends and pursuits in Europe and the world.⁷⁶

The French written word in the *Delo* fulfilled its purpose, and the French spirit inherent in French literature was finding its way to the Serbian elites both indirectly and directly. Of course, Serbian intellectuals were

⁷⁶ "Delo, fondée par un groupe d'hommes de lettres qui appartenaient au parti radical, a réussi par son contenu littéraire, scientifique et sociologique à avoir vraiment le caractère des grands revues européennes", Savković, *Bibliographie des réalistes français*, 129–130.

interested in other literatures as well, such as Russian and German, but they may be said to have been imbued by the French spirit. The cultural influence of France enriched Serbian culture and inspired it to attain new artistic heights. Aware that “what you have read remains in you even after you put the book down; the impression lasts, just as a chord played on the harp resounds and vibrates even after you ceased plucking its strings,”⁷⁷ the group rallied around the *Delo* chose the field of culture to begin their mission of modernizing Serbia, a field where the results can only be achieved through painstaking effort, but where the effect is the most powerful and most lasting.

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⁷⁷ *Delo*, Vol. 2 (1894), 108.

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La Yougoslavie titiste vue par les diplomates français (1955–1974)

Résumé : Les relations entre la France et la Yougoslavie pendant la période où cette dernière était dirigée par Tito, étaient marquées d'abord par l'aide yougoslave aux insurgés algériens, et ensuite par le refus de générale De Gaulle de rencontrer le président Yougoslave. L'aide aux FLN algérien s'inscrivait dans la politique de non-alignement de Tito dont un aspect important était la coopération avec les pays musulmans dans le Tiers Mondes, facilité en partie par les liens mis en place entre les pays musulmans et les Musulmans Yougoslaves. Général De Gaulle, considérait le sort que Tito avait réservé à général Mihailovic comme inacceptable, et estimait en plus que la fédération yougoslave en tant que telle est une structure étatique plus que fragile.

Mots clé : La Yougoslavie, la France, les Musulmans, Tito, De Gaulle, non-alignés

Après le « schisme » de 1948, à la tête d'une Yougoslavie placée en pleine guerre froide entre les deux « blocs », le Maréchal Tito, que l'historien britannique A. J. P. Taylor¹ a surnommé « *le dernier des Habsbourg* », voyait ses ambitions réfrénées sur le continent européen, aucun pays communiste, contrairement à ce qu'il espérait, n'ayant suivi sa voie indépendante de Moscou, dite « autogestionnaire » : ni la Hongrie d'Imre Nagy (1896–1958), tentée par cette voie mais réalignée de la façon brutale que l'on sait en 1956, ni la Roumanie, en dépit de ses efforts (déclaration du 22 avril 1963 sur la non-ingérence), ni la Tchécoslovaquie amie d'Alexandre Dubček, qui sera envahie par les troupes du Pacte de Varsovie en 1968.

La Yougoslavie outre que sur le plan européen est restée isolée aussi sur le plan régional. Avec la Bulgarie un vaste projet de Fédération balkanique avait été lancé par Tito et son vieil ami Dimitrov en 1947, projet rejeté par Staline, qui craignait les ambitions de ce vaste ensemble de 30 millions d'habitants, d'un poids militaire incontestable (l'Italie et la Grande-Bretagne, à cause de la Grèce, étaient également opposés à ce projet). Une ultérieure tentative de libéralisation est stoppée par Nikita Khrouchtchev quatorze ans plus tard, qui se rend personnellement à Sofia en mai 1962, pour, selon Bernard Lory, « *trancher finalement en faveur de Todor Zivkov, l'apparatchik rusé, mais sans envergure, qui servira au mieux les intérêts soviétiques* ».²

¹A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809–1918* (New York : Harper Torchbooks, 1948).

²Bernard Lory, *L'Europe balkanique de 1945 à nos jours* (Ellipses, 1996), 52.

La déception est encore plus grande avec l'Albanie, que les Partisans yougoslaves avaient tant aidée pendant et après la guerre, et qui, après avoir dans un premier temps choisi le camp de Moscou, s'isole complètement de l'Europe. L'ancien professeur de français au lycée de Tirana, formé à Montpellier, Enver Hodja, choisi le camp chinois dans un discours retentissant à la Conférence des 81 partis communistes à Moscou en novembre 1960.

Privé du soutien aussi bien dans les Balkans, que parmi les autres pays socialistes, Tito commence à réfléchir à des solutions en dehors du continent européen capables de lui assurer un cadre suffisamment large mais en même temps suffisamment rassurant pour assurer la pérennité de la Yougoslavie autogestionnaire. Le vaste mouvement des Pays non-alignés lui offrait un espace qu'il estimait à sa mesure. Ses détracteurs souligneront toutefois le caractère hétéroclite de ce mouvement, sans aucun lien idéologique, mais basé uniquement sur le refus commun d'adhérer à l'un des deux blocs qui prétendaient se partager le monde. Cette hétérogénéité entraînera le déclin progressif du mouvement, à la fin des années soixante-dix.

Pour commencer, en 1955, Tito entreprit une grande tournée de l'Éthiopie de l'Empereur Haïlé-Sélassié I^{er}, de l'Inde de Jawaharlal Nehru, et de l'Égypte du colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. Lors de leur visite à Belgrade en 1956, le Président égyptien Nasser ainsi que le Président de la République indonésienne le Dr Soekarno, tous deux de religion musulmane, outre que les pourparlers officiels lors desquels les bases du Mouvement ont été posées, furent présentés au *Raïs-al-ulema* de Sarajevo (chef de la communauté musulmane yougoslave). En conséquence, la Yougoslavie titiste utilisait des liens entre les représentants de l'Association Islamique yougoslave et les pays du Tiers-Monde, notamment musulmans, dont l'Égypte et l'Indonésie, co-initiateurs du mouvement (le premier Congrès afro-asiatique des pays non-alignés s'était tenu à Bandoeng), mais aussi avec le Koweït, les Emirats Arabes Unis, l'Arabie Saoudite, pour renforcer le Mouvement.

Dès 1956, le chargé d'affaires à l'Ambassade de France à Belgrade Jean Garnier des Garets avait attiré l'attention de la Direction Europe du Ministère des Affaires étrangères sur le danger de ces liens avec les pays arabes pour la politique française en Afrique du Nord.³ En juillet 1956, par exemple, l'Ambassadeur de Yougoslavie au Caire rendait visite au Secrétaire général de la Ligue Arabe.

En 1960, Tito se plaça lui-même à la tête du mouvement des Pays non-alignés, et déclara en 1961, au sommet qui se réunit à Belgrade, que *« ses principes constituaient la base de la politique étrangère de la Yougoslavie »*.

³ Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (M.A.E.), Paris, Série Europe 1956-1960, Sous-série Yougoslavie, carton 183 « Relations avec l'Afrique du Nord et la question algérienne de janvier 1956 à décembre 1958, « Liens avec les pays arabes », signée du chargé d'affaires Jean Garnier des Garets.

La communauté musulmane yougoslave devint donc un outil de premier plan de ses ambitions personnelles, qui dépassaient de loin le cadre yougoslave, celui de la puissance moyenne, dont il était le chef incontesté depuis déjà quinze ans.

Ces ambitions mondiales du maréchal Tito, pour incroyables qu'elles puissent paraître aujourd'hui, étaient incontestables selon tous les témoins de l'époque qui ont pu le côtoyer. Le romancier Dobrica Ćosić, futur éphémère Président de la République de Yougoslavie (Serbie-Monténégro), faisait partie des de ces témoins privilégiés. Invité sur le yacht *Galeb* pour une tournée de plus de deux mois (72 jours) dans les pays africains (Ghana, Togo, Libéria, Guinée, Mali, Tunisie, R.A.U.) en 1961, il confirme les ambitions planétaires de Tito à cette époque de sa carrière :

C'était un homme incontestablement doué pour la politique, ayant de grandes ambitions et d'énormes prétentions, une puissante intuition, une imposante auto-discipline, c'était un démagogue talentueux, un amoureux passionné du pouvoir, jusqu'au vice, un homme charismatique et un chef autoritaire. Un mage pour les foules, prêt à utiliser tous les moyens pour arriver à ses objectifs. [...] Son autodiscipline militaire, sa fierté de maréchal et son respect des formalités protocolaires étaient particulièrement mises en évidence. Tout ce qui l'entourait et qui lui était destiné devait être exceptionnel, précis, exact, luxueux. [...]

On dit que seule la Cour d'Espagne avait un protocole aussi strict et aussi « minuté ». Son autodiscipline et son respect exemplaire du Protocole m'ont stupéfié, car ils étaient absolus, aussi bien du point de vue vestimentaire qu'au plan de l'horaire ou du comportement avec les hommes d'Etat étrangers. Tout cela se déroulait en fonction de sa prétendue mission providentielle en ce monde. Tout le pays lui servait à exécuter son devoir et son rôle dans l'histoire mondiale.⁴

Afin que le rapprochement se fasse plus aisément entre la Yougoslavie et les pays du Tiers Monde, Tito nomma en poste dans les pays musulmans des diplomates eux-mêmes musulmans, le plus souvent bosniaques, considérés comme les plus évolués parmi les Musulmans. Parmi eux, on remarque la présence du propre fils d'un ancien *raïs-al-ulema* de Sarajevo.

C'est l'Ambassadeur de France à Belgrade Broustra qui en conclut lui-même dans une note de novembre 1958 à propos de l'aide de la Yougoslavie aux rebelles algériens :

C'est en Asie et en Afrique, auprès de ces nations qui, comme ce pays, se tiennent à mi-chemin entre l'Est et l'Ouest, que le gouvernement de Belgrade a remporté ses seuls succès.

⁴ D. Ćosić, *Un homme dans son époque* (Lausanne : L'Age d'Homme, 1991), 90 (traduit du serbo-croate).

L'intervention de la Yougoslavie dans le conflit franco-algérien

L'attitude surprenante pour un observateur occidental du régime communiste yougoslave à l'égard du Tiers Monde, et plus particulièrement envers la France à propos de sa politique algérienne, conséquence de cette politique, nécessite à notre avis un bref regard sur la situation politique intérieure en Yougoslavie, sans laquelle on ne peut comprendre les motivations profondes de cette attitude : sentant sa base populaire se rétrécir (on estimait à 230.000 le nombre de prisonniers politiques en 1956),⁵ et désirant l'élargir grâce aux soutiens des Musulmans yougoslaves, en rapide expansion démographique, 1.900.000 personnes en 1961, 3.000.000 en 1981, le Maréchal n'hésita pas à se donner une image pro-arabe, en fournissant du matériel et des armes à un mouvement insurrectionnel, au risque de rompre ses relations avec une puissance occidentale traditionnellement amie et qui l'avait militairement et financièrement largement aidé après la rupture avec Moscou en 1948 (6,6 milliards de francs d'aide militaire directe, sans compter l'aide économique).⁶

Des liens particulièrement étroits, et peu connus des contemporains, unirent la Yougoslavie titiste au Front de Libération Nationale Algérienne dans ce qui constituait alors les trois départements français d'Algérie, du 1^{er} novembre 1954, date de l'insurrection (« la Toussaint sanglante ») à l'indépendance de l'Algérie en juillet 1962, soit pendant sept ans et demi.

Ces liens s'expliquaient par le souvenir de la Résistance toujours vivace en Yougoslavie, les dirigeants de ce pays établissant une analogie entre la lutte des Partisans contre l'occupant allemand et italien et le combat des rebelles algériens contre le « colonisateur » français, analogie jugée fallacieuse par la diplomatie française, puisque l'Algérie était alors constituée de trois départements français, avec leurs représentants élus à l'Assemblée Nationale, et n'était donc pas une « colonie » sur le strict plan juridique (à la différence de l'A.O.F. et de l'A.E.F. en Afrique Noire par exemple).

D'autre part, la Yougoslavie titiste constituait une puissance musulmane réelle avec deux millions de musulmans (au début des années soixante), ce qui facilitait la compréhension, dans tous les sens du mot, avec les « frères » algériens, puisque, rappelons-le, la langue arabe est la langue du Coran, dont les « sourates » sont lues et commentées dans les mosquées. On

⁵ Centre d'accueil et de recherche des Archives nationales (C.A.R.A.N.), Archives de la Présidence de la République, dossier 4 AG 106, note du 7 mai 1956, à propos de la position hostile à la France de la Yougoslavie à l'O.N.U. : « ne pas oublier que 230.000 prisonniers politiques serbes, croates et slovènes pourrissent dans les camps de concentration et prisons du régime ».

⁶ M.A.E., Série Europe 1949-1955, Sous-série Yougoslavie, carton 89, note n° 149 du 11 avril 1951, et carton 90, Tableau récapitulatif dans note n° 165 du 26 janvier 1954.

peut donc présumer que les musulmans yougoslaves comprenaient au moins quelques mots d'arabe, quoi qu'il s'agît de l'arabe littéraire, assez différent du dialecte parlé par les musulmans algériens. Sur le plan de l'écriture, il convient de rappeler qu'outre l'arabe, le turc et le persan, le serbo-croate écrit en caractères arabes, le fameux *alhamijado*, était un mode d'expression littéraire répandu chez les Musulmans de l'espace yougoslave tout au long de la période ottomane, pendant quatre siècles (1463-1878).⁷

Un autre point commun, moins connu, entre les communistes yougoslaves et les insurgés algériens, était leur attachement à la doctrine de l'autogestion ouvrière inventée par le socialiste serbe Svetozar Marković, dans le sillage des théoriciens français « utopistes » Saint-Simon et Proudhon. Après l'indépendance de 1962, la première Constitution algérienne reprendra des articles entiers de la Constitution yougoslave (traduits en français, sans en changer un mot), l'autogestion constituant le principe de base de la nouvelle économie socialiste algérienne. A cette fin, des juristes yougoslaves furent invités en Algérie pour la rédaction de la nouvelle Constitution.⁸

Ces liens particuliers expliquent l'étendue de l'aide yougoslave à ceux qu'on appelait en France les « rebelles » algériens, aide qui a profondément choqué l'opinion publique française à l'époque, venant d'un pays européen (et en majorité chrétien) : la Yougoslavie fut, avec l'U.R.S.S. et tout le bloc communiste, un des principaux soutiens du F.L.N. à l'O.N.U., et alla même jusqu'à envoyer du ravitaillement et des armes aux insurgés algériens.

En 1957, la Yougoslavie expédiait, selon le Ministère des Affaires étrangères, en moyenne cinq cargos par semaine au Maroc, pour ravitailler l'Armée nationale de Libération Algérienne en formation dans ce pays à Oujda, à proximité de la frontière algérienne occidentale. C'est ainsi qu'éclata « l'affaire *Slovenja* » : en juin 1958, la Marine Nationale française arraisonnait en haute mer un cargo battant pavillon yougoslave et transportant des armes destinées au F.L.N., parti de Rijeka à destination de Casablanca, et le détournait sur Oran. L'affaire fit grand bruit sur le plan international, la saisie ayant eu lieu en dehors de la limite des eaux territoriales, donc en violation du droit maritime international ; néanmoins, la diplomatie française estimait que « les Yougoslaves n'avaient pas de raison juridique de demander la restitution des armes », ce que d'ailleurs ils se gardèrent bien de réclamer.

⁷ A. Popović, « La littérature ottomane des Musulmans yougoslaves, essai de bibliographie raisonnée », *Journal Asiatique* CCLIX/3-4 (1971), 309-316.

⁸ Témoignage de N. Strugar, auteur du *Dictionnaire juridique serbo-français. Politique-Droit-Economie* (Belgrade : Biro 59, 1999), à l'auteur en date du 05/09/1996 à Belgrade.

Le ministre Louis Joxe proposa, en guise de punition, de ne rembourser aux Yougoslaves que le coût du détournement.⁹

La réception officielle par le maréchal Tito du président du « Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne » (G.P.R.A.) Ferhat Abbas en avril 1959, provoqua une véritable crise diplomatique, le chef de l'Etat yougoslave ayant publié à l'issue de cette visite un communiqué dans lequel il laissait entendre que le G.P.R.A. était le véritable représentant du peuple algérien : *Un pays européen, un pays sérieux, s'est levé pour dire non au colonialisme !*

Le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Maurice Couve de Murville, déclarait que « la France était choquée ». L'accueil officiel réservé au « chef des rebelles algériens » était selon lui « *inadmissible : c'est comme si le général de Gaulle avait accueilli des chefs croates en exil en France* », fine allusion à sa parfaite connaissance de la question nationale en Yougoslavie. L'Ambassadeur de France à Belgrade était chargé d'expliquer au ministre des Affaires étrangères Koča Popović¹⁰ que « la reconnaissance du G.P.R.A. serait considérée comme une immixtion grave dans les affaires intérieures françaises », et la menace d'une rupture des relations diplomatiques entre la France et la Yougoslavie était « brandie ». Une note interne reconnaissait au demeurant avec honnêteté qu'il s'agissait « d'un échec sérieux pour le Quai d'Orsay ».¹¹

En conséquence, les ambassadeurs des deux pays furent rappelés le 11 avril 1959, mais les deux consulats de Zagreb (Croatie) et Skopje (Macédoine) furent maintenus pour des raisons administratives (délivrance de visas aux ressortissants yougoslaves, notamment). Il faut croire que ces menaces diplomatiques furent suivies d'effet, puisque le gouvernement yougoslave renonça provisoirement à son projet de reconnaissance officielle du G.P.R.A.

⁹ C.A.R.A.N., Fonds 5 AG 1, Archives des services de la Présidence de la République 1958-1969, carton 5 AG 1/5, note du 28 juin 1958.

¹⁰ Koča Popović, né en 1908 dans une riche famille de la bourgeoisie serbe (banquiers) ; étudiant à Belgrade puis à Paris, à la Faculté de Droit et à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, fait partie du cercle des poètes surréalistes (André Breton etc.) ; volontaire communiste dans les Brigades Internationales durant la guerre d'Espagne, où il devient colonel ; incarcéré dans un camp de concentration français dans les Pyrénées, il s'en évade en 1939 ; il rejoint les Partisans yougoslaves en 1941, commande la 1^{ère} Brigade Proletarienne (général), et devient chef d'état-major de 1947 à 1953 (envoyé aux Etats-Unis en 1951 pour discuter de l'aide militaire) ; en 1954, il devient ministre des Affaires étrangères ; selon l'Ambassade de France à Belgrade, « intelligent, caustique, d'une grande habileté. Parle parfaitement français. Détesté en U.R.S.S. en raison de ses origines et de ses manières « grand-bourgeoises ».

¹¹ M.A.E., « Relations avec la France », carton 184, note du 20 juin 1959 n° 3103.

En juillet 1959, l'assistance militaire yougoslave, jusque-là tenue secrète (les autorités yougoslaves alléguant qu'il s'agissait d'une aide au Maroc ou à la Tunisie indépendants), fut prise « en flagrant délit » : la Marine française arraisonna le cargo *Makedonia*, battant pavillon yougoslave, qui contenait pas moins de 10.000 mitrailleuses lourdes et 200 mortiers expédiés au F.L.N.

Après la signature des accords d'Evian, le 18 mars 1962, le Musulman bosniaque Avdo Humo, membre du gouvernement fédéral, allait porter un message du maréchal Tito à Ben Khedda à Tunis félicitant les dirigeants du G.P.R.A. pour « *la victoire des maquisards sur la puissante armée française* ». Le même jour, Tito adressait un message au général de Gaulle le félicitant pour sa « clairvoyance » ! Bel exemple de duplicité.

Couronnement de cette étroite coopération, en mars 1964, le Président Ahmed Ben Bella, accompagné d'une suite impressionnante de 50 personnes, dont le futur Président de la république Bouteflika, était reçu triomphalement à Belgrade pour une visite de neuf jours. Descendu d'un *Ilyouchine 18* soviétique, l'ancien adjudant-chef de l'armée française, devenu Président de la République algérienne, vêtu curieusement « à la chinoise » d'un costume à col Mao, donnait l'accolade à l'ancien ouvrier métallurgiste Josip Broz, devenu Maréchal Tito, qu'il appelait « son cher frère » (en français, ce qui ne manquait pas de surprendre la presse locale, peu au fait de la francophonie).

Après de multiples cérémonies dans la capitale yougoslave, le président algérien et sa nombreuse suite effectuaient une vaste tournée dans la Bosnie-Herzégovine alors peuplée de près d'un million et demi de Musulmans, où Ben Bella déclarait « *se sentir chez lui à Sarajevo, comme à Tlemcen* » (sa ville natale). L'Ambassade de France à Belgrade relevait qu'il attirait, selon elle, plus de foules yougoslaves que le tout-puissant Président de l'U.R.S.S. Nikita Khrouchtchev en 1955 et 1963, sauf à Zagreb la catholique, où l'accueil était considéré par l'Ambassade comme « mitigé ».

Ben Bella était enfin reçu dans la résidence d'été de Tito à Brioni (ancienne villégiature de luxe de l'industriel autrichien P. Kupelwieser), où il rencontrait toute l'élite du Parti communiste yougoslave. Bien que très reconnaissant envers la Yougoslavie « *premier pays d'Europe à l'assister aux heures difficiles* », Ahmed Ben Bella n'avait nullement une attitude obséquieuse, et gardait sa dignité, comparant l'Algérie « aux 1.500.000 martyrs, aux 500.000 veuves et aux 135.000 orphelins, à la Yougoslavie « aux 1.800.000 victimes de la Guerre de Libération » — ce qui revenait à mettre l'Algérie au même niveau que la Yougoslavie dans sa lutte pour l'indépendance.¹²

¹² M.A.E., Sous-série Yougoslavie, note n° 205/211 du 7 mars 1964.

Ceci provoqua quelques remous dans l'assistance yougoslave, intimement persuadée que son combat contre l'Axe constituait un exploit inégalable.

L'année suivante, en 1965, le maréchal Tito rendait la politesse au président algérien par une visite en Algérie sur le yacht *Galeb*, pendant une semaine (15-22 avril). A cette occasion, il affichait sa satisfaction « de voir réalisée l'autogestion des producteurs » en Algérie sur le modèle yougoslave.

Pourtant, après l'échec du « 2^{ème} Bandoeng » (Conférence afro-asiatique d'Alger en décembre 1965), la politique de non-alignement devint l'objet de critiques de plus en plus vives de la part de nombreux observateurs. Dans une brillante note de synthèse du 30 mai 1966, le 1^{er} Conseiller auprès de l'Ambassade de France à Belgrade, Amanrich, la jugeait « inefficace, dépassée et inutile » :

- *inefficace*, car elle n'avait pas réussi à résoudre les conflits du Vietnam et d'Afrique (Angola, etc.), bien qu'il s'agisse de pays du Tiers Monde ;

- *dépassée*, car les pays dits « non-alignés », tels Cuba, l'Égypte et les pays d'Amérique Latine avaient de plus en plus tendance à se rattacher directement ou indirectement à l'un ou l'autre bloc. Ainsi, la date de la future Conférence des pays non-alignés avait été retardée d'un an, car tous les pays d'Amérique Latine avaient déclaré que, si Cuba était invité, aucun d'entre eux ne viendrait (Tito avait naïvement lancé des invitations à tout le monde, y compris la Roumanie, ce qui avait provoqué la colère de l'U.R.S.S. !).

- *inutile*, car elle n'avait jamais réglé une seule crise dans le monde.¹³

Pourtant, ceci ne décourageait pas le Maréchal Tito, qui multipliait en 1966 les contacts avec l'Égypte (rencontre Tito-Nasser du 24 juin 1966 à Alexandrie), la Libye, le Yémen, le Koweït et l'Iran. L'étroitesse des liens militaires entre la Yougoslavie et l'Égypte peut être mesurée au fait qu'une délégation militaire yougoslave, dirigée par son chef d'état-major, accompagnait Tito et rencontrait son homologue égyptienne. En retour, une délégation militaire égyptienne, dirigée par Abdel Kader Hatem, vice-président du gouvernement de la République Arabe Unie, et le général Mohamed Fawzi, chef d'état-major, venait à Belgrade du 2 au 6 septembre 1966.¹⁴

Au Moyen-Orient, la politique pro-arabe de Tito se renforçait d'année en année. Durant la guerre dite « des Six Jours » en 1967, la Yougoslavie servit de véritable porte-avions à l'U.R.S.S., un pont aérien de 240

¹³ M.A.E., Série Europe 1966-1970, Sous-série Yougoslavie, carton 2707 « Politique extérieure : Conférence des non-alignés », réf. 37.23.1, note Amanrich n° 654/EU/ du 30 mai 1966.

¹⁴ M.A.E., d°, boîte 2714, note n° 1133/EU du 30 octobre 1966.

avions soviétiques approvisionnant l'Égypte avec escale pour le ravitaillement sur les aéroports de Sarajevo et Niš, tandis que trois sous-marins et un escorteur de la flotte soviétique trouvaient asile dans les ports yougoslaves de Herzeg-Novi au Monténégro et Split en Croatie.¹⁵

L'assistance de la Yougoslavie aux pays arabes « victimes de l'agression israélienne » se monta à 30.000 tonnes de maïs, 10.000 tonnes de sucre, et 500.000 paires de chaussures. Les exportations vers les pays arabes représentaient alors 5 % du total des exportations yougoslaves.

Après l'envoi du fidèle Koča Popović en Égypte, en août 1967, le maréchal Tito entreprenait une tournée d'une semaine dans les pays arabes, comportant des entretiens avec le colonel Nasser au Caire et des escales à Damas et à Bagdad, en vue de l'établissement d'un plan de paix au Moyen-Orient.

Le Pandit Nehru et le Président Soekarno étant disparus (l'un mort en 1964, et l'autre renversé par un coup d'état en 1965), et le colonel Nasser rencontrant de sérieuses difficultés internes, Tito se considérait désormais comme le leader mondial des pays non-alignés, ainsi que le notait Geoffrey de Courcel, ambassadeur de France en Grande-Bretagne. En janvier 1968, Tito se lançait dans un vaste périple afro-asiatique de trois semaines, englobant des pays aussi divers que l'Afghanistan du roi Mohamed Zaher Shah, le Pakistan du général Yahya Khan, le Cambodge neutre du Prince Norodom Sihanouk, l'Inde d'Indira Gandhi, l'Éthiopie de l'Empereur Haïlé Sélassié Ier, et enfin l'Égypte du colonel Nasser, qu'il rencontrait pour la dix-huitième fois.

Les espérances du chef de l'État yougoslave n'étaient pas déçues, puisque Pnom-Penh lui réservait un accueil triomphal, le plus grandiose, selon l'Ambassade de France à Belgrade, des 70 voyages à l'étranger qu'il avait effectués depuis 1944.¹⁶

En novembre 1969, Tito, alors âgé de 77 ans (mais qui devait vivre encore onze années), se rendait à nouveau en Algérie pour une semaine, sur sa route vers Khartoum et Bangui. Il y était très bien accueilli par les autorités officielles, mais ses rapports avec Houari Boumediène, selon l'Ambassade de France, étaient plus « distants » que ceux quasi-filiaux qu'il avait eus autrefois avec Ahmed Ben Bella.¹⁷

¹⁵ M.A.E., d°, boîte 2707, note n° 740-741 du 24 juin 1967.

¹⁶ M.A.E., d°, réf. 37.23.14, note n° 93/EU du 18 janvier 1968.

¹⁷ M.A.E., d°, réf. 37.23.1, note du 22 novembre 1969.

Le général de Gaulle refuse par principe de recevoir Tito

Ces positions farouchement anticolonialistes et ouvertement anti-français-es du chef de l'Etat yougoslave n'expliquent qu'en partie l'attitude plus que distante du général de Gaulle à son égard tout au long de sa présence à la tête de l'Etat français. Alors que le Président du Conseil Guy Mollet avait accueilli le maréchal Tito à Paris en 1956 (et que la France jetait les bases d'une coopération nucléaire avec la Yougoslavie), il est significatif de relever que le général de Gaulle n'accepta jamais durant ses onze années de pouvoir sous la V^{ème} République de recevoir le chef de l'Etat yougoslave, malgré les demandes réitérées et pressantes de celui-ci. La brouille entre la France et la Yougoslavie, déclenchée par l'affaire algérienne, était profonde.

Ce n'était pas l'unique raison, car, ainsi que nous l'a affirmé le Conseiller d'Etat Michel Massenet, chargé de transmettre le message au maréchal Tito, le général de Gaulle ne pouvait pas lui pardonner d'avoir refusé sa grâce à son homologue, le général Draža Mihailović condamné à mort en 1946.¹⁸

Cette interprétation nous a été personnellement confirmée par le propre fils du général de Gaulle, l'Amiral Philippe de Gaulle, qui précise à ce sujet :

Mes *Mémoires accessoires* (Plon) mentionnent le général Mihailovitch. Mon père le connaissait probablement de vue mais pas personnellement.¹⁹ En 1934 une rencontre n'aurait guère eu de sens que la courtoisie envers un officier allié.

Le général Mihailovitch, dernier commandant de l'armée Serbe, était l'autorité légale de la Résistance Yougoslave dont le noyau était toujours cette armée. La France Libre à Londres reconnaissait le Gouvernement Yougoslave en exil et réciproquement. Les Français Libres n'ont pu faire mieux que d'envoyer sur place à Mihailovitch un officier de liaison. D'abord soutenu par les Britanniques, il en fut ensuite abandonné après que ces derniers aient pourtant sauvé Tito de la capture par les Allemands et de l'effondrement.

¹⁸ Entretien du 30 janvier 2003 avec M. le Conseiller d'Etat Michel Massenet, ex-Directeur de la Population et des Migrations en 1959.

¹⁹ Le lieutenant-colonel Draža Mihailović, parlant couramment le français, fut envoyé en 1930 à Paris pour y suivre pendant six mois les cours de l'Ecole de Guerre, où le lieutenant-colonel Charles de Gaulle enseignait l'Histoire. Bien que l'on ignore quels furent leurs rapports personnels, il est certain qu'ils se connaissaient au moins de vue. A noter qu'ils avaient le même âge, à deux ans près (D. Mihailović est né en avril 1893). Cf. Jean-Christophe Buisson, *Héros trahi par les Alliés, le général Mihailović (1893-1946)* (Paris : Librairie Académique Perrin, 1999), 55-56 (ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques).

Le Général de Gaulle, malgré la représentation officielle de la Yougoslavie communiste à Paris, s'est toujours tenu à distance de Tito, d'abord à cause de la liquidation indigne de Mihailovich, mais ensuite en raison de la politique de Tito qui a toujours agi contre la France en aidant directement et constamment nos adversaires en Indochine, sur le canal de Suez, en Algérie et en Afrique d'une manière générale.²⁰

Il est significatif qu'à l'occasion de la célébration du 25^{ème} anniversaire de la mort du roi Alexandre, le 11 octobre 1959, le général de Gaulle tint à recevoir à l'Élysée le Régent Paul et la Reine Marie de Yougoslavie, veuve du roi Alexandre assassiné à Marseille en 1934, et mère du roi Pierre II, ce qui amena le Ministère des Affaires étrangères yougoslave à exprimer ses « regrets ».²¹

Le général de Gaulle montrait ainsi son attachement au régime légal en Yougoslavie, dont il avait rencontré les représentants à Londres pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale, et son opposition au régime communiste qui avait pris le pouvoir sans élections libres dans ce pays en 1945.

On pourrait ajouter à ces raisons objectives une opposition subjective entre les deux personnages, de formation et de parcours totalement différents : que pouvait-il y avoir de commun (à part l'âge) entre le militaire de carrière, Saint-Cyrien, catholique pratiquant, issu de la bourgeoisie provinciale, monarchiste, viscéralement anticommuniste, et l'ouvrier métallurgiste de naissance obscure, athée, ayant eu au moins trois épouses (une Russe, une Slovène et une Serbe), formé à Moscou à l'École des cadres du Parti de 1935 à 1936, puis agent secret sous d'innombrables pseudonymes,²² avant de prendre la tête du maquis communiste en septembre 1941 seulement, après l'attaque de l'U.R.S.S. par l'Allemagne en juin 1941 ? La comparaison

²⁰ Lettre de l'Amiral Philippe de Gaulle, sénateur de Paris, du 12 septembre 2000 à l'auteur, page 1.

²¹ C.A.R.A.N., Fonds 5 AG 1, Archives des services de la Présidence de la République en 1958-1969, note du 25 novembre 1959.

²² Sous les pseudonymes de « Walter » Tito aurait séjourné à Paris en 1936/1937, logeant à l'hôtel des Bernardins au Quartier Latin, et tenant une petite librairie « Horizons » rue de l'Echaudé, près de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, « couverture » qui lui permit d'envoyer 1.500 volontaires yougoslaves engagés dans les Brigades Internationales de la guerre d'Espagne. Cf. Thomas Schreiber, *La Yougoslavie de Tito* (Paris : Presses de la Cité, 1977), 19. Le pseudonyme « Tito » n'apparut qu'en 1941, et les services secrets occidentaux ignorèrent jusqu'en 1944 l'identité véritable de Josip Broz, né le 7 mai 1892 à Kumrovec, de père croate et de mère slovène. Dans la tradition communiste, on rappellera que « Staline » (Josip Vissarionovitch Djougatchvili) et « Trotski » (Lev Davidovitch Bronstein), « Zinoviev », « Kamenev », etc. sont des pseudonymes en russe.

de ces deux destins exceptionnels, révélés tous deux par la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, mériterait un ouvrage complet.

« *Le bout de ficelle, c'est Tito* »

On remarquera d'ailleurs que la critique de Tito par le général de Gaulle allait d'ailleurs beaucoup plus loin que l'aide apportée par le régime titiste au F.L.N. Dans un entretien avec son ministre de l'Information Alain Peyrefitte, c'est l'existence même de la Fédération yougoslave qu'il remettait en question :

Joxe dit que Tito est un héros national. Moi, je veux bien. Encore faudrait-il qu'il y ait une nation yougoslave. Il n'y en a pas. Il n'y a que des bouts de bois qui tiennent ensemble avec une ficelle. Le bout de ficelle, c'est Tito. Quand il ne sera plus là, les bouts de bois se disperseront.²³

Ce témoignage d'Alain Peyrefitte est confirmé dans un style quelque peu plus châtié par l'Amiral Philippe de Gaulle :

Le Général de Gaulle était pessimiste sur l'avenir d'une Yougoslavie qui en écrasait les peuples sous la dictature de Tito. Or ce régime devait disparaître avec ce dernier et avec la fin du monde communiste que mon père jugeait inévitable.²⁴

Réchauffement des relations franco-yougoslaves sous la présidence de Georges Pompidou (1969-1974)

Avec l'arrivée au pouvoir de Georges Pompidou, en 1969, les relations entre le chef de l'Etat français et le maréchal Tito s'améliorèrent légèrement, le contentieux algérien n'étant plus là pour séparer les deux présidents.

Toutefois, en janvier 1970, lors de l'affaire de « vedettes de Cherbourg » (commandées par Israël et disparues de manière suspecte de l'arsenal, en même temps que les officiers de marine israéliens en formation sur le site), la Yougoslavie fut très critique à l'égard du président Pompidou, suspecté d'avoir « couvert » cette disparition pour favoriser Israël, ce qui ne fit pas particulièrement plaisir à ce dernier, qui se voulait fidèle à la tradition gaulliste de strict équilibre entre les deux camps dans le conflit israélo-arabe (on se souvient de la polémique provoquée par la fameuse expression du général de Gaulle « Israël, peuple sûr de lui et dominateur »).

²³ A. Peyrefitte, *C'était de Gaulle* (Paris : Editions Fayard, 1997), tome II, 209.

²⁴ Lettre de l'Amiral Philippe de Gaulle du 12 septembre 2000 à l'auteur, p. 2.

Sans être aussi pessimiste que le général de Gaulle sur l'avenir de la Fédération yougoslave, le Premier Ministre du Président Pompidou, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, après un entretien avec le vice-président du gouvernement fédéral Alexandre Grlićkov en septembre 1969, se disait « *surpris par les différences régionales en Yougoslavie, qui rendent difficile, voire impossible, l'exercice du pouvoir politique* ». ²⁵

Le chef de l'Etat yougoslave eut enfin le plaisir d'être invité en France — la première fois depuis quatorze ans (Guy Mollet en 1956) — et rencontra brièvement le président Pompidou le 23 octobre 1970, au retour d'un voyage officiel en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas. Toutefois, le président français refusa de recevoir Tito au château de Rambouillet, comme celui-ci en avait émis le souhait (« pas question d'aller se promener à Rambouillet ! », écrit-il crûment en marge d'une note de Michel Jobert). Il argua habilement du fait qu'il ne s'agissait que d'une simple visite « de passage », et non d'une visite officielle. ²⁶

Les deux présidents se livrèrent à un vaste tour d'horizon mondial. Tito commença en déclarant qu'il « se réjouissait » de la sortie de la France des structures militaires de l'O.T.A.N., décidée par le général de Gaulle. L'entretien porta ensuite essentiellement sur le Moyen Orient, Tito faisant état de sa rencontre en 1967 avec Nahum Goldmann, président du Congrès Juif Mondial, après la guerre dite des « Six Jours », à propos du projet de création d'une entité palestinienne. Nous avons vu, en effet, que, du fait de ses relations très étroites avec les pays arabes, le maréchal Tito était fréquemment consulté par les différents partenaires dans le conflit du Moyen Orient. Il fit remarquer au président Pompidou qu'une chance unique de paix s'offrait à Israël, car, « dans dix ans, les Arabes seront 140 millions », observa-t-il.

Enfin, il reprocha aux Américains « réactionnaires par nature » selon lui, non seulement leur engagement au Vietnam (fin connaisseur de la guerre de guérilla, il prévoyait déjà qu'ils ne pourraient gagner ce conflit, compte tenu de l'appui de la Chine Populaire au Nord-Vietnam), mais aussi leur aide à son ancien concurrent, le général Draža Mihailović, durant le deuxième conflit mondial. ²⁷ Par contre, à son avis, les Britanniques avaient

²⁵ C.A.R.A.N., volume 5 AG 2/114, papiers des Conseillers diplomatiques, compte-rendu de l'entretien Chaban-Delmas-Grlićkov du 18 septembre 1969.

²⁶ C.A.R.A.N., volume 5 AG 2-1020, note de Georges Pompidou à Michel Jobert.

²⁷ L'on sait maintenant que, alors que la Grande-Bretagne avait décidé de cesser tout soutien au général Mihailović dès la fin 1943, et de retirer sa mission militaire auprès de son Etat-major, les Etats-Unis adoptèrent une politique plus équilibrée, maintenant leurs missions jusqu'en décembre 1944, avec les colonels Walter Mansfield, Albert Seitz, et Mc Dowell. Lors de l'écrasement de la résistance royaliste par les partisans titistes, en

fait le bon choix en l'aidant lui Tito (« les Américains jouent toujours la mauvaise carte ! », ironisa-t-il).²⁸

Tito fit part de son amertume devant la constatation qu'aucun chef d'Etat français n'ait trouvé le temps de se rendre en Yougoslavie depuis vingt-cinq ans (1945), et il invita formellement le président Pompidou à venir dans son pays en 1973. Mais la maladie fatale qui emporta ce dernier empêcha la réalisation de ce projet, au demeurant assez flou, si l'on en croit les conseillers du président français.

* * *

En conclusion, on peut dire que l'objectif grandiose de la politique extérieure du maréchal Tito avait bien été saisi par le théoricien du régime, le Slovène Edvard Kardelj, qui déclarait en 1974 : « *la Yougoslavie n'est plus une puissance balkanique, dépendant des grandes puissances économiques et politiques, sa politique de non-alignement la met en rapport avec le Tiers-Monde* ».

Il nous apparaît que cette constatation contient en elle-même sa propre condamnation : en faisant fi de la géopolitique, qui place la Yougoslavie au cœur des Balkans, magnifiquement desservie à la fois par la Mer Adriatique et la grande voie danubienne, le maréchal Tito a pris un grand risque, le rôle qu'il s'est lui-même attribué à la tête des pays non-alignés n'ayant pas rencontré le succès espéré, en raison du contexte international, dont il avait apparemment sous-estimé les contraintes. Certains économistes pensent même que les dépenses somptuaires occasionnées par cette politique mondiale disproportionnée par rapport aux ressources nationales (aide militaire gratuite à de nombreux pays dans le cadre de la lutte anticolonialiste, construction de chemins de fer en Afrique etc.) ont été une des causes de la

novembre 1944, le colonel de réserve Mc Dowell (professeur d'Histoire à l'Université, spécialiste des Balkans) offrit même au général Mihailović de rejoindre la côte italienne et de se réfugier aux Etats-Unis, où « un traitement digne de son rang lui serait réservé ». Le général refusa avec fierté, « ne voulant pas quitter le sol de sa patrie ». Toutefois, 7.000 de ses partisans auraient réussi à gagner l'Occident. On a pu constater, lors de son procès en 1946, que le général Mihailović jouissait d'une grande popularité aux Etats-Unis, où une pétition fut lancée demandant sa grâce. Cf. sur ce sujet complexe : A. Seitz (colonel) : Seitz to O.S.S. Headquarters, 25/10/1943, entry 144, box 97, file 1019, RG 226, National Archives Washington (NAW), et 05/05/1944, roll 132, microfilm 1642, RG 226, NAW ; V. Pavlović, *The presumed indifference : The O.S.S. in Yugoslavia 1943-1944* (Belgrade : Center for Serbian Studies, 1997), 32-52 ; et surtout le meilleur ouvrage en la matière : W. Roberts, *Tito, Mihailovic and the Allies 1941-1945* (Dunham, NJ : Rutgers University Press, 1973), 277-294.

²⁸ C.A.R.A.N., volume 5 AG 2/114, d°, compte-rendu de l'entretien Tito-Pompidou du 23 octobre 1970.

crise financière qui a mené à l'éclatement du pays dix ans seulement après la disparition du dictateur.

Sur le plan particulier des relations franco-yougoslaves, on peut regretter que les excellentes relations amicales entre la France et la Serbie durant la Première Guerre mondiale, puis avec la 1^{ère} Yougoslavie royale entre les deux guerres (au sein de la « *Petite Entente* » notamment), n'aient pas été maintenues durant le long règne (35 ans) quasi-absolu du maréchal Tito, au profit d'alliances hasardeuses et changeantes avec des pays divers répartis sur trois continents.

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Pour une grande histoire des Balkans

Il s'agit d'un programme de recherche collective sur les Balkans qui est en voie d'achèvement. Le titre complet est : « Pour une grande histoire des Balkans des origines aux guerres balkaniques. Unité culturelle et particularismes, identités culturelles et dialogues inter-culturels », tome I, Paris 2004, in-8°, 246 pages, avec 6 cartes ; tome II (à paraître) ; tome III, Paris 2009, in-8°, 396 pages.

L'Association International d'Etudes du Sud-Est européen, sur la proposition du Comité National Français, que je présidais, adressée au Bureau International, lors de son VII^e congrès tenu à Thessalonique au mois de septembre 1994, a décidé d'entreprendre cette démarche. L'année suivante, le Comité National Français, à l'occasion d'un colloque organisé à Bucarest, a proposé pour l'œuvre un plan, qui a été adopté en même temps que la composition d'un Comité International de Rédaction et de Coordination (professeurs André Guillou, responsable du programme, Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou, France, Virgil Candea, Roumanie, Melek Delilbaşı, Turquie, Shaban Demiraj, Albanie, Milutin Garašanin, Serbie, Yannis Karayanopoulos, Grèce, Vasilka Tapkova Zaimova, Bulgarie, Razvan Théodorescu, Secrétaire Général de l'A.I.E.S.E.E., Nicolai Todorov, Président d'Honneur de l'A.I.E.S.E.E.), qui s'est réuni à plusieurs reprises.

Grâce à l'intervention des comités nationaux, ce qui avait pu sembler une belle utopie de convivialité scientifique, pour une région victime encore de nombreuses dissensions, est devenu réalité : près de deux cents contributions arrivèrent à Paris ; elles étaient diverses et inégales, comme on pourrait s'y attendre, toutes constituaient un état des questions traitées et non des recherches neuves, selon le programme initial fixé ; il fallait donc les résumer, les développer, parfois les traduire, les compléter, les insérer dans un ensemble aussi homogène que possible. Il est évident que cet essai d'unification de textes divers et nombreux n'était pas un travail aisé et les résultats ne sont pas tout à fait satisfaisants : beaucoup de lacunes subsistent et les différents thèmes sont traités de manière inégale. Toujours est-il que l'ensemble constitue, à mon avis, une étape intéressante, utile, dont on pourra se servir pour rédiger une « grande histoire des Balkans », dans un esprit scientifique strict à vocation unificatrice, une œuvre qu'appelle aussi bien l'importance de la région étudiée que la conjoncture de ce début du XXI^e siècle.

Parcourons les deux parties publiées de l'entreprise commune.

I

Espaces – Peuples – Langues

La fragmentation orographique de la Péninsule balkanique est à l'origine d'un certain nombre de modifications locales des conditions climatiques. Dans certains cas, les montagnes sont en mesure de faciliter ou d'entraver la progression des masses d'air continental ou méditerranéen. Toutefois, dans son ensemble, la péninsule présente des éléments qui permettent de l'envisager comme un tout géographique indivisible. Malgré le fait que la Péninsule balkanique n'a pas d'échine orographique centrale comme les Apennins, une analogie insolite avec ces derniers avait longtemps laissé croire qu'il en était ainsi. Cette fausse image s'est maintenue depuis l'Antiquité, à travers le Moyen-Âge jusqu'au milieu du XX^e siècle. D'après cette conception, « la chaîne orographique » aurait pris naissance aux abords de la mer Noire, au cap Éminé et se serait terminée sur le littoral adriatique, engendrant tout un essaim de montagnes. Généralement, cette « chaîne » était connue sous le nom d'Hémus (ou encore « Chaîne du monde » ou « Balkan ») attribué à sa parti orientale. Partant de l'idée que cette chaîne montagneuse traversait toute la péninsule et qu'elle constituait par conséquent l'élément le plus représentatif de son relief, en 1808 le géographe allemand A. Zeune proposa l'appellation « balkanique » conservée du reste jusqu'à nos jours.

La néolithisation est sans aucun doute l'une des étapes les plus importantes de l'évolution de l'humanité. C'est la période où à l'économie primitive des anciennes populations paléolithiques et mésolithiques se substitue l'économie productrice des premiers agriculteurs avec les débuts de l'élevage. Ceci eut pour l'effet toute une série d'innovations dans l'organisation des sociétés et de la vie de l'homme : le développement de la société tribale basée sur le rassemblement de groupes plus petits rattachés avant tout par des liens de parenté sanguine, l'existence presque généralisée de l'habitat sédentaire, dans la technologie de l'outillages l'apparition de la technique de la pierre polie, permettant la production d'instruments de travail plus aptes aux activités de l'homme, enfin l'introduction de produits nouveaux comme la céramique plus propre à la conservation et à la préparation de la nourriture. Dans la vie spirituelle se développe à cette époque le culte de la fertilité et de la reproduction matérialisée par la forme féminine accompagnée de son parèdre masculin, qui, au cours du néolithique, donnera naissance au culte de la grande déesse-mère.

Dans la développement de l'Âge du Bronze en Europe du Sud-est plusieurs ensembles régionaux peuvent être distingués : l'un est incontestablement celui de la zone danubienne serbe, où des éléments des cultures annoniennes (centre européennes) et carpatiques étaient présents pendant longtemps ainsi que, au cours de certaines périodes, ceux des cultures bal-

kaniques et même méridionales égéennes. La seconde aire est celle des régions montagneuses centrales des Balkans, où des groupes humains plus ou moins étendus évoluaient, soit lors de campagnes militaires ou, plus souvent, lors de mouvement de transhumance. Le mélange de styles différents dans la culture matérielle et spirituelle est la conséquence logique des conditions géographiques caractéristiques de la région. La partie orientale de la Péninsule balkanique, celle de la Bulgarie actuelle du bas Danube et le territoire que les archéologues appellent Thrace méridionale (Bulgarie du Sud-est, zone égéenne de la Grèce et partie européenne de la Turquie), conduisent à des conclusions similaires. Enfin il y a la zone de transition, correspondant à la Macédoine actuelle, qui reliait les cultures balkaniques aux cultures développées de la Grèce égéenne.

Les maîtres de la Grèce mycénienne étaient grecs ; il n'y a pas eu rupture au début de l'époque mycénienne et pour trouver des indices d'immigration en Grèce, il faut remonter au début de l'Helladique Moyen et à la fin de l'Helladique Ancien. La plupart de ces indices sont des faits archéologiques importés en Grèce par des groupes participant à la culture des kourganes et l'on peut identifier les Proto-Grecs avec les porteurs de la culture des kourganes.

L'espace thrace antique, peuplé entre autres par les Pélasges, les Triballes et les Mysiens, couvrait une vaste région qui s'étendait du littoral de la mer Égée, de l'Hellespont et du Bosphore jusqu'à l'Istros et des côtes du Pont-Euxin à la Macédoine voisine. La frontière occidentale, -qui varie suivant les époques-, est délimitée par le pays des Illyriens et les fleuves Pinios, Axios, Strymon et Nestos. Situation géographique donc éminemment privilégiée, puisqu'elle domine les routes reliant l'Europe à l'Asie et la mer Égée au Pont-Euxin et contrôle la circulation des hommes, des biens, des idées et des civilisations qui en découlent ; de ce fait aussi cible préférée de tous les envahisseurs ou des peuples migrants.

Parmi les autres populations paléobalkaniques on retiendra les Brygues, les Péoniens et les Illyriens.

Sur le sol balkanique, les Brygues n'étaient pas seulement un petit groupe ethnique vivant dans des enclaves éloignées des événements historiques du début de la période antique mais une communauté ethnique dont il est fait mention déjà au temps de la guerre de Troie. D'après les sources, ils peuplaient un espace géographique qui comprenait le Pangée à l'est du Vardar, la région d'Ochride et la Pélagonie jusqu'au centre et au sud-est de l'Albanie et au sud de l'Épire. D'après Hérodote et Strabon, ils étaient aussi installés plus au Nord. Le roi Midas et les jardins de Midas sous le mont Vermion ainsi que les jardins de roses au pied du mont Pangée ne font que compléter l'image de l'emplacement géographique des Brygues. Les sources

de la période hellénistique et romaine donnent des éléments sur l'étendue de l'espace byzgue en Italie et en Sicile.

Les Péoniens étaient un groupe ethnique important de la partie méridionale du centre des Balkans. C'était une organisation tribale occupant une grande partie de l'espace de la Macédoine et des régions des États voisins, la Bulgarie et la Grèce actuelles. L'Iliade mentionne les Péoniens en tant qu'alliés des Troyens et les place sur l'Axios (le Vardar) ainsi que dans les fertiles contrées montagneuses d'où viennent les armées d'Astéropé. On lie ce dernier à Pélagon, c'est-à-dire à la Pélagonie. On suppose par conséquent que la Péonie s'étendait plus au Nord, le long du cours inférieur du Vardar.

Les sources écrites nous apprennent que pendant l'Antiquité la partie occidentale des Balkans était peuplée par les Illyriens, l'un des peuples les plus importants de la péninsule. Ils sont un peuple autochtone qui prit naissance et évolua au cours d'un processus historico-culturel long et ininterrompu recouvrant l'Âge du Bronze et l'Âge du Fer.

Sous la pression de Rome, l'équilibre politique de l'Orient hellénique allait s'effritant. Pour abattre les Rhodiens, le Sénat décida de créer un port franc à Délos, ce qui ruina leur commerce et développa considérablement l'activité des négociants italiens, qui se mirent des lors à drainer vers Rome les richesses de l'Orient. Vers le milieu du II^e siècle, la puissance romaine s'était installée sur tout le pourtour de la Méditerranée. Carthage, ruinée par les exigences romaines, fut assiégée et prise par Scipion Émilien, le second Africain, vers le temps où Corinthe était aussi prise et saccagée. En Espagne, où la résistance des populations indigènes se poursuivit longtemps, la pacification fut menée sans relâche. En Asie, le dernier roi de Pergame, Attale III, légua son royaume aux Romains, qui accepta l'héritage et constituèrent ainsi le premier noyau de la province d'Asie. Mais cette œuvre immense eut sur la politique intérieure de très graves conséquences qui, finalement, devaient amener la fin de la République et du régime oligarchique.

La désertification des zones rurales, la destruction de grands centres urbains et de places fortes, la décroissance progressive de la population locale, la colonisation de nombreuses régions de l'Illyrie et de la Thrace par des tribus ou des hordes barbares, la crise économique et la mutation progressive de la composition ethnique de la population sont les facteurs fondamentaux qui conduiront à l'affaiblissement du *limes*, frontière nord de l'Empire, et feront perdre à l'Empire byzantin le contrôle de la région. C'est l'époque des invasions, celles des Goths, des Huns, des Ostrogoths, des Avars et des Slaves (IV^e-VI^e siècles) ; l'installation de ces derniers dans la Péninsule balkanique constitue le début d'une nouvelle période historique pour les provinces byzantines du Nord : la situation socio-économique et démographique des provinces septentrionales de la Thrace, à la fin du VI^e siècle et au début du VII^e siècle, a présenté toutes les conditions d'une colo-

nisation de la région, colonisation légale ou illégale ; d'autre part, le désordre que la situation du Danube a créé dans la plus haute sphère du pouvoir politique de l'Empire byzantin donna l'opportunité aux Slaves, –qui, à partir de la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle, avaient manifesté des intentions de colonisation dans les Balkans–, de réaliser leurs plans.

La conduite de ceux qui dirigeaient leurs mouvements de migration vers les Balkans est dictée entre autres par l'attrait que présentent certaines régions fertiles où se relayaient diverses communautés à traditions agricoles, comme les Goths, les Slaves, etc. C'est ainsi que les formes de l'exploitation des grands domaines à l'époque du colonat sont remplacées en partie par les villages des paysans libres. Apparaîtront ensuite les nouveaux domaines de l'aristocratie provinciale qui, à Byzance, comme dans tous les pays balkaniques, représenteront cet aspect « classique » du paysage balkanique. D'autre part, les déplacements humains des steppes asiatiques vers l'Eurasie, et de là vers le bas et le moyen Danube, sont ordinairement le résultat d'une dégradation de l'environnement dans les habitats primitifs. Ils entraînaient à leur tour des chocs militaires. Il suffit d'évoquer la légende du siège par les Slaves de la ville de Thessalonique ou de celle de Patras pour mesurer l'émotion de leurs habitants et leur reconnaissance à saint Démétrius et à saint André, patrons de ces villes, pour les avoir épargnés de l'asservissement. Cependant, il ne faut pas sous-estimer l'importance de l'installation graduelle, d'une certaine manière pacifique, des migrants dans des territoires restés déserts, et l'intérêt économique que leur mise en valeur représentait aussi bien pour les populations du régions d'accueil que pour les autorités ; c'est cet aspect qui a permis une certaine assimilation des Slaves dans des ensembles hétérogènes et qui est à l'origine de l'interpénétration culturelle, notamment au niveau de la civilisation matérielle (la communauté villageoise, les problèmes du travail agricole etc.).

La défaite des Byzantins à Manzikert (Malazgirt) permit l'installation massive des tribus turkomanes en Anatolie, suivie par l'unification progressive des territoires de la région sous gouvernement turc. L'État ottoman centralisé fonda sa puissance sur la personne de son souverain. Le principe que le pouvoir émane de cette domination personnifiée fonctionna comme facteur déterminant pour le développement de l'État ottoman et son expansion rapide en Anatolie et en Europe du Sud-Est. Après avoir soumis les tribus turkomanes de l'Asie Mineure, les Ottomans arrivèrent sur les rives du Bosphore et de là ils marchèrent vers les Balkans sans subir beaucoup de pertes sur le champ de bataille. Afin de consolider leur pouvoir, ils poursuivirent, jusqu'au milieu du XV^e siècle, une politique de transfert des populations des provinces anatoliennes en Roumélie. En même temps ils favorisèrent la conversion à l'islam des populations locales pour garantir l'homogénéité démographique de l'État. Les premiers grands sultans,

et surtout Osman, Orhan et Murad, jouèrent un rôle primordial pour le développement politique et la consolidation de l'État ottoman. L'Empire qu'ils construisirent constitua une entité nouvelle dépourvue de passé dans la région. Et l'on peut traduire l'effort de la puissance ottomane de soumettre progressivement les populations turkomanes et turques comme un effort de la noblesse ottomane de s'appuyer sur l'héritage de l'ancien État seldjoukide et les structures politiques et sociales formées dans la région pendant la période des émirats.

En esquisant une image de ce qu'on peut appeler la diaspora des populations balkaniques à l'intérieure de l'espace du Sud-Est européenne, nous rencontrons les Grecs très au nord de leur pays (en Épire du Nord, en Serbie méridionale, en Bulgarie méridionale), en très grand nombre dans les Principautés danubiennes et, en général, dans les centres urbains, les régions côtières et à divers nœuds de communication importants. Il est bien connu que les Grecs constituaient, notamment à partir du XVII^e siècle, une sorte de « bourgeoisie interbalkanique », qui a joué un rôle déterminant dans le développement économique et culturel des autres peuples du Sud-Est européen.

À partir du XVII^e siècle également, ou constante un mouvement de Slaves, et surtout de Bulgares, vers le Sud, en particulier en Macédoine et en Thrace, où les conditions de vie et de travail étaient très favorables : ils travaillaient comme saisonniers agriculteurs ou artisans, et finissaient par se fixer. D'autre part, de nombreux Bulgares, surtout des marchands, avaient choisi comme lieu de séjour les Principautés danubiennes, où, pendant la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle, le mouvement pour la libération de la Bulgarie avait trouvé son centre d'action. Enfin, une colonie bulgare est aussi présente, vers le milieu du XIX^e siècle, en Serbie libérée.

En ce qui concerne les Serbes, leur migration se dirigeait vers le Nord et les côtes dalmates, ainsi que vers la partie des Balkans occupée par les Autrichiens. De nombreux Serbes s'étaient installés, vers la fin du XVII^e siècle, en Croatie pour éviter les représailles des autorités ottomanes, après leur soulèvement malheureux (1689–1690), fomenté par les Autrichiens pendant la guerre austro-ottomane.

Les Albanais se rencontrent dans l'espace grec, dès le XIV^e siècle, au Kosovo et en Serbie méridionale, notamment après l'expulsion, à la fin du XVII^e siècle, de populations serbes, enfin, sur les côtes dalmates.

Les Valaques sont nombreux dans les régions grecques, mais également en Albanie et en Serbie méridionale.

Les Roumains sont très nombreux en Hongrie. Enfin, il faut signaler que les Turcs et les musulmans d'Asie ont été transférés de façon systématique, notamment les grands propriétaires fonciers, ainsi que des agriculteurs et des pasteurs d'Anatolie dans les Balkans, dans la région fertile, en

Thrace et en Macédoine, en Bulgarie du Sud, en Serbie du Sud, en Bosnie et en Albanie. Il n'y a pas eu d'installation d'Ottomans dans les Principautés danubiennes et cela en vertu des accords spéciaux de 1513.

Au chapitre des langues on observera d'abord le fait que la langue grecque n'a été presque jamais homogène : divisée dès première apparition en dialectes, elle a dû affronter dès le III^e siècle avant J.-C. un phénomène important, celui de la diglossie, à savoir l'existence de deux tendances fortes au sein de la société grecque, une suivant le chemin de la langue orale et une deuxième insistant sur une expression plutôt érudite de la langue. Il y a eu des périodes où la rivalité entre ces deux tendances a bloqué l'évolution naturelle de la langue grecque, mais à notre époque, en examinant les événements à distance, on peut constater que cette rivalité a aussi contribué au maintien d'une grande richesse de vocabulaire et d'expression, ainsi qu'à une flexibilité de la langue grecque moderne, qui peut incorporer aisément tant des éléments populaires que des éléments plus savants.

Les traits principaux de l'évolution de la langue albanaise constituent un témoignage de présence ininterrompue des ancêtres des Albanais dans leur habitat actuel, ou moins dès l'Antiquité. Il s'agit de la division de la langue albanaise en deux dialectes principaux, le guègue au nord et le tosqe au sud du fleuve Skumbin (ancien Genusus). Les phénomènes principaux (surtout de caractère phonétique), qui caractérisent ces deux dialectes remontent à la période post-latine et pré-slave de l'albanais.

La position de l'île de Chypre, carrefour des civilisations de la mer Égée et du Proche-Orient, explique, entre autres, les multiples apports des cultures environnantes ou devenues telles, qui, dans certains cas, ont greffé sur la culture locale des éléments dont la synthèse fut toujours difficile, mais, à long terme, originale. Ainsi, au tournant du XIX^e siècle, Chypre, alors sous régime colonial britannique, recense une majorité chypriote grecque réclamant le grec comme langue maternelle, une minorité chypriote turque réclamant pour la plupart le turc comme langue maternelle, et de petites communautés reconnues comme confessionnelles : pour l'essentiel des Arméniens, des Maronites et des Juifs. Dans ce clivage la question de la langue joue un rôle important dans le débat sur l'avenir politique de l'île, en devenant, de concert avec la religion, la caractéristique essentielle des deux principales composantes. Si, après la période médiévale et avant le XIX^e siècle, la question de la langue à Chypre était subordonnée à la question de la religion ou, dans une certaine mesure, et selon les époques, à l'appartenance ethnique ou à l'insularité, au XX^e siècle, dans le cadre des nationalismes européens, elle devient la composante essentielle de l'ethnicité.

II

Vie et civilisation

a) La vie juridique

Depuis que les hommes vivent en communauté, un des problèmes majeurs à résoudre est la façon dont ils doivent vivre en commun, c'est-à-dire de définir les règles gouvernant les relations entre le pouvoir et les individus, ainsi que celles entre les individus. La divergence des systèmes juridiques dans les Balkans est due principalement à l'intégration dans ces systèmes de base des différents usages et coutumes des ethnies venues s'établir à différentes époques et constituant la population de la péninsule. Antiquité hellénique, époque romaine, époque byzantine, époque ottomane, États nationaux des XIX^e et XX^e siècles ; « les lois d'une nation composent la partie la plus instructive de son histoire », a écrit E. Gibbon ; ainsi, depuis l'établissement des États Nations dans les Balkans, le droit a tendance à s'aligner petit à petit sur le droit de l'Europe Occidentale et Centrale, en quittant définitivement les divers droits coutumiers qui régissaient jusqu'à cette époque la région. Une nouvelle légalité, un nouveau jus commun, s'impose au fur et à mesure des transformations politiques effectuées pendant le XIX^e et le XX^e siècle dans la région, fondée sur les codifications européennes du XIX^e siècle. En Albanie, les communautés rurales libres, surtout celles des régions montagneuses, entretenirent au cours des siècles un droit coutumier qui variait selon les régions et qui perdura localement au moins jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle.

b) La vie religieuse

Les conflits avec les doctrines et les mouvements hétérodoxes ébranlaient les Églises locales balkaniques et secouaient les structures des États. Il y eut donc des tentatives pour trouver des correctifs : les différences de pensée devaient être réduites à un dénominateur commun. Les réactions aux mouvements de fermentation nourrirent des passions politiques et ethniques et des séparatismes dans les Balkans. D'autre part, tenter d'assimiler unité nationale et unité de la culture représentait une orientation dangereuse. Là où on renonçait au conflit entre l'impérialisme byzantin et les aspirations nationales disparaissait le caractère cosmopolite de l'expérience, propre aux pays des Balkans byzantins pendant l'époque la plus longue de leur histoire médiévale. Dans l'histoire de l'Église Orthodoxe, l'époque de la domination ottomane est marquée par une aggravation extrême du nationalisme religieux. Contrairement à l'époque précédente, qui avait été vécue par l'Orthodoxie comme celle d'une Vérité universelle, qui veut assimiler toutes

les nations sans aliéner leur identité ethnique, l'époque turque, quant à elle, est vécue comme celle de la foi grecque opposée à la foi latine. L'hellénisme chrétien des Saints Pères s'est transfiguré en une source de la tradition nationale, notamment en nationalisme grec. La renaissance de l'hellénisme avait été remarquablement marquée par les sentiments nationalistes. L'attitude violente envers les Slaves, caractéristique de l'hellénisation, et l'attitude méprisante envers l'individualité et la langue, ont préparé la désintégration du monde orthodoxe des Balkans.

Les Ottomans amenèrent dans les Balkans non seulement un nouveau système administratif, mais aussi des relations et des institutions nouvelles, une confession, une langue et une culture nouvelle. Le triomphe militaire ottoman rehaussa le prestige de l'Islam en tant que religion et culture dominantes. En même temps, l'occupation ottomane et les nouvelles institutions politiques et fiscales donnèrent un coup mortel à l'infrastructure de la culture balkanique. La destruction des dynasties et des aristocraties balkaniques s'accompagna de l'isolement de la couche sociale active et créative dans le domaine de la culture. Au début du XVI^e siècle, la culture du passé fut réduite à une culture exclusivement populaire. Les peuples balkaniques étaient confrontés à un peuple asiatique musulman dont les institutions sociales et les coutumes n'avaient rien de commun avec la culture et la religion chrétiennes. Peu à peu prenaient forme les institutions culturelles religieuses d'une société nouvelle qui allait naître : la société musulmane. Parmi les principales institutions culturelles islamiques on retiendra les mosquées, les *tekkes* des derviches, les *turbehs* (*türbe*), les *medrese* et les librairies. Jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, dans l'historiographie balkaniques dominait l'opinion que la propagation de l'Islam dans les Balkans était un phénomène de violence, mais dans la majorité des pays balkanique a commencée déjà à dominer l'opinion scientifique que la conversion massive à l'Islam n'a pas été obtenue sous la contrainte, n'a été résultat d'une politique étatique, mais la conséquence d'un système politique et social, qui a indirectement obligé les chrétiens à se convertir à l'Islam pour pouvoir se libérer de taxes d'une part, et, d'autre part, mettre fin à la discrimination social. La conversion massive à l'Islam, là où elle se produisit, ne fut pas un accident imprévu ; ce fut le reflet de la mentalité et du milieu historique dans lequel les convertis ont vécu pendant des siècles. L'Islam fut largement adopté dans les régions où manquaient une identité et une homogénéité religieuses nettes. Sur les territoires où prédominait un espace de civilisation religieuse homogène, l'Islam domina mais se propagea à un niveau modeste. Le cas de Chypre est éloquent. En examinant les lieux de culte islamique sur l'île on est impressionné par l'étendue des interventions sur les monuments qui existaient avant l'occupation par les Turcs ottomans. Les occupants ayant besoin de lieux de culte transformèrent des églises en mosquées, ce qui était plus facile que de

construire de nouveaux lieux de prière. De ce fait non seulement la valeur de ces monuments n'en est pas affectée, mais au contraire, l'art architectural évolua par les interventions sur l'édifice original. C'est ce qui constitue, entre autres, l'intérêt historique et culturel de l'île.

c) La vie artistique

Qui se pencherait sur les premiers États de l'Europe orientale serait amené à constater que partout dans cette zone du continent, -à une seule exception, celle de l'espace roumain-, les formations politiques nouvelles instaurent leur autorité en l'accompagnant de l'édification de monuments religieux. En effet, qu'elles aient été contemporaines et pour une bonne part liées au processus d'évangélisation de certains tribus touraniennes ou slaves encore en migration ou déjà sédentaires (la Bulgarie, la Hongrie, la Russie), et qu'elles aient pris naissance dans les limites d'un rapport strict avec la constitution d'une Église autonome dans une société chrétienne depuis longtemps déjà (la Serbie), ces formations politiques se sont manifestées par des monuments appelés à illustrer fidèlement l'idéologie du moment et à symboliser le pouvoir d'une monarchie récemment fondée et tout dernièrement entrée en possession de titres et de couronnes obtenus de par la bonne grâce de Constantinople ou de Rome. Pour ces raisons, les édifices ne pouvaient qu'être érigés au cœur même du nouvel État, être superbement décorés et témoigner des techniques de construction déjà courantes dans l'Europe occidentale du Haut Moyen Âge : mosaïques, marbre, métaux précieux. Ils devaient être « beaux », de cette « beauté » définie par le patriarche byzantin Photius dans la lettre adressée au prince bulgare récemment converti, Boris-Michel, comme unité et perfection des formes qui sont les caractères de la foi chrétienne. De plus, ces monuments devaient devenir des prototypes pour l'art contemporain, mais aussi pour l'idéologie de l'immédiate postérité. C'est ainsi que les chroniques de l'époque les décrivent, parfois avec un grand luxe de détails, glorifiant les souverains fondateurs et évangélisateurs du pays, donateurs d'édifices culturels et solides protecteurs d'une Église elle-même nouvellement créée.

Certaines ressemblances mais des différences aussi, encore plus nombreuses, sont manifestes dans les conceptions générales, ainsi que dans les modes d'exécution de certains éléments architecturaux des mausolées des souverains balkaniques. On doit considérer comme un trait commun à toute la coutume selon laquelle chaque souverain se faisait bâtir son propre mausolée. Ce phénomène fait partie de l'évolution générale de la pratique funéraire caractéristique de l'Église d'Orient du Bas Moyen Âge : l'idée d'un mausolée impérial commun avait été abandonnée à Byzance au cours du XI^e siècle. Les différents modes de mise en œuvre des projets architectur-

aux dans les églises funéraires des dynasties balkaniques, ainsi que les caractéristiques de celles-ci du point de vue de la conception et du style doivent être considérés sous l'aspect de leur appartenance à la tradition orientale ou à celle de l'Occident.

L'épanouissement d'Ochrida comme centre ecclésiastique et administratif fut le résultat d'événements historiques de la fin du IX^e jusqu'au XI^e siècle, qui allaient marquer les relations slavo-byzantines au Moyen Âge. Après le bannissement des disciples de Cyrille et Méthode les acquits de leur mission furent surtout préservés dans les foyers culturels de Kutmicevica, région entre Ochrida, Prespa, Devol et Glavenica, et cette préservation eut des conséquences profondes pour l'évolution de lettres slaves et pour la propagation du christianisme dans le monde slave. Au fur et à mesure de la pénétration graduelle du christianisme et grâce à la proximité de Thessalonique et plus tard du Mont-Athos, où les rapports spirituels byzantino-slaves étaient permanents, la Macédoine joua un rôle exceptionnellement important entre le monde ancien et la population byzantino-slave. Les particularités de la peinture dans le centre archiépiscopal d'Ochrida font partie des larges courants culturels et picturaux des peuples qui avaient accepté les caractéristiques stylistiques et thématiques de l'art chrétien médiéval.

Les représentations des saints serbes et balkaniques dans l'art des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles peuvent être mieux expliquées si l'on se penche sur l'activité des copistes de manuscrits et des écrivains de l'époque. Cette activité montre que l'Église serbe avait adopté et entretenu non seulement le culte des saints serbes, mais aussi ceux des saints qui étaient vénérés en Bulgarie et dans l'archevêché d'Ochrida. Sur le vaste territoire qui se trouvait sous la juridiction de l'Église serbe, on recopiait les Vies et les offices de ces saints et ils étaient commémorés dans maints livres liturgiques. L'Église serbe cherchait, en ayant recours à divers moyens, à renouer des liens avec le passé, ainsi qu'à englober et à consolider le culte des saints locaux dans tout son territoire. On soulignait délibérément ce qui reliait ceux-ci à la société du XVI^e siècle, ce qui les rapprochait et ce qui convenait à l'esprit serbe et slave du Patriarcat : c'est ainsi que saint Cyrille était exalté comme « éducateur des Slaves » et « premier enseignant de langue slave », d'après la Vie de saint Jean de Rila les Serbes et les Bulgares sont « parents », « peuples de la même origine », alors que le Prochor de Pcinja, Joachim d'Osogovo, Hilaire de Meglen et Gabriel de Lesnovo sont « les quatre étoiles dont l'éclat rayonne ces derniers temps ». On cherchait donc à montrer que l'Église serbe, tant par la parole que par l'image, était non seulement une gardienne légitime de la tradition, mais aussi une communauté réunissant tous les Chrétiens balkaniques.

La grande époque de l'architecture serbe est née soudain dans l'État qui a réuni les pays du centre et de l'Ouest devenant le partenaire véritable

des États voisins. Cet État était la Serbie de Stefan Némanja. Quelques uns des édifices conservés, dus à Némanja, figurent parmi les grands œuvres de leur époque. Ils attestent que le souverain et son entourage engagent moyens et efforts considérables afin d'introduire le pays, dans le domaine spirituel également, parmi les milieux importants et dûment respectés. En même temps ces œuvres de bâtisseurs et œuvres d'art, en tant qu'ensembles, confirment incontestablement la culture certaine du milieu qui les a commandées. Cette culture est le fruit des soins accordés à une longue tradition artistique, qui ne nous est parvenue qu'en fragments.

Il serait intéressant de considérer, lorsqu'on a la même source d'influences et même lorsqu'on utilisait les mêmes maîtres artisans pour la construction des édifices d'habitation et du culte de la population musulmane et chrétienne de l'Empire, l'assimilation de la spécificité dans l'interprétation des modèles occidentaux. L'utilisation du détail, transporté automatiquement ou exécuté comme une partie inséparable d'un tout, créait aussi cet effet différent de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur.

d) La vie littéraire

Le centre littéraire d'Ochrida se caractérise par son histoire longue et ininterrompue de la période la plus ancienne jusqu'à nos jours. Ses caractéristiques essentielles sont son attachement à l'écriture glagolitique et la continuation de l'œuvre de Cyrille et Méthode, qui définissent la physiologie du centre durant la période de ses débuts. Longtemps, le centre veilla sur les particularités et les archaïsmes linguistiques des premiers textes de Moravie. Ce sont, en fait, des caractéristiques aussi du parler slave macédonien de la région de Thessalonique, qui fut à la base de la première langue slave liturgique et littéraire, et constitue en même temps une variante linguistique macédonienne. Sur le territoire relativement petit de la Macédoine médiévale, du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle, on compte une quarantaine de centres littéraires et de copies plus ou moins grands, qui se caractérisent par quelques particularités orthographiques et linguistiques, tout en gardant les traits du centre littéraire d'Ochrida. On y rencontre des éléments de la réforme orthographique d'Euthyme, le patriarche de Tirnovo, ainsi que de la rédaction serbe qui, du XIV^e siècle au XVIII^e siècle, exerça une influence importante sur l'écriture slave en Macédoine, en particulier dans les centres littéraires et de copistes de Kumanovo et Kratovo, au nord de la Macédoine. Cependant, et malgré toutes les interférences, la variante linguistique macédonienne s'est formée en un idiome dont on peut suivre le développement à travers une longue période.

À la quête d'une identité culturelle nouvelle autant que fascinée, à partir d'un certain moment, par le visage attrayant de l'étranger, avide de

saisir, de se confronter, sous certaines conditions, avec la diversité de *l'autre*, voilà deux notions étroitement entrelacées qui marquent la physionomie intellectuelle du Sud-Est de l'Europe au cours du XVIII^e et de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle. Dans cette aire géographique, nettement imprégnée, et de bonne heure, par quelques-unes des idées maîtresses des Lumières, ainsi que par l'écho du « cosmopolitisme littéraire » du XVIII^e siècle européen, se développèrent des initiatives remarquables pour s'aligner sur les « progrès » de la civilisation occidentale. Certes, c'était surtout au moyen de la langue grecque, qui assumait en grande partie le rôle d'*intermédiaire*, que la civilisation sud-est européenne a assimilé les nouveaux schémas de vie et de pensée.

À partir du XV^e siècle deux thèmes principaux de l'histoire balkanique apparaissent dans les littératures occidentales : le thème byzantin et le thème ottoman. Leur propagation, déterminée par les grands changements politiques et idéologiques en Europe occidentale et orientale, fait partie du développement général des études byzantines et des études orientales.

Dans l'aire grecque, qui du XV^e au XIX^e siècle connut diverses occupations étrangères (vénitienne, ottomane, anglaise, française), le terme d'académie a désigné deux genres différents d'institutions : d'une part nous avons des sociétés savantes composées de gens de lettres, qui se proposent de faire progresser les arts et les sciences, de l'autre des établissements d'instruction supérieure à caractère public, reconnus officiellement par les autorités locales. Formées pour moderniser la culture de l'hellénisme, les académies ont joué un rôle stimulateur dans l'histoire de la vie culturelle hellénique après la prise de Constantinople par les Ottomans.

Le spectacle théâtral a été conçu pour un plaisir pris et goûté en commun. Cet art rituel de la « sociabilité » ne supporta point l'isolement, surtout aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, où en tant que plaisir galant il s'attira les faveurs de la société européenne. Les grands moments de renaissance du théâtre grec moderne correspondent précisément aux ouvertures culturelles vers l'Occident, et, par conséquent, à l'introduction de certaines notions « bourgeoises » nouvelles dans la structure de la vie hellénique. L'histoire du théâtre grec moderne sollicite toujours une synthèse audacieuse, polyvalente et globale.

La création folklorique, en tant qu'héritage séculaire, occupe une place particulière dans la vie du peuple albanais. Ses créations varient et revêtent une signification particulière dans tous les domaines de la vie : chants historiques et sociaux, surtout ceux dont l'argument est historique, très appréciés dans les banquets, lors des naissances, dans les mariages et les fêtes populaires, épopées populaires reflétant des épisodes de la vie des communautés rurales, légendes mythiques, balades régionales aux multiples

variantes chantées jusqu'au milieu du XX^e siècle, avec accompagnement de la lahouta, du çitteli à cordes et de la flûte, etc.

e) *Les modes de vie et de pensée*

— L'idée impériale à Byzance et la tradition étatique bulgare.

Substituant à l'œcuménisme romain l'œcuménisme chrétien, Byzance cultiva avec ténacité et vénération l'idée de sa prédestination à régir les peuples. Le concept œcuménique représentait le territoire de l'Empire comme un monde harmonieux et idéal où régnaient l'ordre et la lumière, un monde où se reflétait le cosmos céleste. Tout autour étaient dispersées les peuplades « barbares », divisées par polythéisme et l'anarchie. Ces peuplades indomptées recevaient une grâce particulière, lorsqu'elles se soumettaient à la patrie chrétienne aux ordres du *basileus*, qui avait reçu en partage de la Providence le droit d'exercer sa souveraineté sur cet Empire, son apanage divin. Lorsque, un siècle après son anéantissement, l'ancien État bulgare fut restauré, au mouvement de rébellion contre Byzance prirent part dans la Bulgarie du Nord aussi d'autres éléments, surtout des Valaques. Mais la restauration se fit toujours dans l'esprit de l'ancienne tradition étatique. De même qu'à Byzance celui qui accédait au trône impérial devenait empereur byzantin, indépendamment de son origine, de même en Bulgarie médiévale celui qui occupait le trône était *tzar* des Bulgares (à cette exception près que dans la titulature bulgare le génitif « *Bulgarôn* », « des Bulgares », avait une signification ethnique). Naturellement, comme toujours, si les conditions du moment empêchaient le souverain de chercher la reconnaissance de son titre à Constantinople, il tournait les regards vers l'Occident. C'est ce que fit l'un des restaurateurs de l'État bulgare, Pierre II, dit Kalopierre, qui demanda à la hâte à Barberousse le diadème du « royaume de Grèce », c'est ce que fit surtout Kalojean, qui renoua les relations avec Rome dont il reçut le « diadème royal » et le « sceptre royal ».

Lors de la restauration du pouvoir bulgare dans le dernier quart du XII^e siècle, la ville de Tirnovo est désignée comme résidence royale et entourée de manière suivie de toutes les marques extérieures de ce pouvoir. De ce fait, elle se détacha immédiatement des autres villes des provinces bulgares. Dans cette première période de restauration, elle se rapprocha aussi de Thessalonique. Au cours d'une étape suivante, après maints travaux de restauration et d'instauration, elle chercha sa place parmi les « villes saintes » (Jérusalem, Rome et surtout Constantinople), s'entourant en partie de cette atmosphère de prédilection et de bénédiction sans que cependant l'idée de providentialisme soit poussée jusqu'au bout. Les événements balkaniques du dernier quart du XIV^e siècle font cesser sans retour cette œuvre d'édification idéologique.

L'idéologie de l'Empire n'a pas été adoptée dans les milieux bulgares, c'est-à-dire l'administration de l'État comme des représentants plus ou moins officiels de la culture bulgare. En revanche, la conscience d'une réalité grecque (dans toute la complexité de que ce mot comporte d'éléments culturels et non seulement ethnique) a été de tout temps évidente et admise pour toutes les manifestations de l'Empire.

— Le montagnard albanais a toujours rêvé d'une belle maison, d'un bel habit pour se rendre à l'assemblée ou à une cérémonie, et d'une arme. Ces traits ont attiré l'attention des voyageurs étrangers de la fin du XIX^e siècle et du début du XX^e siècle, qui les décrivent comme des caractéristiques nobiliaires. La pauvreté, les guerres ne permirent que rarement aux montagnards albanais de vivre cet idéal rêvé.

Sur le territoire albanais la famille patriarcale fut prédominante, peu ou prou comme chez les autres peuples des Balkans depuis le bas Moyen-Âge jusqu'à une époque plus récente. Il y avait en général entre cinq et neuf personnes dans chaque foyer, mais dans bien des cas les familles étaient composées de dix à trente personnes ou atteignaient les quarante à quatre-vingt-dix individus dans des cas exceptionnels. La coexistence au sein d'un même foyer de deux ou plusieurs couples mariés était courante et on considérait comme tout à fait naturel que le fils avec sa femme et ses enfants partage le même toit que ses parents et ses grands-parents paternels. Depuis le Moyen-Âge pré-ottoman la famille a constitué une unité économique stable. Elle possédait une maison, une terre cultivable, des prairies et des friches, de l'eau d'irrigation et des futaies. Elle avait même le droit de posséder une partie de la propriété communale, dans la montagne, la forêt, les alpages et les pâturages d'hiver.

Chaque Albanais reconnaît appartenir à l'une de ces trois religions : islam, christianisme orthodoxe ou catholique. Mais le peuple a conservé de nombreux mythes, de rites anciens et de vieilles croyances locales, pré-chrétiens et préislamiques, puis il les associa à des éléments et des pratiques religieux monothéistes, ce qui donna naissance à une christianisation ou une islamisation cosmique.

— En ce qui concerne les grands mouvements occidentaux, en remontant un peu en arrière on notera que l'Hellénisme moderne n'a directement reçu le souffle de la Renaissance italienne (et du baroque en esthétique) que relativement tard, en plein XVII^e siècle. Le phénomène a trouvé ses racines dans une aire culturelle périphérique par rapport au corps central de la Grèce, la Crète vénitienne ; de là, il rayonna par la suite dans quelques centres d'influence italienne, notamment dans les Îles Ioniennes. Il s'agit d'une production à prépondérance littéraire et dramatique. En outre, c'est dans ce même espace culturel que nous rencontrons la présence de l'esprit de la Contre-Réforme, exprimée surtout par le théâtre jésuite.

Les Lumières néohelléniques ont reçu d'une manière éclectique et assimilé à tour de rôle diverses tendances qui caractérisent les mouvements occidentaux correspondants. Leur fin fut un début dans l'histoire politique balkanique puisque, s'ils ont engendré du temps de Rhigas la notion assez utopique d'une confédération balkanique basée sur le principe de la religion commune, ils ont pratiquement abouti à la formation des États modernes. L'ère des Lumières, en se servant d'un modèle social et culturel préexistant basé sur le principe de l'universalisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, déboucha au cours des premières décennies du XIX^e siècle sur l'émergence des modèles de culture nationale.

— Jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle, tous les peuples balkaniques vivaient sous la domination étrangères, dans les frontières de deux grands Empires : l'Empire d'Autriche et l'Empire ottoman. L'éveil de la conscience historique et ethnique, puis la formation de la conscience nationale chez les peuples dépendants commencent à se ressentir dès la moitié du XVIII^e siècle, mais sa formation se manifeste avec l'apparition, le développement et l'affirmation de l'idée d'État au début du XIX^e siècle. Parallèlement à ce processus l'appartenance confessionnelle apparaît comme un facteur important, qui dans une large mesure dessinait les frontières des différentes entités dans ces Empires. Les Balkans catholiques jouissaient des fruits de l'absolutisme éclairé de l'Autriche et de l'Europe de l'Ouest chrétienne, tandis que les peuples orthodoxes depuis longtemps ressentaient les limitations spirituelles de la charia de l'Est. En raison de ces différences nettes, le monde orthodoxe de cette aire, où habitent les peuples grec, roumain, serbe, monténégrin, bulgare et macédonien, doit retenir l'attention, car il est aussi marqué par l'influence décisive de la Russie.

— Les bases initiales du développement de la culture moderne serbe sont très modestes. La discontinuité de son développement a été très grande, car les siècles de domination étrangère ont anéanti la riche culture de l'époque précédente, qui se reflète dans la peinture, la littérature, l'art des bâtisseurs, la musique religieuse. Au début du XIX^e siècle, la culture se trouvait reléguée dans quelques monastères qui, comme de rares oasis de spiritualité, conservaient une partie du patrimoine. Il n'y avait presque pas de lettrés, la littérature orale et les arts et les sciences n'ont connu aucun développement.

— C'est en découvrant l'Europe que les intellectuels grecs découvrent la Grèce. Avec ténacité, fanatiquement parfois, ils s'emploient alors à transmettre dans ce pays, tout en les refaçonant, les idées des Lumières. Ce puissant courant, aux incidences culturelle et éducatives considérables, constituera le fondement des idées et des idéologies, à l'intérieur du pays, mais inaugurerait aussi une représentation du monde qui a pour références constantes l'Europe (dans les multiples acceptions du terme) et le Grèce

antique. Or, dans les consciences, ce fondement est d'autant plus fort qu'il correspond de fait à une réalité tangible ; la continuité à travers la discontinuité, de la langue grecque et la perpétuation d'un espace national. Ainsi la notion historiographique et culturelle de la continuité telle qu'elle a été offerte par les Européens au nouvel État hellénique, a également, au plan politique, une fonction de légitimation. Cette nouvelle représentation (reconstruction) de la notion de continuité a fonctionné dans un double sens offensif, d'une part, en tant qu'élément de supériorité dans la région des Balkans et de la Méditerranée orientale, défensif d'autre part (avec peut-être un certain sentiment d'envie) à l'égard de l'Europe tutélaire, considérée comme supérieure d'un point de vue matériel et culturel.

— L'invocation des droits historiques a joué un grand rôle dans la formation politique des Balkans au XIX^e siècle. La tradition et la continuité interrompue de l'État, et nécessairement dans les étapes initiales de la formation des nouveaux États dans les Balkans, étaient trouvées dans le passé historique. Le droit historique devint un composant significatif dans tous les efforts de libération, tandis que dans le même temps il fournissait l'inspiration aux peuples balkaniques dans leur lutte contre deux Empires, les Ottomans et les Habsbourg, qui était fondée sur le légitisme historique. Cependant au XIX^e siècle le développement économique et social dans les Balkans ne poursuit pas sa route selon les vieux modèles historiques, mais selon les conditions prédominantes et les circonstances de la nouvelle ère. Ce fait donna naissance au conflit entre le principe historique et le principe national : le premier, étant une expression des nouveaux États en développement et de nouvelles classes sociales émergentes qui se trouvaient derrière ces États et étaient auteurs des concepts politiques dans les Balkans du XIX^e siècle, ne résidait pas dans le droit historique mais dans le droit d'un peuple à l'autodétermination. L'application de l'historicisme était utile aussi longtemps qu'elle demeurait dans le royaume de la nationalité et qu'elle stimulait son développement. Une fois en dehors de ce royaume, l'historicisme commença à gêner le développement de la nationalité et, dans le même temps, devint une arme dans les conflits nationaux. Néanmoins, bien que rendue obsolète par les événements politiques de l'histoire moderne balkanique, la tradition historique était une partie de cette histoire en tant qu'héritage, profondément enracinée dans le cœur du peuple, une part inaliénable de sa vie nationale et culturelle.

En manière de conclusion

Le XV^e siècle est une période de grands changements et ceci non seulement en Europe. La découverte de l'Amérique et la prise de la Constantinople sont le point de repère des événements qui fixent l'intérêt des grands et des

petits États, des peuples et des individus qui s'engagent dans l'émigration et ouvrent la voie d'une nouvelle orientation de la pensée humaine. En même temps on peut constater que la littérature écrite en Europe sur la prise de Constantinople et sur les Turcs prend le dessus. Le nombre de relations, de lettres, d'ouvrages historiographiques dépasse celui des œuvres portant sur la découverte de l'Amérique. Ainsi, les invasions et l'installation des Turcs venus de l'Asie Mineure dans les territoires balkaniques, leur culture et leur mentalité provoquent non seulement la crainte, mais aussi la curiosité de l'Occident. La culture musulmane demeurée jusqu'alors sur le sol occidental et qui provoquait dans une certaine mesure l'intérêt des milieux ecclésiastiques et des laïcs commence à s'imposer dans le sud-est de l'Europe.

Le thème ottoman dans les ouvrages historiques et littéraires de l'Europe occidentale est un thème très vaste. L'Europe n'a jamais cessé de démontrer sa curiosité et ses ambitions politiques par rapport à l'Empire ottoman. Les œuvres de Postel, de Savary de Brèves, de Lefèvre et d'un auteur anonyme des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles prouvent que le monde européen cherchait une information plus détaillée sur la situation dans l'Empire d'Orient qui depuis longtemps n'est plus un État chrétien. Leurs opinions, souvent négatives, reflètent l'évolution des mentalités de la société occidentale. Une information de ce genre déterminait la ligne politique générale et les relations mutuelles, par exemple entre la France et l'Empire ottoman.

Tel est le résumé que l'on peut proposer des deux volumes parus, fruits d'une réflexion collective de nombreux chercheurs balkaniques, qui peuvent structurer une future *Grande Histoire des Balkans*.

THE LEGACY OF KING ALEXANDER I OF YUGOSLAVIA,
THE UNIFIER

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of assassination

by Slobodan G. Markovich

October 9, 2009 marked seventy-five years since the assassination of King Alexander I Karadjordjević/Karageorgevich (1888–1934; King 1921–34) in Marseille. In 1936 France commemorated the assassinated King in a grand way: an equestrian monument to King Peter I of Serbia and King Alexander I of Yugoslavia bearing the inscription “Alexandre I^{er} de Yougoslavie. L’Unificateur” was set up in the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. After an interval of sixty-five years, Serbia and France organized official commemorations again. Indeed, the King has been remembered by the Serbs and some other Yugoslavs as a knightly king and unifier.

Many recent nationally-inclined historical interpretations have depicted the emergence of the Yugoslav kingdom, in the creation of which King Alexander played a significant role, as belated. This is only partially true. What seems nearer the truth is that it emerged too late to be a single-nation state in central-European terms, but too early to be structured on cosmopolitan principles. In the age of explosion of nationalism after the First World War, only the odd cosmopolitan proved sincerely willing to give up a local ethnic identity for the sake of broader principles. It was the reason why Yugoslavism, as an amalgam of liberal nationalism and cosmopolitanism, turned out to be a conviction restricted to the portion of Yugoslav intellectual elites who naively expected that the spirit of the twentieth century would be able to overcome religious strife and exclusivity.

The King proved to be both a statesman and a soldier, but also a philanthropist. His military career was impeccable, both in his capacity as heir to the throne and later, while serving as regent and after acceding to the throne. He was the nominal commander of Serbia’s 1st Army in the First and Second Balkan wars (1912–1913), the Army that won the illustrious battles at Kumanovo, against the Ottomans in the First Balkan War, and at Bregalnica, against the Bulgarians in the Second Balkan War. During the First World War he and his father, King Peter, came to epitomize the Serbian Army. Two episodes can demonstrate why. During the epic retreat of the Serbian Army across Albania (in the winter of 1915), Regent Alexander,

although ill, chose to stay with his troops instead of being transported to the Italian coast. At a crucial moment, on 14 September 1918, with the Allied Command still wavering over what to do on the Salonika (Macedonian) Front, it was Regent Alexander who issued the order: Charge forward, to glory or death! What ensued was the glorious breakthrough of the Salonika Front, and the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December 1918.

While he was heir to the throne (1909–14) and regent (1914–21), Alexander was able to learn how widespread the belief in the necessity of Yugoslav unification was amongst Serbian intellectual elites. By the beginning of the twentieth century, both the Serbian and Croatian political elites had reached similar conclusions. It seemed to them that the Serbs and Croats, surrounded by big states, could only survive and develop their nationality if they created a sufficiently large and powerful state together. Yet, for the two key ethnicities of the new state, the mathematics of Yugoslavia was not exactly the same.

The 1918 unification brought all Serbs and almost all other Yugoslavs under one roof for the first time in their history. The dissolution of Yugoslavia, therefore, necessarily meant that a larger or a smaller portion of Serbs would remain outside an independent Serbia. In other words, the collapse of Yugoslavia would inevitably entail, at least partially, abandoning the idea of all Serbs living in one state. The politically dominant part of the Croatian political elite gathered round the Croatian Peasant Party did not share Serbian enthusiasm for the unified state. Generally from 1921/2, and particularly from 1928, they perceived Yugoslavia as a dungeon for the Croatian people, and they made quite different calculations. Should Yugoslavia dissolve, they argued, Croatia would become either a self-governed entity or part of a new Danubian Catholic federation. In either case, it seemed to them, Croatia would be in a better position than it was in Yugoslavia. In Slovenia and to a certain extent in Dalmatia, the King was able to attract wider circles of society for the new state. In Croatia and Slavonia, he had to content himself with a rather small part of the intellectual elite who sincerely accepted the new state.

The assassination in the Yugoslav Assembly in 1928 of Croatian deputies challenged the very survival of the new state and fuelled dissatisfaction in Croatia. It was at that point that some Serbian politicians also began to harbour doubts about Yugoslavia. They pressed King Alexander to reconsider the future destiny of the country that he led and to take into consideration, at least for a brief moment, the possible amputation of Croatia. Except for that particular moment, the King remained imprisoned by the idea of Yugoslavia's preservation until the end of his life. He championed a new ideology of Yugoslavism and ardently pursued the idea that the "three-

tribe people" (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) could be melded into Yugoslavs. Once he determined that the preservation of Yugoslavia was his mission, he took the only possible course of action under the given circumstances: on 6 January 1929 he introduced personal rule, thereby suspending traditions of Serbian democracy and political freedoms established in the Kingdom of Serbia by the Constitution of 1888 and confirmed, during the reign of his father, King Peter, by the Constitution of 1903 which had ushered in the so-called golden years of Serbian democracy (1903–1914). More a soldier than a politician, more a statesman than a diplomat, he easily resolved the intricate dilemma between state unity and political freedom by opting for the former. The price paid was enormous: from then until the final dissolution of Yugoslavia seventy-two years later, the state was unable to restore a democratic system. The failure cannot be attributed entirely to the King the Unifier in spite of his occasional authoritarian tendencies. The seed of the failure had been planted into the very foundations of the new state which, despite its considerable advancement and Europeanization, remained predominantly agrarian, economically underdeveloped, and with great inter-regional differences. Under such conditions the creation of a Yugoslav nation would have been an impossible mission even if the political and intellectual elites of Serbs and Croats had shared the same vision of Yugoslavia.

King Alexander, being a great philanthropist, was instrumental in resolving the question of invalids. He and his wife, Queen Mary, established and supported many a foundation. The King's philanthropy, but also a sentiment of special gratitude to Imperial Russia for her support to Serbia during the Great War, can explain his extraordinary concern for the well-being of tens of thousands of Russian refugees who came to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with Wrangel's army, many of whom chose it for their new homeland.

In marked contrast to the other three Balkan kingdoms ruled by branches of German dynasties in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, all three Serbian dynasties in late modern times were "home grown" (Obrenović/Obrenovich and Karageorgevich in Serbia, and Petrović Njegoš/Petrovich Negosh in Montenegro), and their founders all had quite modest beginnings. King Alexander was the first modern Serbian monarch to fashion a European court and the first ruler in Serbia's modern history who was a genuine European. He was closely followed in this by his first cousin, the Anglophile Prince Paul, who married Princess Olga of the Greek royal family, while her sister Marina was married to George, Duke of Kent. Alexander had spent his formative years in cosmopolitan Geneva. His close companions and his personal experience made him a citizen of Europe and, in religious terms, the most tolerant ruler in modern Serbian history. His respect for Islam and Judaism, as well as Roman Catholicism,

ought to be acknowledged and seen as a sound example of how to act in a multi-religious society.

Being a European, he sought to assure a proud place for Yugoslavia in the post-Versailles world. His greatest strength as a statesman was in that he realized very early that the preservation of the new state mainly depended upon securing peace in the region. Consequently, in 1920/1 he was instrumental in creating the Little Entente, an alliance that gathered into one camp the Francophile Versailles winners: Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The alliance established in 1933 its Permanent Council and Secretariat, and encouraged economic cooperation, thus foreshadowing similar West-European economic integrations after the Second World War. It was under King Alexander that an entity emerged which played an influential part in the creation of European policy. This was the first such instance in the history of modern Serbian statehood. This was done through Yugoslavia's participation in the League of Nations, where she was supported by France, which remained the King's main foreign partner throughout his reign. Amongst his other European achievements, one should include the Pact of Friendship with Italy in 1924, and that with France in 1927.

Towards the end of his life King Alexander was instrumental in establishing the Balkan Pact, which brought together Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece and Turkey. The organization had a single aim: to secure long-term peace in the Balkans. The King's assassination in Marseille in 1934 prevented him from accomplishing the project by drawing Bulgaria into the Balkan Pact, and from further contributing to stabilizing the situation in the Balkans.

There is no doubt that the ideas that inspired King Alexander to work towards forging the Balkan Pact were also behind his generous support to the creation in early 1934 of the Balkan Institute in Belgrade, whose founders were Ratko Parežanin and Svetozar Spanačević. In a foreword to the first volume of the series entitled "The Book on the Balkans", Parežanin, the Institute's first director, described the cultural and political ideals that guided them:

Let us say immediately and openly what our aspirations and ideals are: we wish all Balkan states to get closer together, to create strong mutual political and economic agreements and alliances, we wish Balkan peoples to complement and support each other, to develop a deep and lasting feeling of *solidarity* and *community* for which there are many favourable circumstances and an even greater need.¹

¹ *Knjiga o Balkanu*, vol. I [A Book on the Balkans] (Belgrade 1936), vii. The text was republished in German: R. Parežanin and S. Spanačević, "Der neue Balkan", *Revue Internationale des Etudes balkaniques* IV (1936), 321.

The King personally supported the Institute with a monthly grant of 50,000 dinars, and was ready to assist its founders in their plans to have a Balkan House built in Belgrade.² Sadly, the King's assassination in October 1934 made sure that some more ambitious plans became unfeasible.

When it comes to publishing activities, however, the Institute was more than successful. Its best known product was a journal, *Revue Internationale des Etudes balkaniques*, which had distinguished contributors from all of the Balkans and Europe, and which was received very well among Balkan specialists. Six volumes were published before the closing of the Institute by the Gestapo on 27 August 1941.

It was on St. Vitus's Day in 1934, shortly before his death, that King Alexander laid the cornerstone for the memorial honouring the fallen soldiers in the Balkan Wars and the Great War on Avala, a mountain overlooking Belgrade. St Vitus's Day, or *Vidovdan* in Serbian, was not only the date of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, and of the assassination of Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, in Sarajevo in 1914; more importantly, it was the date on which the 1919 Treaty of Versailles had been signed. Thus the symbolism of this date was twofold: it combined national myth and a universal message of peace.

The Avala monument is exceptional among similar monuments set up throughout Europe in that it was named the Monument to the Unknown Hero rather than Soldier, in order to emphasize the universal. Its designer, the famous Yugoslav and Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, used eight caryatids symbolizing the eight regions of Yugoslavia (Šumadija, Pannonia/Voivodina, Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia, Croatian Zagorje, Dalmatia and Slovenia), and he found historical inspiration in the mausoleum of the Persian king Cyrus the Great in Pasargadae, which was spared from destruction only due to the false belief that it was the tomb of Solomon's mother.

The date on the Avala memorial, "1912-1918", honoured the memory of the Serbian Army in the Balkan Wars and in the Great War. At the time, most Serbs viewed the monument as commemorating the sacrifice of Serbs in the Great War, which in turn was seen as central for the creation of the new state. To them, the eight caryatids represented five Serbian women, two Croat and one Slovenian or, in other words, a Yugoslavia where Serbs expected to have at least the corresponding share of power. In the vision of most Croats, the caryatids were to transform into at least six federal units in a new federation where each of its constituent parts was to have the power of veto. Both visions were quite different from how the monument was

² *Knjiga o Balkanu*, vol. I [A Book on the Balkans] (Belgrade 1936), iii. The first issue of the *Revue internationale des Etudes balkaniques* was also dedicated to King Alexander.

understood by the man who commissioned it and the man who designed it. The former saw in it eight regional identities that would be fused into a single Yugoslav one; the latter saw it as a universal vertical axis connecting countless generations.

The Balkan Institute dedicated the first volume of “The Book on the Balkans” to the King, emphasizing his role as peacemaker and echoing the King’s messages from the last years of his reign:

The ideal of Balkan understanding and cooperation found its most stalwart advocate in the knightly figure of King Alexander I the Unifier, always ready for self-sacrifice without which no progress is possible ... A new era in Balkan history — an era of peaceful cooperation, mutual respect and solidarity among the Balkan peoples — is marked by the name of Alexander Karageorgevich, the apostle of a better destiny for the Balkans.

By untiringly pursuing the task we have set ourselves, we shall pay due honour to this great Balkanite and European in the best possible way.³

A Serbian soldier, a Yugoslav ideologue, a Balkan and European statesman, all these roles were combined in a single person: King the Unifier. No sooner had King Alexander fallen at the hands of nationalistic assassins and fascist plotters in Marseille than all the roles that he had successfully played were challenged. What remained of his legacy was the symbolism of an unfulfilled vision carved in stone on Avala: the vision of a state which respects its own traditions but is capable of overcoming national and religious divisions; a state which at the same time understands regional exigencies and strives for a proud place in Europe.

³ *Knjiga o Balkanu I* [Book on the Balkans] (Belgrade 1936). The first issue of the *Revue Internationale des Etudes balkaniques* was also dedicated to King Alexander.

REVIEWS

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY: DUŠAN T. BATAKOVIĆ'S TRILOGY ON KOSOVO AND METOHİJA

KOSOVO I METOHİJA U SRPSKO-ARBANAŠKIM ODNOSIMA [KOSOVO AND METOHİJA IN SERBO-ALBANIAN RELATIONS], BELGRADE: ČİGOJA, 2006, pp. 393; *DEČANSKO PITANJE* [THE DEČANI QUESTION], BELGRADE: ČİGOJA, 2007, pp. 355; *KOSOVO I METOHİJA. İSTORİJA I İDEOLOĐİJA* [KOSOVO AND METOHİJA: HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY, BELGRADE: ČİGOJA, 2007, pp. 470

*Reviewed by Mihailo Vojvodić **

The recent release of the second edition of three volumes by Dušan T. Bataković devoted to the past of Kosovo and Metohija makes a significant contribution to contemporary historiography. This outstanding trilogy, reflecting the major area of the author's decades-long research into Serbian history, constitutes a rare example of scholarly comprehensiveness and breadth in studying the modern and contemporary history of the region known as the heartland of medieval Serbia in the Balkans. Namely, this trilogy addresses the issue of Kosovo and Metohija, perceived by the author as one of the thorniest Balkan problems, as well as Serbo-Albanian relations in a more recent past, covering the whole period of pre-war and post-war Yugoslavia, up to her violent dissolution. The fact that this is not merely a second but also an enlarged and updated edition testifies to Bataković's long-term concern with the Kosovo issue. As shown by all the scholarly work Bataković has done since he embarked upon this particular field of study some twenty-five years ago, he has proved himself not only a major authority

on the subject but also a very gifted writer of history. Bataković's trilogy, covering a wide-range of Kosovo-related topics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from feudal anarchy under the Ottomans to a refined analysis of the communist period, is worthy of being read. Reading it makes the long-term nature of processes in the Western Balkans much clearer and shows that the current, often controversial political and ideological developments can be better understood if their previous history is thoroughly studied and interpreted in a balanced manner.

In the first place, author has elucidated one of the most dramatic periods in the past of Kosovo and Metohija, a period when pressures and pogroms against the Serbian population reached such proportions that their resolve to survive against all odds can be explained by an exceptional endurance rather than by any rational motive. The period in question intervenes between the Congress of Berlin (1878) and the Balkan Wars (1912-13).

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As best shown by the volume *Kosovo and Metohija in Serbo-Albanian Relations* (*Kosovo i Metohija u srpsko-arbanaskim odnosima*), Bataković's research into the past of a region where Serbia's interests competed and intertwined with those of the great powers, notably Russia and Austria-Hungary, begins with the year 1878, even though this book, as well as the other two, offers an impressive introductory study going back to the medieval and early Ottoman periods and demonstrating the writer's ability to select relevant information and to synthesize numerous data into an overall historical account. The year 1878 was indeed a momentous date in modern Serbian history. It is not difficult to concur with Bataković's analysis that the wars of 1876–78 disturbed the balance in Kosovo and Metohija and the adjacent areas of Old Serbia (*vilayet* of Kosovo). Namely, it turned out that they produced fateful consequences which lingered on throughout the century to come. The prominent Serbian scholar and statesman Stojan Novaković described them more than once as most tragic events in modern Serbian history, referring, *inter alia*, to the right given by the great powers to Austria-Hungary to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to clarify that, Bataković begins his account of the aftermath of the Congress of Berlin with the founding of the Albanian League in Prizren, an organization whose activity marked Kosovo and Metohija until 1881 and inspired several subsequent Albanian national movements. Author places a rightful emphasis on the League's anti-Slavic orientation, obvious from many contemporary sources, such as the notes of the Russian consul in Prizren, Ivan S. Yastrebov, or the letters of Ilija Stavrić, Dean of the Serbian Orthodox Seminary in Prizren, to Belgrade, warning about the Albanians' preparations for assaulting the local Serbian population, even for an offensive on Belgrade. Bataković's assess-

ment of yet another consequence of the decisions of the Congress of Berlin also seems significant, namely the ethnic imbalance that arose immediately after 1878 and continued to increase until 1912. It was produced by the influx of large groups of Albanians from the areas Serbia had liberated from the Ottoman Empire (South Serbia, former *sanjak* of Niš) and their resettlement in the north and east of Kosovo. Thus many Albanian settlements grew along the new Ottoman border with Serbia making a new barrier between Serbia and larger Serbian settlements in Kosovo and Metohija. Bataković's contention that the imbalance was planned rather than spontaneous seems perfectly accurate. It finds corroboration in the fact that Ottoman authorities had settled the border with Serbia with Circassians as early as the 1860s, but the settlers obviously failed to perform their role as a bulwark. Settling Muslim Albanians after 1878 in the border areas and among the Serbian settlements further south apparently proved much more effective. Muslim Albanians were reliable border guards and the Ottoman Empire generally relied upon them for military support. Their feudal and tribal leaders belonged to upper strata in the decaying Ottoman system and were not an insignificant factor in its preservation. Thus the Serbs of Kosovo and Metohija, deprived of both legal and political protection, were practically left at their mercy. However, several more facts should be added at this point. The local Muslim Albanians, most often fully armed, were more prone to rebellion and outlaw activities than to fulfilling military and fiscal obligations towards the Ottoman government, and the Sublime Porte in turn showed leniency and was willing to tolerate their excesses. That is the reason why revolt, disarray and strife were to mark the period until the Balkan Wars. The situation may be defined as anarchy, and its main victims were the local Serbs,

torn between struggling to survive on their land and leaving their homes to find refuge in Serbia. Even though the Serbs, unarmed and deprived of legal protection, were generally a resilient population, their increased forced emigration orchestrated by Albanian brigands was one of the main consequences of this inter-ethnic and inter-religious strife. One more factor should be mentioned, however. I tend to agree with Bataković that post-1878 Serbia opted for using a single instrument, peaceful and legal, in her attempt to help the Serbian population's survival in Kosovo and Metohija. Serbia focused on an intensified religious and educational effort by opening schools and reading rooms, building churches, dispatching teachers and priests, all of which required good relations with Ottoman authorities, in other words, a pro-Ottoman foreign policy. This policy did bear some fruit, given that the Sublime Porte occasionally met Serbia's requests, though with much delay and reluctance. What was important as well is the fact that the elite of Serbian diplomacy served as envoys in Constantinople, a major international centre where the agendas of the great powers could best be deciphered, and as consuls in Priština, Skoplje (Uskub), Thessalonica and Bitolj (Monastir). For instance, Stojan Novaković served two terms as Serbian envoy in Constantinople, and was succeeded by Sava Grujić, Vladan Djordjević, Čedomilj Mijatović, while a term of consulship in the abovementioned towns was served by noted diplomats: Svetislav St. Simić, Mihailo G. Ristić, Vladimir Karić, Miroslav Spalajković, Branislav Nušić and Milan Rakić. Some of them believed that in order for Serbs to be able to survive pogroms in Kosovo a comprehensive political understanding with Albanians needed to be reached. Such suggestions are found in their official reports, but the prevailing conviction both in the political leadership and in the general public in

Serbia was that the rift between the two peoples, claiming the same territory, was insurmountable. I would like to point to an example. A high official of the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs visited Kosovo in 1892. He noticed right away that the fear of Muslim Albanians was widespread among the Orthodox Christian Serbs whilst smuggling and anarchy reigned supreme. The most illustrative example was the case of Priština, where only smuggled tobacco was available. What he was told there made a strong impression on him: If things in Kosovo go on like this, in ten years there will be no more Serbs here. In his report to the Ministry upon returning to Serbia, he suggested, however, that one should get to know Albanians better and that "something [meaning a kind of agreement] should be worked out with them".

I would like to call special attention to *The Dečani Question*, an extremely useful and highly interesting case study in every respect. The facts it contains demonstrate vividly that the situation in the Balkans was so intricate that even modern researchers have trouble disentangling it, which means that a Serbian politician at the time must have found it extremely difficult to devise appropriate solutions. Bataković's analysis, however, appear to meet the highest standards of scholarship. A seemingly minor issue, which was raised in 1903 by the legal handover of the Serbian monastery of Visoki Dečani (until then under the jurisdiction of the Serbian bishop of the Raška-Prizren Bishopric) to the Russian monks from the *Kellion* of St John Chrysostom on Mount Athos, and which lingered almost until the Balkan Wars, has provided Bataković with an opportunity to look into major Balkan issues relating to Kosovo and Metohija, to reveal the roles of various foreign factors in the region, in particular the often covertly pursued agendas of Russia and Austria-Hungary, and to clarify the activities and achievements of Serbian diplomacy.

In order to help the reader understand what lay at the core of the Serbo-Russian dispute which is the subject of Bataković's book, I would like to point to some previous developments. Namely, until the First Balkan War Serbia did not have any legal instrument for protecting the Serbian population in Kosovo and Metohija, let alone the use of military force. In his address to the Serbian Parliament in 1904, Nikola Pašić said that it was Serbia's duty to forestall forced Serb migration from Kosovo and Metohija, but that the stance of the great powers made her military intervention absolutely unfeasible. As the Ottoman political system gradually dissolved and the central authority grew weaker, the role of the Muslim Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija grew stronger whilst their self-willed rule went unpunished. Bataković clearly underlines this fact, quoting numerous sources in corroboration. Throughout the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century all Serbian Kosovo-based institutions, in particular churches and monasteries, suffered brutal violence from Albanian brigands. Occasional pogroms launched against the Kosovo Serbs called for the Belgrade government's firm-handed protection. The archimandrite of Dečani reported in October 1887 about "fiercest and wildest brigandage reigning supreme". Neither the Serbian Orthodox Church nor Serbian nationality were officially recognized within the Ottoman Empire. Therefore the Serbs were not a legally defined group and did not enjoy a status that would enable them to defend themselves or to obtain protection. Unlike the Greeks, who had a patriarchate, and the Bulgarians, who had an exarchate, from 1766 the Christian Orthodox Serbs were deprived of their autocephalous church, the Patriarchate of Peć, and came under the jurisdiction of the Greek-dominated Patriarchate of Constantinople and not always well-intentioned Greek bishops;

for example, the Church of St Saviour in Skoplje was taken away from the Serbs despite protests of the local Serbian community. Stojan Novaković, in his treatise "The Patriarchate of Constantinople and Orthodoxy" published in 1895, considered Prince Miloš's struggle for obtaining autonomy for the Serbian Church in the newly-created autonomous Principality of Serbia to have been a mistake, because in that way the Serbian population in Old Serbia was left outside its jurisdiction. It was on that ground that Serbia, upon independence in 1878, ensured autocephalous status for her Church in 1879. Novaković believed, however, that it would have been better if Serbia had obtained the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć because in that way all Serbs would have remained under its wing. The Patriarchate would have been recognized by the Ottoman Empire, as two other Orthodox Churches were, and the Serbian people would have been better protected by the state. What Serbia was left to do, therefore, was to struggle for the right to appoint Serbian bishops in the bishoprics of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Turkey-in-Europe. In that connection, Bataković highlights a major problem which Serbia was to face and which required a considerable financial and diplomatic effort, namely her goal to obtain the appointment of Serbian bishops to the mainly Serb-inhabited bishoprics of Veles-Debar and Skoplje. In that struggle she was occasionally supported by Russia, but the support was extended cautiously in order not to provoke Bulgarian discontent as Russia harboured the ambition to control the Bulgarian-inhabited east of the Balkan Peninsula. Hence a tone of resignation in the words of the statesman Jovan Ristić: "If Šumadija [Central Serbia] were in the hinterland of Constantinople instead of where it is, our friends" — he meant Russians — "would support us more strongly."

In explaining the situation in Kosovo and Metohija prior to the Russian takeover of Dečani which triggered the dispute, Bataković demonstrates an admirable knowledge of the period, namely a period when the Ottoman Empire was under pressure to carry out reforms in its European provinces and significantly improve the situation of its Christian subjects. The Muslim Albanians, on the other hand, strongly opposed any change, and subjected the Serbian population, churches and schools to brutal violence. It seems important to remind that Bataković had already written several noted scholarly contributions about that particular period, and that his latest assessments are firmly founded. The Monastery of Dečani needed Russian monks as a guarantee of protection from Albanian-organized pogroms, but the Serbs soon came to consider the Russian monks as usurpers rather than protectors. In addition, Bataković gives a sound analysis of the roles played by Austrian agents and the Catholic Church. By supporting the Albanians and spreading Austria-Hungary's influence in Kosovo and Metohija, both sought to weaken Serbia and to contain Russian influence even though imperial Russia and the Dual Monarchy were mandated to jointly oversee the implementation of the reforms in Turkey-in-Europe (1903–1908). The author also sheds light on how the Dečani question caused a split within the local Serbian community as well as in the Kingdom of Serbia, in a way Serbs tended to be divided over other important issues. This finds corroboration in many other examples from a remote and more recent past.

The period in question has been much written about in Serbian historiography and a bulk of relevant facts is available. There is no doubt, however, that the interpretations Bataković proposed in *The Dečani Question*, basing them on the hitherto rarely used Russian and Serbian

sources, provide a more complex analysis of both diplomatic and political rivalries. Namely, historians have been mostly concerned with reform processes in the Ottoman Empire and with resistance to them. It has gone almost unnoticed that Serbia, although vitally interested in getting Russia's support for reforms in Kosovo and Metohija, ventured into a dispute with her over the Russian monks, whom she believed went beyond the role they were meant to play in Dečani. Bataković's interpretations lead to the conclusion that both Serbia and Russia tended to refer this, and not only this dispute, to a lower level in order not to damage their bilateral relations. Instead of being settled by Belgrade and St Petersburg, such open questions were relegated to the Serbian and Russian diplomats in Constantinople. Facing a serious threat of an Austro-German alliance potentially opening a new crisis in the Balkans, Serbia and Russia let the bilateral dispute on Dečani simply die down on the eve of the Balkan Wars.

The fact that Bataković's conclusions are amply corroborated by many other sources, which I have had the opportunity to study, is one more reason for accepting his interpretations as firmly founded. To the modern reader, these studiously written and highly readable volumes, just like Bataković's other historical works on Kosovo and Metohija, not only hold interesting lessons to be learnt from history but also lessons that should be carefully pondered. They assign their author among leading scholars of Serbian history.

FRANTIŠEK ALEXANDER ZACH 1807–2007. ED. BY LADISLAV HLÁDKÝ AND VÁCLAV ŠTĚPÁNEK. BRNO: INSTITUTE FOR SLAVIC STUDIES, FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, MASARYK UNIVERSITY–INSTITUTE OF HISTORY, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC–SOCIETY OF SOUTH-SLAVIC FRIENDSHIP IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, 2007, pp. 80

Reviewed by Miloš Luković*

The institutions that act as publishers of this collection of papers were also the organizers of a scholarly conference set up to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of František Alexander Zach, one of the most important figures in the history of Czech-Serbian relations. The conference, which assembled Czech and Serbian scholars, was held 27 April 2007 at Brno, Czech Republic. The volume contains five papers, a discussion, and two appendices: the conference programme, and two pieces of information: a) about the establishing of František Alexander Zach Award, which is to be granted yearly to persons from Serbia and the Czech Republic in recognition of their exceptional contribution to bilateral relations, and b) about the restoration of Zach's grave in the Central Cemetery in Brno. All the papers and the discussion are in Czech and furnished with Serbian summaries, while the appendices are entirely in Czech.

The paper of Ladislav Hládký (Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno Branch) offers a comprehensive biography of F. A. Zach from his youth days in Brno and his early steps in politics after the completion of legal studies. Hládký gives an outline of Zach's political activity in connection with the 1831 Polish rebellion against Russian rule and of his collaboration with Polish émigré circles in Paris, until his arrival in the Principality of Serbia in 1843 as a political agent of Adam Czartoryski, the leader of the Polish emigration in France. Hládký discusses the issue of Zach's influence on Ilija Garašanin, Serbian politician and author of the well-known *Načertanije* (Draft), a programme of nineteenth-cen-

tury Serbia's foreign and national policy which keeps being an object of controversy. He supplies little-known facts about Zach's participation in the Pan-Slav Congress in Prague in 1848 and in the struggle of Czech volunteers against Hungarians the same year. Hládký's detailed account of Zach's life and work in Serbia from 1849 until his retirement in 1892, when he returned to his native land, where he died later that year, sheds light on Zach's role in laying the groundwork for professional military education and army in Serbia. He was the first general of the Serbian Army and a commander in the 1876 Serbo-Turkish War, in which he lost a leg.

Ivan Dvorovský (Institute for Slavic Studies, Masaryk University, Brno) focuses on a particular period of Zach's life, that of the 1830s and 40s, in the context of Slavic romanticism. He convincingly documents Zach's youthful enthusiasm for the idea of Slavic mutuality as propagated by Jan Kollár and Pavel Josef Šafařík, but shows that the critical influence was that of Polish revolutionary poets of the age of romanticism such as Adam Mickiewicz, Antoni Malczewski, Stefan Garczyński and Seweryn Goszczyński along with George Gordon Byron, a leading figure of British romanticism. In Dvorovský's view, this particular influence prompted Zach to join the Polish rebellion in 1831 and, subsequently, to emigrate to France, where he closely collaborated with prominent figures of the Polish émigrés' cultural and political life headed by Adam Czartoryski.

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Suzana Rajić (History Department, School of Philosophy, Belgrade University) seeks to clarify how Serbian historiography came to know about the important role Zach played in the creation of the *Načertanije*, warning that Zach's text, the so-called *Plan*, on which Garašanin drew heavily, remained hidden from Serbian historians and public for ninety-five years. In her view, most of the credit for identifying the "Polish" and "Czech" shares in the origin of the *Načertanije* goes to the Czech historian Václav Záček and his texts published in the 1860s and 70s, while Serbian historiography (V. Krestić, Lj. Durković-Jakšić, R. Ljušić and others) has been addressing the question of its origin over the past fifteen years.

Richard Stojar (Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Defence, Brno), describes Zach's steady advancement in the Army of the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia despite the fact that he lacked professional military education. Stojar argues that Zach gained his own firsthand experience only as a commander of a Slovak volunteer unit during the 1848/9 revolution in the Habsburg Monarchy, and he sheds light on Zach's role in the creation of a Serbian military school in 1850 and his appointment as head of the Military Academy in 1860. He also takes a look at Zach's involvement in the Serbo-Turkish war of 1876 and his advancement to the rank of general (the first ever in the Serbian Army).

Vlastimil Schilderberger Sr. (Czech Military History Society, Brno) supplements Zach's biography with facts concerning Zach's funeral on 16 January 1892 in Brno, the restoration in 1928 of the house where Zach had lived, and the transfer in 1935 of Zach's remains to a memorial tomb in the Central Cemetery in Brno, the one restored on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his birth, reminding parenthetically that a street in Brno has been named after Zach.

In his authorized discussion, Dušan Kvapil (Department of Slavic Studies, School of Philology, Belgrade University) reminds that Zach was not the only person of Czech origin or culture who contributed to relations between the two nations in the nineteenth century, and points to the architect Jan Nevole, the artillery colonel in the Serbian Army Pavel Šafařík, and the professor of history at the Lyceum in Belgrade Janko Šafařík.

Even though it contains no more than eighty pages, the volume devoted to František Zach brings out many precious facts about his activity in Serbia or somehow related to Serbia, thereby completing the mosaic portrait of this Czech of Moravia who played a significant role in the military and political history of Serbia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

IRENA ARSIĆ, *SRPSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CRKVA U DUBROVNIKU DO POČETKA XX VEKA*
[THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN DUBROVNIK UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE
20TH CENTURY]. DUBROVNIK-TREBINJE-BELGRADE, 2007, pp. 152

Reviewed by Ljiljana Stošić*

Thoroughly acquainted with the latest scholarly work, but also with the archival material, old and rare books, local periodicals and the eparchial chronicles, Irena Arsić has put together a volume devoted to the organization of the Orthodox

Christian Serb population of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) into a church community (1790) for the purpose of constructing a church

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within the city walls, and she follows their undertaking from the consecration of the church in Posat (1800) and Saint Archangel Michael in Boninovo (1837) to that of the Church of the Annunciation (1877). In this effort of the Ragusan Serbian community that lasted for almost a century, a supportive role was played by Russia and the Russian consul Antonio Gyka, of Albanian origin and Catholic faith, as well as by the Napoleonic decree on civil equality and religious liberty. The concluding chapter is devoted to the annual celebration of the feast days of St Sava of Serbia and St Vitus in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the founding of *Matica srpska* in Dubrovnik in the early twentieth century.

From early times,¹ there lived permanently or temporarily in Dubrovnik Orthodox Christian Serbs of distinguished families from Serbia, Herzegovina and Bosnia. Their presence in Dubrovnik is documented by the decisions of the Ragusan Senate pursuant to the previously brought decision that the city would not tolerate any religion other than Roman Catholic in its area and the papal bulls denying recognition to interconfessional marriages ("Latin" and "Greek").

As the city government declines in 1717 the request of the Serbian Count Sava Vladislavić to build a tomb and a chapel on his estate in Posat near Minčeta Tower, the Count informs the Senate that he is giving up his intention

and moving out of the city for good. It happened, however, that it was on the estate of the Count's descendants that his intention materialized seventy years later with the construction of the Annunciation Church, which also functioned as the parish church. In 1790 the growing number of Orthodox families led to the official establishment of the Serbian Orthodox parish, and in 1890 the church, meanwhile converted to a dwelling, was restored and re-consecrated, this time to St George.

When the Orthodox church in Posat became too small to receive all the faithful, the Orthodox Serbian community requested and was granted permission (1830) to build a new church in Boninovo, St Michael's with a cemetery. Among the first contributors was Jeremija Gagić, a Serb serving as Russian consul in Dubrovnik. Before the official opening of an Orthodox school in 1829, the children received private instruction by Sava Mrkalj, a precursor of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's work. Lacking textbooks from Serbia, the children, both girls and boys, used Italian.

In parallel with the ban on the use of Cyrillic script in the Ragusan grammar school, in the 1850s the Orthodox Serbian community reactivated its effort to build a new church in the town itself. The magnificent baroque Gučetić palace, built after the catastrophic earthquake of 1667, was purchased for that purpose. On a perfectly located site, the church designed by the Italian architect Vechhietti, thirty metres long and over ten metres wide, was built from the Korčula marble for a whole decade. Apart from Prince Milan Obrenović of Serbia and the Archbishop of Belgrade Michael, the list of contributors includes many merchants and bankers, among others Toma Andrejević, the Krsmanović brothers and Sima Igumanov. After the consecration on the day of St Simeon of Serbia in 1877, a procession

¹ As suggested by the latest work of Croatian scholars, such as A. Ničetić, *Nove spoznaje o postanku Dubrovnika* (Dubrovnik 2005), Dubrovnik was not founded, as previously believed, on a lonely rock in the sea but on the site of an antique and, later, Byzantine settlement. Under the floor of the Cathedral of St Blaise the remains of an eleventh-century Byzantine basilica have been discovered with the lower zone of its central apse bearing a fresco of the officiating bishops.

walked along the main street towards Pile gate amidst a multitude of people.

The Serbian community, not large but financially strong, took part in the founding of the Reading-room (1863) led by the elite of the Dubrovnik intelligentsia, Serbs of Catholic and Orthodox faiths (Niko and Medo Pucić, Pero Čingrija, Stijepo Skurla, Pero Budmani). It took part in many important events, such as the celebration of the coming of age of Prince Milan Obrenović (1872) and the visit of Francis Joseph to Dubrovnik (1875). The Serbs of Dubrovnik celebrated the feast day of St Sava of Serbia every year, associating this important figure of Serbian history with other momentous dates and persons (collection of contributions for the transfer of Vuk Stefanović's body from Vienna to Belgrade in 1897), and on St Vitus' Day in 1893 unveiled a monument to the great poet Ivan Dživo Gundulić on the occasion of his 300th

anniversary. The Great War disrupts the activity of the Orthodox community and radically changes the conditions for its functioning.

Irena Arsić, an experienced and proven researcher of Dubrovnik's cultural past in general and literature in particular (her PhD thesis *The printers and publishers of 19th-century Dubrovnik and their editions* was published in Belgrade in 2004), wrote this book scrupulously and conscientiously. The beauty of the technically impeccable volume is enhanced by the illustrative material such as old black and white and colour picture postcards, book frontispieces, vedutas and copper engraving portraits, icons from the Annunciation Church and from the Museum of the Serb Orthodox Church in Dubrovnik, letters, charters and archivalia, as well as works of the Ragusan school of painting and the portraits of illustrious local Serbs painted by Vlaho Bukovac.

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