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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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The Thracian Hero on the Danube New Interpretation of an Inscription from Diana

Abstract: The paper looks at some aspects of the Thracian Hero cult on the Danube frontier of Upper Moesia inspired by a reinterpretation of a Latin votive inscription from Diana, which, as the paper proposes, was dedicated to *Deo Totovitoni*. Based on epigraphic analogies, the paper puts forth the view that it was a dedication to the Thracian Hero, since it is in the context of this particular cult that the epithet *Totovitio* has been attested in various variants (*Toto-viti-* / *Toto-bisi-* / *Toto-ithi-*).

Keywords: Latin epigraphy, Upper Moesia, Djerdap/Iron Gates, Thracian epithets, Thracian cult, Thracian Hero, religion

The cult of the Thracian Horseman or Thracian Hero, which is a conventional term coined in the nineteenth century to reflect a distinctive iconography,¹ was widespread in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire, notably in Thrace and Lower Moesia. Most of such monuments discovered in the area of Upper Moesia come from the south and southeast of the province, where there were higher concentrations of Thracian population. Evidence for the presence of the cult in the north of the province bordering the Danube is not nearly as ample, and the finds are mostly confined to Roman military sites. This paper will focus on these monuments since they may shed light not only on some interesting aspects of the Thracian Hero cult, but also on the more general issue of the religion of Roman soldiers.

In this regard, it is important to note the findings of D. Boteva pertaining to the dedicants from the ranks of military personnel who bore Latin names (Boteva 2005; cf. Boteva 2007). Namely, taking into account the inscriptions from Lower Moesia and Thrace, Boteva has shown that a considerable number of such monuments were dedicated by Roman auxiliary or legionary soldiers and veterans. She has also found that the number of dedicants with Latin names or names shaped according to the Roman

¹ It is an indigenous Thracian deity whose character and function remain insufficiently clear despite the abundant finds and many studies (cf. Dimitrova 2002, 210; Boteva 2002; Boteva 2011). A typical iconography occurs on votive and sepulchral monuments alike, and religious syncretism is very prominent. For a brief overview of the issue and the most important earlier studies, see Boteva 2011, 85–87.

onomastic formula is not insignificant and that they were not necessarily Romanised Thracians by origin (Boteva 2007, 75–89).² When the Upper Moesian examples are looked at in this light, it becomes obvious that a considerable number of the inscriptions belonging to this cult³ show a similar combination of features indicating that they were dedicated by Roman soldiers. Most dedicants have Latin names and their *vota* are written in Latin. To this group belong, for example, the votive relief of the Thracian Hero from Buljesovac near Vranje, south Serbia (Cf. Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1963, 38, n. 52):

*Deo Tatoni Pa(trio) L. Pet(ilius?) Aurelia|nus mil(es) leg(ionis) VII
Cla(udiae) | v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit);*⁴

the icon of the Thracian Hero from the environs of Paraćin dedicated by a soldier of the legion *IV Flavia* (IMS IV 92):

*M. Aur(elius) Lucius m(iles) leg(ionis) IIII | F(laviae)
Al(exandrianæ) v(otum) p(osuit) l(ibens) m(erito);*

the dedication from Naissus (IMS IV 26):

*Deo | Mund(ryto) | Cl(audius) Rufus | v(otum) s(olvit);*⁵

as well as the altar from Viminacium (IMS II 16):

*Dio (!) | (H)eroni | Aur(elius) Gai|us vet(er)a|nus l(e)g(ionis) | IIII
Fl(aviae) An(toniniana) | vot(um) s(ol)vi(t).*⁶

Interesting is the dedication to the Thracian Hero on a monument from Singidunum erected by his *cultores*, obviously Thracians (IMS I 2; CCETV 2):

*Deo Heroni | collitores (!) ipsius | Theodotus Gude pater || Victorinus
| Mucianus | Valentinus | Rodo | Natus | Victorinus | Dometianus (!)
| Septuminus (!) || Zinama | Herodes | Hermogenes | Iulius | Her-*

² Cf. *CIL* VI 32578, 32580, 32581, 32582; I. Vendikov in *CCET* I 1.

³ It should be noted that not all monuments are inscribed and that most have been identified on the basis of the iconography.

⁴ The reading proposed by *CCETV* 25, accepted also by *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (HD032797), is better than *Attonipal*(---), proposed by *IMS* IV, 119 (Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1963, 38, n. 52: *Tatonipal*). It can be checked from the published photograph of the monument: the ligature *TA* at the beginning of line 1 is clearly visible.

⁵ For *Deus Myndritus* cf. *AE* 1924, 51 (Philippi): *Iovi Fulm[ini] | et Mercur[io] | et Myndryt[o] | Aliulas Zepa[is] filius Zipas Me[s]tus Zeces Aliu[ae?] | filia ex merit[is] | eius(?) f[aciendum] curaveru[n]t | l(ibentes) m(erito)*. Georgiev 1975; Detschew 1957, 324; Duridanov 1995, 120.

⁶ *IMS* II 221; 309.

mogenes | *Maximinu[s]* | *Marcus* | *v(otum) p(osuerunt) l(ibentes)*
m(erito).

Two observations should be made at this point. Firstly, the context in which the monument was erected. It is noteworthy that the site that yielded the inscription — the site of the Central Bank building in King Peter Street in Belgrade, the religious heart of the town in Roman times — also yielded several votive monuments dedicated to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Paternus* (IMS I 10–13, 80, 102).⁷ This “ancestral” Jupiter, the Best and Greatest, is particularly well attested in Upper Moesia,⁸ often in a military context. A similar pattern occurs elsewhere: at *Tricornium*⁹ (IMS I 80); *Timacum Minus* (IMS III/2, 5; 126; cf. IMS III/2, 13); and *Naissus* (IMS IV 19, 20, 21, 22, 23), where some of the discovered Thracian dedications perhaps might also be interpreted as dedications to ancestral deities. A second fact worthy of being mentioned is that the monument is not typologically characteristic: there is no iconography typical of the cult — a horseman depicted in relief (cf. Dimitrova 2002); instead it has the form of an *ara* or a pedestal for a statue without relief depictions, such as usually occur in the Danubian and western provinces in general. Apart from this example, the same goes for some other Upper Moesian monuments to the horseman-deity, such as those from *Viminacium* (IMS II 16), *Tricornium* (IMS 78), or *Naissus* (IMS IV 26). To the same type belongs the beautiful altar to the Thracian Hero from Rome which was set up by the praetorians originating from the area of *Nicopolis* in Lower Moesia (CIL VI 32582 = ILS 4068).¹⁰

Deus Totovitio: One more monument dedicated to the Thracian Deity in Upper Moesia?

It seems reasonable to assume that yet another Upper Moesian inscription recovered from the Danube area is dedicated to a Thracian deity. It is a well-known altar of limestone, 116 × 43 × 45 cm, recovered in 1981 on the site of Karataš in the Djerdap (Iron Gates) Gorge. The lower front side of the base is broken off. The surface of the inscription is rough and damaged (fig. 3).

⁷ IMS I 3, 11, 13, 21, 90, 102. Cf. IMS I, p. 34; Grbić 2007, 222 and n. 9.

⁸ For Jupiter's epithet *Paternus*, see commentary to IMS I 9 and IMS IV 19; 21; cf. attestations from Pannonia: CIL III 10199; *ILJug* 278 (*scriba classis*); *RIU* 1078; *AE* 2000, 1217, 1218; from Dacia: *ILS* 3035; *IDR* III/3, 321; *IDR* III/5, 187; 700; *ILD* 556.

⁹ Cf. IMS I 78 and bronze votive plaque to the Thracian Horseman (Popović 1980–90, 202). *VIV*[---] is all that has remained of the inscription.

¹⁰ Excellent photography is available at EDR121298, <http://www.edr-edr.it/>. Cf. Dimitrova 2002, n. 3.

Kondić 1987, 43; Budischovsky 1994, 87–95; Mirković 2003, 18–19 (*AE* 2003, 1531; *EDH*: HD043898).

Deo Toto [.](?) | *VITTONI Aur(elius) | Agathomi|nus (!) mil(es)*
leg(ionis) | III Fl(aviae) catarac(tarum) | stationis Di|a[na]e
honest(e) | votum libiens (!) | posuit.

1–2 *Toto* [.] | *VITTONI*, Kondić; *Toto[s]* or: *Deo Totos|vitioni*, Budischovsky.

1. *Deo Toto* [.] *VITTONI Aur(elius) [± 8]*, Mirković (*AE* 2003; HD043898).

The first two lines are mistakenly reproduced as a single line. Besides, the reading by Mirković (2003) suggests that an entire line is missing, which is by no means the case, as can be clearly seen from the photograph and the drawing. Namely, it seems that the dotted letters in the first edition (Kondić 1987), which only provides a diplomatic transcription of the text, were mistaken for a missing line; hence the ghost [± 8]. The letters at the beginning of l. 2 (*vitioni*) are quite legible and should not be marked as damaged (cf. the proposed reading below). 7 *Dia[na]e, omnes*. The letters *NA* are damaged, but legible nonetheless.

The third century date is indicated by the imperial gentilicium *Aurelius* and palaeographic features.

Little can be added to the interpretation of the toponymic and historic realia referred to by this monument.¹¹ Owing to the discovery of this inscription, the archaeological site at Karataš has been positively identified as Roman *Diana* which, as the inscription shows, ranked as *statio cataractarum*. The toponym is recorded in Procopius (*De aed.* IV 6) as: πολίχνιον ... πάλαιον Ζάνης (Kondić 1987, 45–46), while the *Notitia dignitatum* (Or. IX11) mentions *Dianeses*. As for epigraphic attestation, the place-name is attested by the brick stamps discovered on the site and in its immediate environs: *Diana* and *Da(cia) R(ipensis) Diana* (Vasić 1997, 149–177). It also occurs, in a radically abbreviated form, in an inscription discovered on the same site a few years earlier (Mirković 1977, 444); the inscription refers to a *m(agister) c(ivium) R(omanorum) D(ianae)*, which indicates the presence of a *conventus civium Romanorum*. In the Turkish census of 1741, the island Demir-kapija, opposite Karataš, is recorded under the name “island Zan”, *Cezire-i-Zan* (Loma 1991, 117).

What has remained controversial about our inscription is the reading of the first two lines and, consequently, the interpretation of the dedication. Namely, the *editio princeps* suggests that it was a monument dedicated to

¹¹ On the archaeological excavations at Diana, see J. Rankov, *Cahiers des Portes de Fer* I (Belgrade 1980), 51–69; II (1984), 7–13; and IV (1987), 5–24; V. Kondić, *Cahiers des Portes de Fer* IV (1987), 45–46; J. Kondić, *Starinar* 40–41/1989–1990 (1991), 261–272; J. Kondić, “The Earliest Fortifications of Diana”, in Petrović 1996; Rankov-Kondić 2009.

the Egyptian god Toth (patron of literacy and science),¹² which would be the first such case in the Empire's European provinces. According to this interpretation (Kondić 1987, 44), Toth bears the unattested epithet *VITIO-MI*.¹³ The first editor believed that the dedicant was a person of Egyptian origin who served in the *militia officialis* and was possibly in charge of fleet administration, a post for which literacy was a mandatory requirement.¹⁴ This hypothesis was based both on the homonymy of the two theonyms and on the reference to the cataracts in the inscription. Like the cataracts of the Nile, the Danube cataracts were precarious rapids in the Djerdap Gorge which posed navigation hazard.¹⁵ The same term occurs in the inscription on the monumental imperial plaque of AD 101 from the same site, which commemorates the construction, between the two Dacian wars, of the canal bypassing the dangerous section of the river.¹⁶ The cataracts are also mentioned by Strabo as the point where the river's upper and lower courses become named the Danube and the Ister respectively.¹⁷ These pieces of information and the documented presence of Egyptians serving in European fleets (Starr 1962; Tomorad 2005), including those on the Danube (Dušanić 1967, n. 99; Mócsy 1974, 65), inspired the editor to put forth an interpretation which is tempting but still conjectural.

The first to challenge this interpretation was M.-C. Budischovsky (1994). From the perspective of an Egyptologist, she shows that the inscription quite certainly does not refer to the Egyptian god Toth, but rather to a regional deity, without addressing the question of which particular god this

¹² Θεῦθ (Plat. *Phileb.* 18 b; *Phaedr.* 274 c.; Cic. *nat. deor.* III 56), Θούθ-; Θώθ, Τάτ.

¹³ Kondić 1987, 44: "un épithète de dieu Toth provenant d'un toponyme égyptien?" (?).

¹⁴ Ibid. It may be interesting to note that the misspelling of the dedicant's name and the ordinary *lib{i}ens* in line 8 would have been quite ironic for a dedication to a god of literacy (cf. Mihăescu 1978, 188).

¹⁵ For the term καταρράκτης < κατα-ράσσω, see Chantraine 505, 967; Frisk 801, s.v.; *TbLL* III, 1912.

¹⁶ Petrović 1970, 31 = *ILJug* 468 (l. 4–6): *ob periculum cataractarum | derivato flumine tutam Da|nuvi navigationem fecit*. Cf. Plin. *Ep.* VIII 4. 2. Mócsy 1974, 109–110. Traces of the canal, which Felix Kanitz (*Römische Studien in Serbien*, Vienna 1892) had seen in the late nineteenth century, remained visible until the opening of the Djerdap/Iron Gate Dam in 1972.

¹⁷ Strab. VII 3.13: ... τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄνω καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς μέρη μέχρι τῶν καταρακτῶν Δανούϊον προσηγόρευον, ἃ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν Δακῶν φέρεται, τὰ δὲ κάτω μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου τὰ παρὰ τοὺς Γέτας καλοῦσιν Ἴστρον ("...the 'Danuvius' I say, for so they used to call the upper part of the river from near its sources on to the cataracts, I mean the part which in the main flows through the country of the Daci, although they give the name 'Ister' to the lower part, from the cataracts on to the Pontus, the part which flows past the country of the Getae", transl. H. L. Jones); cf. Strab. XVII 1.2.

could have been (Budischovsky 1994, 87–99).¹⁸ The homonymy between the Egyptian god and a native deity would thus be a “pure coincidence”. Namely, unlike the cults of some other Egyptian gods, such as Serapis and Isis, the cult of Toth did not spread into the western provinces. If it occurred at all, it did so only as an *interpretatio Graeca* (Hermes) or *Romana* (Mercury).¹⁹ Moreover, Budischovsky (1994, 94 and n. 35) draws attention to the important fact that the patron god of the Nile cataracts was not Toth, but Khnoum.

However, the argument from silence is not enough, especially if the epithet is assumed to be a *hapax legomenon*, which, fortunately, is not the case here (any more). Epigraphic analogies which can help explain this dedication do exist and they not only show how the inscription should not be interpreted but also are helpful in identifying the deity. As already mentioned, it is reasonable to assume that the *deus* in our inscription can be identified with the Thracian Hero since it is in the context of his cult that the variants of the attribute **Totovitio* are epigraphically attested. But, before presenting arguments for this interpretation, we should look at some formal features of the inscription and propose a different reading of problematic lines 1–2.

In the previous editions, the first line of the inscription was read as *Deo Toto*[], and the scratch at the end of the line was interpreted as the trace of a letter. Furthermore, there was some indecisiveness as to whether the agglomeration of letters *VITTONI* at the beginning of the second line should be read as a separate word.²⁰ In our view, the purportedly lost letter in the first line should be discarded, and *TOTO* and *VITTONI* should be read as one word:²¹ *Totovitio*ni, which would be the dative singular of the epithet **Totovitio*. Therefore, we propose the following reading:

Deo Toto|*vitio*ni *Aur(elius)* | *Agathomi*|*nus* (!) *mil(es)* *leg(ionis)* |⁵
III Fl(aviae) *catarac(tarum)* | *stationis* *Di*|*anae* *honest(e)* | *votum*
libiens (!) | *posuit*.

This interpretation of the dedication from Diana appears to be corroborated by a relatively recent epigraphic find, which provides its closest

¹⁸ The 2003 edition of the inscription (Mirković 2003) does not refer to this article, and neither does *AE*.

¹⁹ Budischovsky (1994, 91–92) examined and rejected the possibility that the dedication could have been related to the miraculous rain that took place at the time of Marcus Aurelius, and, according to Cassius Dio, was invoked by the Egyptian priest Arnuphis; on this, cf. P. Kovács, *Marcus Aurelius' Rain Miracle and the Marcomannic Wars* (Leiden 2009).

²⁰ For more, see *variae lectiones* on p. 3 herein.

²¹ Similarly in Budischovsky 1994, where the alternative proposed reading is: *Deo Totos*|*vitio*ni (for more, see p. 22).

analogy: the bilingual inscription dedicated to the Thracian Hero (fig. 4) discovered in the Roman province of Thrace, at Svilengrad, south-central Bulgaria, now kept in the City Museum of Veliko Tŭrnovo (inv. no. 1859). Editions: Gerasimova 1998, 15–17 (photographs and drawings) = Gerasimova 2001, 133–135; *SEG* 49, 992; *AE* 2001, 1752; cf. Chaniotis 2003.

Heroni Totoithian[o] | Ἡρωὶ Τωτοιθιανῶ[ι].

¹ *Totoithia*, Gerasimova; *Totoithian[o]*, Pleket (*SEG*); *AE* the letters *A* and *N* at the end of line 1 are in ligature. For: -ηνος /-ᾱνος, Lat. -ānus, cf. Duridanov 1989, 88.

The Thracian Hero is referred to as: ἥρως, κύριος or θεός in Greek inscriptions, and in Latin inscriptions as: *deus* and *heros*, -ōis, *m.* or, much more frequently, as the nasal stem (-on-): *heroni* (dat.) (Detschew 1957, 200).²² At times they are combined: *Deo Heroni*, *Deo sancto Heroni* and the like. The deity is usually described by a Thracian epithet, such as *Aulousadas*, *Saltobuseons*, *Assallacanos*, *Limenos*, *Aularhenos*, *Derzis* etc. (I. Vendikov in: *CCETI*, p. 1; Gočeva 1992; cf. Duridanov 1995, 830–831; Dimitrova 2002, 210; Boteva 2005). It is not unusual to find the same epithet combined with different denominations (Gočeva 1992); in this case, it occurs either as *deus* — in the inscription from Diana, or as *heros* / ἥρως — in the Lower Moesian example.

Furthermore, the element *toto-* also occurs in the Thracian epithet Τωτουσοῦρα (*soura* = *Heros*, Skr. śūra- adj. “powerful”, “valourous”, bold, *m.* “a strong man, hero”), (Georgiev 1975, 50; Detschew 1957, 471; Duridanov 1995, 827). The epithet is attested in an inscription from Lower Moesia recovered from a shrine attributed to the Thracian Hero cult in the village of Rojak, Varna area, Bulgaria, in 1984 (Gočeva 1989, 115–116; *SEG* 39, 676):

Βειθς Αυλουξενεος Θεῶ | Τωτουσουρα εὐχαριστήριον | ἀνέθηκεν.

Akin to these may also be the epithet Τωτοῖς attached to the Hero in an inscription from ancient Amphipolis (*BCH* 22, 1898, 350; cf. Georgiev 1983a, 12–13):

ιερχεύντος | Ζωΐλου τοῦ | Κασσάνδρου | Τοτοῖτι θεοδαίμονι |
ῚΥπνωὶ Πόπλιος Κλώδιος | Σέλευκος τὴν εὐχήν.

The same goes for the Thracian theonym Τοτῖς, -ῖδος,²³ which may be a corruption of the name Τοτης (Detschew 1957, 515, s.v.; Gočeva 1989, 115, links this theonym with the epithet Τωτουσουρα).

²² See below, fn. 32.

²³ Herod. II and the variant Τιτῖς *apud Choer.* 354, 21: ... Τιτῖς... ὀνόματα δαιμόνων τιμωμένων παρὰ τοῖς Θραξίν (ed. A. Lentz, 1967, p. 107). Tomaszek 1893, 48; Detschew 1957, 515: “... halte ich die Form Τοτῖς für korrupt, da der gleichlautende GN

A striking feature of the cult is its prominent religious syncretism (cf. e.g. Dimitrova 2002). It is quite usual to find the same epithet attached to the Hero and to a Greco-Roman deity, Zeus, Hera, Asclepius and Hygeia, Apollo, Diana/Artemis, Silvanus, Dionysus etc. (Duridanov 1989; Dimitrova 2002; Boteva 2011). The same goes for our inscription. Namely, a variant of the same epithet is attested in the Lower Moesian inscription from Hotnitsa near Veliko Tŭrnovo (*Nicopolis ad Istrum*). The monument is dedicated to Diana with the epithet *Totobisia* (Georgiev 1975, 54–55). There is no doubt whatsoever that *Τωτοιθινης* and our *Totovitio* should be linked with her.

Beševliev 1952, 50–51, n. 81, Tab. XXXII; *AE* 1957, 291; *ILBulg* 388; Pl. 71, 388. (cf. Georgiev 1983, 1177).

Dianae | *Totobi*|sie (!) *pos*(uit) | *C. Valer*|sius *Dot*[[us(?)].

The analogies are self-evident. *Deus Totovitio* / Ἡρώς *Τωτοιθινης* and *Diana Totobisia* obviously belong to the same cult sphere.²⁴ The different variants of *Toto-ithi-* / *Toto-viti-* / *Toto-bisi-* are easy to account for by the usual alternation *θι* / *τι* / *σι* in Greek and *th* / *ti* / *s* in Latin tradition of the Thracian name. It is a consonant — a voiceless interdental spirant, similar to English *th* in *path*, for which there are no corresponding characters in Greek and Latin. The same phenomenon is observable in other, better-documented examples. Hence, for instance, different variants of the name of a Thraco-Dacian deity: Ζβελθιουρδος, Ζβερθουρδος, Ζβελσουρδος, *Zbelth(i)urdos*, *Zbeltiurdos* / *Zbelsurdos*, *Svelsurdos*, *Zberturdus* (Duridanov 1995, 830); or of the Thracian epithet Γεικεθινης / Γικεντινης / Γεικεσηνης,²⁵ etc. The alternation *-b-* / *-v-* / *θ* -, probably a bilabial *ɸ*, similar to Engl. *w*, is also well attested.²⁶

What would the epithet *Totovitio* denote? When it comes to the analogous examples cited above, there is a divergence of opinion. According to Gerasimova, who relies on Detschew's interpretation of the element *-ithia*,

Τοτης maskulin ist, wie ja dies der Fall auch mit dem PN Τοτοης ist"; Georgiev 1983, 1208; Georgiev 1983a, 10; Georgiev 1983b, 11; Duridanov 1995, 831.

²⁴ Gerasimova has not brought these attestations into connection with the Djerdap inscription.

²⁵ This epithet is attached to the Thracian Hero and Apollo: Georgiev 1975, 29; Duridanov 1989, 100; Gočeva 1992, 170. Cf. e.g. *IGBulg* III/2, 1810; *IGBulg* III/2, 1811 and (Γινκατινης). *IGBulg* III/2 1807, 1808; cf. *IGBulg* III/1, 1497: [Ἡρώ]ι Γεσηνη; Γινκισηνης and Γεικα.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Βειθυ- / *Vithopus*, *Vitupaus* (Georgiev 1974, 8); *Saldovysēnos*, *Σαλτουσηνης*, *Σαλτοβουσηνης*, *Σαλτοβουσηνης* (Detschew 1957, 412–413; Duridanov 1989, 104–105). Adams 2003, 356–376; 473–490; 491–492; cf. 98–108; 283–284.

-*bisia*,²⁷ the epithet would mean “love-giving god/goddess” (*AE* 2001, 1752). According to Georgiev (1975, 54; 1983b, 10), the name might have derived from *dotō-* (*do-*, Gr. δίδωμι), “celle qui distribue”, and -βιθς / -βειθς (-βιτος, -*bita*, -*vitho*, -*vitu*), Gr. φῖτυ, “plant shoot”,²⁸ and so *Diana Totobisia* would be “celle qui distribue ... *physis* (production, accouchement, nature)”, and therefore a deity associated with nature and vegetation. It seems more likely, however, that the epithet is a toponymic modifier. Thus, ἥρως Τωτοιθηνος would most likely be the hero from **Totoithia* (Chaniotis 2003). Most epithets attached to the Thracian Hero derive from place-names, as suggested by the ending -ηνος which is characteristic of ethnic names.²⁹ The Latin form of the epithet in the inscription from Svilengrad ends in -*ānus*, while in the inscription from Diana it is rendered as -*on-* stem of the third declension,³⁰ which resembles the dedication *IMS* IV 119 = *CCET* V 25: *deo Tatoni* (dat. <*Tato*; cf. Thr. *Tata* / *Tatas* / *Tato* etc.) (Detschew 1957, 494; cf. Beševliev 1962).

The dedicant’s cognomen *Agathominus* may be the misspelled name *Agathonymus*, as believed by the previous editors.³¹ It suggests that the dedicant probably came from a Hellenophone area and thus possibly was a Thracian. The presence of the Thracian element in the military units stationed in Upper Moesia, and especially in the Danube fleet, is a quite well-known fact and needs no further elaboration (e.g. Mócsy 1974, 65). Moreover, the

²⁷ Detschew 1969, 156: -*ithiana* / -ιθινη “love”. On the element -(e)*ithia-*, frequent in epichoric names, such as *Eitiosaros*, *Ithioslha*, *Ebist-ithia(s)* etc., and in divine epithets, recently: Dana 2001–2003, 81: (ad *IGBulg* V 5328) and n. 15: (*CCET* II 244 = *IGBulg* V 5380): Ειθις Ειθιαλου; (*IGBulg* II 858 = *CCET* II 251): Ειτις(ε)ν[εος] (*ISM* V 79 = *CCET* IV 108): *Ithazis*; (*IGBulg* II 771 = *CCET* II 415): Θεῶ Ειτιοσαρω; (*CCET* 674 = *ILBulg* 350): *Heroni Ithiostlae*.

²⁸ Cf. Thr. *Bithu-*, god of vegetation, growth etc. (Duridanov 1995, 827).

²⁹ I. Vendikov in *CCET* I; Detschew 1936, and, perhaps the best on the subject, Duridanov 1989, 85–112, where he has collected eighty-six Thracian epithets ending in -ηνος (from Thrace, Moesia and Dacia), of which sixty-seven derive from toponyms. In a critical review of the Svilengrad inscription Chaniotis has also subscribed to this view, referring to the same article by Duridanov (n. 63. *SEG* 39, 642; Chaniotis 2003, 272). Cf. also Duridanov 1995, 831.

³⁰ Cf. Mihăescu 1978, 224. See also the declension *heros*, *heronis*, *heroni* characteristic of the monuments to the Thracian Horseman. Cf. Beševliev 1962, 94: “Es läßt jedoch nicht mit Bestimmtheit sagen, ob es sich um eine einfache Latinisierung oder um eine Art Verfeinerung oder Modernisierung der thrakischen Namen vom Standpunkt der Thraker aus handelt.”

³¹ Ἀγαθώνυμος. Cf. *GPNR* I, 13, and *Agathonimus*, *CIL* VI 4576, 11241. Here I follow Kondić 1987 and Budischovsky 1994, 94. *AE* proposes *Agathomimus*, which seems to me less likely.

presence in the Djerdap Gorge of persons bearing names indicative of their Thracian origin is epigraphically relatively well attested.³² For instance, there occur at *Aquae* (modern Prahovo, Serbia) several persons bearing Thracian names: *Bitus Biti*; *Con(us) Con(i)*; *Tato* (*CIL* III 8095); *Aurelius Tara*, *vexillarius* in *cohors III Campestris* stationed in the Djerdap Gorge (*AE* 1971, 424 = *ILJug* 461);³³ at Pojejena, Romania: *Dizo* (*IDR* III/1, 12); some of the persons bearing Greek names at Drobeta, Romania, could have also belonged to the same group. It should be noted that Drobeta, a major Roman town on the Danube opposite Diana, has yielded five monuments dedicated to the Thracian Hero (Petolescu 1974, 250–251; cf. *CCET* IV 146–149; *IDR* II, 25; cf. *IDR* II 20; 132) — which is an important fact, given the relatively small total number of such monuments in Dacia.³⁴

The Latinised form of the theonym and the use of Latin may be taken as a sign of Romanisation (Boteva 2007, 87; cf. Adams 2003, 760–761) and the same may go for the fact that the monument is not typical of the Thracian Hero cult.³⁵ Typologically, in terms of context, it corresponds to the aforementioned inscriptions from Singidunum (fig. 1), Viminacium (fig. 2) and Naissus.

Taking all the above into account, a simpler interpretation of the Diana inscription emerges as more likely. The dedicant was a Roman soldier who served in *legio IV Flavia*. His name indicates a Romanised native, probably of Thracian origin, serving on the Danube frontier, where he, as was often the case, set up a *votum* to the ancestral hero-god *deus Totovitio*, possibly linked with *Diana Totobisia*. Quite conveniently, he did it on a site named after, and very likely under the protection of, the goddess.

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³² Relatively, given the total number of discovered inscriptions and the small number of civilians.

³³ A namesake, *M. Aur. Tara*, from *legio VII Claudia*, has been attested in an inscription from Viminacium (*IMS* II 53) and on bricks: *praepositus ripae legionis VII Claudia* (*CIL* III 17003, 4). Cf. Dana 2001–2003, 81 and n. 19–20.

³⁴ Cf. also an interesting relief from Drobeta with a Latin votive inscription dedicated to *Iovi Optimo Maximo Zb(elthiurdo)* (*CIL* III 14 216 = *IDR* II 20) — a fine example of religious syncretism. For *Zbelsourdos*, cf. Tomaschek 1893, 60–62; Detschew 1957, 177. For the spelling of the name, see the body text with n. 46.

³⁵ For the basic typology of the Thracian Horseman monuments, see e.g. Kazarow 1938; Vaglieri, *Diz. ep.* II/2, col. 1721, s.v. *Deus*. Dimitrova 2002; *CCET* I–V. For Upper Moesia: *CCET* V; cf. e.g. *IMS* IV 119; *IMS* I 2; *IMS* II 221; 309; *IMS* IV 26.

Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>Année épigraphique</i> , Paris
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds. Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter
<i>CCET</i>	<i>Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii</i> I–V, Leiden 1979–1982
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots</i> , Paris 1968–1980
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin
<i>Diz. ep.</i>	De Ruggiero, <i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane</i> , Roma
Frisk	H. Frisk, <i>Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , Heidelberg 1960
<i>GPNR</i>	H. Solin, <i>Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: Ein Namenbuch (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Auctarium, 2)</i> , vols. 1–3, Berlin
<i>EDH</i>	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i> , http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de
<i>EDR</i>	<i>Epigraphic Database Rome</i> , www.edr-edr.it
<i>IDR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , eds. D. M. Pippidi and I. I. Russu, vol. 5: ed. I. Piso, Paris.
<i>IGBulg</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , ed. G. Mihailov
<i>ILBulg</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , ed. B. Gerov
<i>ILJug</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963, A. et J. Šašel
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , H. Dessau
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , Belgrade
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden

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Fig. 1 Inscription to the Thracian Hero from Singidunum (after *IMS* I 2)



Fig. 2 Inscription from Djerdap Gorge (drawing after V. Kondić 1987)



Fig. 3 Dedication to Diana Totobisia (after Beševliev 1952, Pl. XXXII, fig. 2)



Fig. 4 Inscription from Svilengrad (drawing after Gerasimova 1999, p. 16, fig. 2)

Wine and the Vine in Upper Moesia Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence

Abstract: Vine-growing and winemaking in the area of the Roman province of Upper Moesia are looked at based on the information supplied by the ancient sources, and the archaeological and epigraphic evidence (inscriptions, artistic depictions, vine-dressing and winemaking implements, drinking and transport vessels). Viniculture is associated with the Greco-Roman cultural orbit, while the native central-Balkan tribes typically consumed alcoholic beverages made from cereals. Therefore the goal of the research is to shed as much light as currently possible on the significance of vine-growing and wine in the life of the inhabitants of Upper Moesia.

Keywords: wine, vine-growing, inscriptions, tools, amphorae, Balkans, Upper Moesia, Dionysus, Liber

The Roman province of Upper Moesia was not particularly known as a wine-producing region and it certainly could not compete with other provinces in that respect. There is no detailed contemporary information about the growing of grape vines in Upper Moesia, a plant the cultivation of which required both physical effort and knowhow. The cultivation of grape vines and the consumption of wine have been ascribed to the influence of Greco-Roman culture. This is why it seems important to shed as much light as currently possible on the role of vine-growing and winemaking in the life of native and incomer populations in the province.

The framework of this study is territorially limited to the province of Upper Moesia. Given that its boundaries, first established in AD 86, changed frequently over the centuries, what is usually taken as the perimeter of the province is the one that emerged in the first half of the second century.¹ Thus, the territory of the province of Upper Moesia examined in this paper covers most of today's central Serbia (except a smaller western part which belonged to the province of Dalmatia), the northwest portion of today's Bulgaria to the Tsibritsa (Ciabrus) river, and the region of Tetovo in the north of today's FYR Macedonia (see Map on p. 31). A good part of the archaeological material included in this study dates from the third and fourth centuries, that is, after the territorial reorganisation of the Roman Empire. It could be said, therefore, that the material comes from the emerg-

¹ Mirković 1968, 13ff; and 1981, 75–76.

ing provinces of Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Prima and Dardania. Due to the importance and richness of the archaeological and epigraphic monuments from these areas, all of them have been included even if they date from a later period.

It is commonly held that the preferred beverages in continental Europe were those made from cereals, mead and beer. Viniculture, on the other hand, is associated with the ancient Greeks and Romans.² From the few studies on the subject, it appears that Illyricum belonged to the continental culture of alcoholic beverage consumption.³ The little information that can be gleaned from the contemporary sources suggests that, prior to the Greek colonisation of Dalmatian islands or the Roman conquest of the mainland, wine had been virtually unknown to the Illyrians, as it had been to the Celts and Germans; yet, some hold that the vine might have been grown there even earlier.⁴ Strabo (5.1.8 [214]; 7.5.10 [316–317]) mentions the absence of wine among the native population of Illyricum, and Cassius Dio (49.36.3), a third-century governor of Pannonia, describes the quality of local wines as poor. According to the sources, beverages typically drunk in Illyricum were beer (*sabaia*, *sabaium* or *κάμιν*) and mead. The Greeks had been associating beer with the Thracians, Phrygians and other northern neighbours since the seventh century BC (Nelson 2008, 21 ff). Cassius Dio (49.36.3) and Ammianus Marcellinus (26.8.2) claim that the local population in Pannonia grows barley and oat, from which they brew a sort of beer known as *sabaia*. Marcellinus says that *sabaia*, a beverage brewed from barley or some other cereal, is the drink of the poor inhabitants of Illyricum. He even calls the emperor Valens, who was born in Illyricum, a *sabaiarius*, or beer lover. St. Jerome (*Comm. in Isaia* 7.19) also mentions the drink called *sabaium*, made by the native population of Pannonia and Dalmatia, and compares it to *zythos*, a beer brewed in Egypt. On the other hand, Archilochus of Paros claims that wine and beer have been known in

² The bias against beer was essentially ideological. It was considered a barbarian beverage and thus unbecoming of the Greeks and Romans; cf. Nelson 2003, 101–120.

³ The sources (Theopomp. apud Athen. 10.443a–c; Polyb. 3.4.6; Liv. 44.30–5–6) claim that the way in which the Illyrians drink wine is different and that they are very prone to getting drunk; cf. Dzino 2006, 74.

⁴ For the view that the vine was introduced by the Greeks and Romans, see Dzino 2005, 57–63; and 2006, 74. For the opposite view, that vine-growing and winemaking were known in Illyricum even earlier, see Zaninović 1976, and 2007, 27–30. For a discussion about both possibilities, see Škegro 1999, 151–154. For the view that the importation of vine and wine into southern Illyricum did not increase until the classical age, see Škegro 1999, 145 (with earlier literature).

Thrace since the seventh century BC,⁵ which is the period when the first Greek colonies were established there, while Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast were founded a little later (Dyczek 2007, 238). One of the earliest references to Thracian wine can be found in Homer (*Iliad* 9.72). Although the central Balkans was undergoing an intensive process of Romanisation until late antiquity, the question is to what extent the culture of alcohol consumption changed over time.

Bearing in mind the above-outlined Greek and Roman attitudes to wine and beer on the one hand, and those of the various tribes in the Balkans on the other, we should remember that the ethnic makeup of the future province of Upper Moesia was quite heterogeneous both before and after the Roman conquest. The south was inhabited by the Dardani, while the areas north of them were populated by the Picenses, Tricorneses, Moesi and other tribes (Papazoglu 1969, 45, 84, 97, 264–265; Dušanić 2000, 344). The period of Roman domination was marked by the Romanisation of the native populations, more prominent in the urban environments than in the countryside, and by the migration and settlement of people from other parts of the Empire. The epigraphic evidence shows the presence of Illyrian, Thracian and Celtic names, and there also occur names which suggest the land of origin, such as Gaul, Italy, Macedonia, Greece or Syria (Mócsy 1974, 70, 124).⁶

Greek influences were probably instrumental in introducing the native population to viticulture. As the latest research has shown, even before the creation of the province of Upper Moesia in AD 86, the local population of the southern parts of the future province had been in contact with the Greek world and with wine. From the end of the fifth century BC the process of Hellenisation had been spreading northward, beyond Macedonia and Paionia, across the Vardar/Axios, as evidenced by the archaeological sites along the upper course of the Južna (South) Morava — Kacipup near Preševo and Kale in the village of Krševica near Bujanovac (Popović 2007, 125ff) — the northernmost known settlement sites exhibiting Hellenic features. Bearing in mind the role of wine in the Greek world, these sites are of particular interest for our topic.

The concentration of Greek finds on the site Kale-Krševica suggests that it was an urban hub which, owing to a network of roads and well-developed trade, maintained close contact with the valleys of the Vardar/Axios and Struma rivers and the Aegean (Popović 2005, 40ff). All test pits have yielded amphorae, and some of their stamps suggest that a consider-

⁵ Nelson 2008, 25 ff (with an overview of the sources and literature on wine and beer in Thrace).

⁶ Cf. the inscriptions in all volumes of the *IMS*.

able amount of wine was supplied from Thasos (Popović 2007, 129). Given the diversity of shapes, the amphorae probably came from other centres as well, such as the Khalkidhiki and the broader Aegean region. On the other hand, some were locally produced in imitation of Greek pottery shapes. The assumption that the local population had been familiar not only with wine but also with the Greek god Dionysus even before the Roman conquest is corroborated by the discovery at Novi Pazar of a Greek black-figure olpe showing Dionysus holding a rhyton and accompanied by a satyr. The olpe has been dated to the late sixth century BC.⁷

The Roman army brought its own customs to the conquered regions, including the practice of wine drinking, and it first came to the northern part of the province.⁸ Some sections of the overland road through the almost impassable Djerdap (Iron Gate) Gorge, along the Upper Moesian Danube border, were completed as early as the thirties of the first century. Due to this road and the establishing and garrisoning of permanent military camps, it was there that the earliest and most comprehensive Romanisation took place.

It seems likely, therefore, that the first encounter of the native population with wine took place in the late fifth century BC in the southern part of what was to become the Roman province of Upper Moesia, and that the Danube region became familiar with it much later, in the first century AD. The possibility should not be ruled out that the population of the eastern part of the province, which included Thracians, had known wine even before the Roman conquest.

This account of how the inhabitants of Upper Moesia came to know wine should be complemented with an analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence which may confirm its consumption if not its production. The evidence includes Bacchic monuments, which indirectly speak of the significance of the vine and wine, and will be used here only as an additional corroborative argument; artistic depictions of grape harvesting, which attest to the knowledge of viticulture; commercial amphorae; and finally, the most important confirmation that the inhabitants of Upper Moesia produced and consumed wine: tools used in vine-growing and winemaking.

⁷ The olpe was found in association with a large amount of jewellery and luxurious pottery which probably came from a burial context. It is difficult to say if it was a single or multiple burial, but the absence of any military equipment suggests either that the grave was plundered or that it was a female burial. Cf. Mano-Zisi & Popović 1969, 13; Babić 2004, 158, cat. no. II/8, 98, 99, 113, 121, 122. On the Archaic Greek finds from the central Balkans, see Babić 2004.

⁸ During the six centuries of Roman and early Byzantine domination in the Balkans, these military camps formed one of the Empire's most important lines of defence. Cf. Mirković 1968 21ff; Petrović 1986, 41–55.

The sources attest to vine-growing in Upper Moesia, notably in the area of present-day Smederevo, a town on the Danube 45km downstream from Belgrade. They refer to the emperor Probus as the one who planted the vine not only in Pannonia, around present-day Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium), but also in Upper Moesia, on the Golden Hill.⁹ The Golden Hill (Aureus Mons) was a Roman settlement in the environs of Smederevo, near the place where the stream Udovički Potok flows into the Danube (Mirković 1968, 37). It is there, in the modern-day village of Udovice, that a bronze appliqué of the first or second century showing a maenad with a wreath of flowers and leaves on her head was found (Veličković 1972, 83, no. 125; Pilipović 2011, cat. no. 79). The Smederevo area also yielded an inscription dedicated to Liber.¹⁰ This area might have been planted with vineyards even before the reign of Domitian (r. 81–96), who issued an edict forbidding vine-growing in the provinces.¹¹ The ban was lifted much later by Marcus Aurelius Probus (r. 276–282).

The province yielded numerous artistic depictions belonging to Dionysian imagery,¹² as well as depictions of implements used in vine-growing. Dionysian iconography will not be discussed here, only the scenes that can be of relevance to our topic will be pointed to. One of perhaps the most significant representations of the kind can be found on a pilaster on the front face of the eastern gate of the younger fortification of the late Roman palace at Gamzigrad.¹³ The central relief shows putti picking grapes (the *Vindemia*). Their naked figures in various poses are set among vines and grapes. The lower part of the scene shows two figures, one of them holding a ram. A special place of Dionysian subject matter in the iconography of

⁹ Eutropius (IX.17) credits the emperor with introducing vine-growing to the provinces: *Vineas Gallos et Pannonios habere peremisit, opere militari Almam montem apud Sirmium et Aureum apud Moesiam superiorem vineis conseruit et provincialibus colendis dedit*. According to Aurelius Victor (Epitome de Caesaribus, 37): *Probus, genitus patre agresti hortorum studioso Dalmatio nomine, imperavit annos sex. Iste Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae imperatores effectos oppressit. Vineas Gallos et Pannonios habere permisit. Opere militari Almam montem apud Sirmium et Aureum apud Moesiam superiorem vineis conseruit. Hic Sirmii in turri ferrata occiditur*.

¹⁰ IMS II 27: *Libero Pat(ri) | Aug(usto) sa[c(rum)] | [- - -]*

¹¹ The most explicit information about this edict can be found in Suetonius' account of the life of Domitian (7.2). The ban has been interpreted as an attempt to boost grain production, but also to ensure a competitive advantage to the vineyards in Italy. Cf. Levick 1982, 67; Gransey 1988; Unwin 2002, 133ff (with an overview of the sources and literature).

¹² For the depictions of Bacchus and his *thiasos*, see Pilipović 2011.

¹³ Although the area in which the palace is situated became part of Dacia Ripensis in a third-century territorial reorganisation of the Roman Empire, it seems important to note it. Cf. *Rim. car. gr.* 1993, 210, cat. no. 52; Pilipović 2011, cat. no. 69.

the emperor Galerius' palace at Gamizigrad (Felix Romuliana) has not gone unnoticed.¹⁴

The tools used in vine-growing are shown in two bronze statuettes from an unknown find-spot, broadly dated to a period between the second and fourth century, now in the Belgrade City Museum. One is the standing figure of Bacchus, with an apron around the waist, holding a knife in his right hand, probably the knife for pruning vines (*falx vinitoria*) or for cutting off grapes (*falcula vineatica*), and a bunch of grapes in the raised left hand (Bojović 1985a, cat. no. 19, fig. 19; *Ant. bronz. Singid.* 37, no. 17; Pilipović 2011, cat. no. 38). The other is a satyr carrying the child Bacchus on his raised left hand, and holding a knife (*cultellus*) in the other (Bojović 1985b, cat. no. 22, fig. 22; Srejšević & Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1987, 78, no. 30; *Ant. bronz. Singid.* 39, no. 27; Pilipović 2011, cat. 39). Apart from these two statuettes, there are numerous depictions of Bacchus with a cantharus or pouring the contents of a wineskin into a patera (Pilipović 2011, cat. nos. 11, 12, 15, 26, 27, 29–31, 33, 34, 37–39, 41–43, 49–51, 54, 55, 57).

Yet, much more relevant to understanding the role of the vine and wine in Upper Moesia are various archaeologically recovered implements for tending vineyards: from tillage tools to tools for pruning vines and cutting off grapes. One should be cautious, however, not to be too definite about the purpose of any one tool, because one tool could have several uses (Popović 1988). One of the oft-mentioned tools in the ancient sources is the billhook. Billhooks could be used for pruning in general (*falx arboraria*, *falx putatoria*), and therefore for pruning vines (*falx vinitoria*), leaves (*falx selvatica*), for cutting off various fruits (*falcula*) and for cutting off bunches of grapes (*falcula vineatica*) (Popović 1988, 76). The potentially multiple uses of one tool and the variety of different tools (hoes, knives etc.) that could have been used in the vineyard require caution when attempting to identify the possible location of ancient vineyards. Regardless of the purpose for which the discovered billhooks were used, it should be noted that their highest concentrations have been registered at Ravna near Knjaževac (as many as ten), in the Danube region of the province (seven at Boljetin and four in the environs of Obrenovac), and at Caričin Grad (Iustiniana Prima) near Leskovac (eight) in the south.¹⁵ Billhooks have been found on

¹⁴ The close association between the palace at Gamizigrad and the cult of Dionysus has been noticed by Srejšević et al. 1983; Petrović 1995, 247; Dušanić 1995, 77–98; Živić 1995; Pilipović 2011, 110–116.

¹⁵ For the various types of billhooks found at these sites, see Popović 1988, 76–88.

many other sites in the Danube region and on the sites of the sumptuous late Roman villa at Mediana and the imperial palace at Gamzigrad.¹⁶

The province has also yielded the remains of two winepresses (*torcularia*). The base of one winepress, made of poor-quality stone, dark green schist, was discovered at Vrbovec near Lebane (Filipović 1968, 5–7; Petrović 1976, 125–126; Jović 2002, 38, no. 9). The other was discovered at Mediana (Petrović 1976, 125–126; Dobruna-Salih 2007, 256), near the thermae. It is circular in shape (1.20m in diameter) and has a wide groove for fluid escape. Its upper part, which was probably cubic and made of wood, has not survived. These discoveries provide tangible evidence for vine-growing in the province. Apart from the presses, also worthy of note is the find of a grape seed (*Vitis vibifera* L. subsp. *vinifera*) from Gamzigrad, discovered in a context dated to the latter half of the third century. The find can hardly serve as a proof of the presence of vineyards, but it should be noted that it is not the short and round type of pip typical of the wild species (Medović 2008, 156).

The evidence of the worship of Dionysus/Bacchus/Liber is also suggestive of the significance of wine in Upper Moesia. The most explicit of the evidence which unambiguously emphasises the role of the deity as the patron god of wine and vine-growing can be found in inscriptions. The inscription from Pusto Šilovo near Leskovac (*IMS* IV, 109) mentions *Liber Laetus*, while the inscription from Naissus (*IMS* IV, 25) refers to Liber in association with Hilara.¹⁷ Both the Latin adjective *laetus*, -a, -um, meaning “cheerful, merry, fecund”, and *hilaris*, -e, which comes from Greek *hilaros*, mean cheerful. Therefore, the inscriptions attest that Liber and Libera were worshipped as deities of festivity and fertility, and, by extension, of wine and grapes. Moreover, the inscription from Pusto Šilovo comes from a rural area (Jović 2002, 40; Petrović 1976, 140): the votive altar was set up by a father and son, and the father probably was the village head, given that the altar was set up for the good health of the villagers.¹⁸ The ancient name of the settlement defined as a *vicus* remains unknown.

¹⁶ The largest number of billhooks of various types was found at: Karataš, Hajdučka Vodenica and Saldum; followed by Salakovac, Braničevo County, and Brodica near Kučevo. Individual finds also come from the environs of Obrenovac; from the Danube area of the province: Singidunum, Železnik, Čezava, Porečka reka, and Pontes; and from the central part of the province: Jagodina. For more, see Popović 1988.

¹⁷ For the inscription from Pusto Šilovo, see *AE* 1968, 449; Petrović 1965, 245ff, no. 1, fig. 1; *IMS* IV, 109; Jović 2002, 34, no. 1; Pilipović 2011, cat. 10. For the inscription from Naissus, see *CIL* III, 1680=8248; *ILS* 3383; *IMS* IV, 25; Pilipović 2011, cat. 9.

¹⁸ For the good health of the dedicants, father and son, and the villagers: *pro salutes suas et vicanorum posuerunt*; cf. Petrović 1976, 140, and 1995a, 109; Pilipović 2011, 90, 94, 96.

The area that yielded these inscriptions also yielded other artefacts showing Dionysian iconography. The silver intaglio set in an iron ring from the site known as “Musin grob” (Musa’s grave) near Leskovac, dated to the mid-second century, shows Pan dancing with a goat (Zotović 1997, 23–27, fig. on p. 24; Pilipović 2001, cat. 113). From Naissus comes a fragment of a statuette of a maenad (Vulić 1941–48, no. 259; Petrović 1976, 56, fig. 23; Srejšević & Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1987, 132, no. 57; Tomović 1992, 93, no. 94; *Rim. car. gr.* 1993, 226, no. 79; Drča 2004, no. 67; Pilipović 2011, cat. 64), in fact the head with a childish-looking face wearing a narrow band around the low forehead and a wreath of flowers and leaves in the exuberant hair.

When it comes to other depictions and inscriptions dedicated to Liber, things get more complex. It is possible that Liber was worshipped as the god of fecundity not only of the above-ground realm, i.e. of agriculture, including vine-growing, but also of the underground realm, i.e. of the earth’s mineral riches. Liber and Libera in two inscriptions from Singidunum (*IMS* I, 16 and 17) may have played this complex role (Pilipović 2011, 88, with earlier literature). One inscription was dedicated to Jupiter, Terra Mater, Liber and Libera, while the other was dedicated only to Liber and Libera. They were found in close proximity to one another in the greater Belgrade area (the former was recovered from the vineyard of the Krečić family), possibly on what were the suburban estates of Aurelius Atticus, the veteran of *legio IV Flavia* who dedicated the first-mentioned inscription. The dedicant of the other inscription remains unknown. Some have suggested that Atticus might have been linked with the mines on Mount Avala near Singidunum.¹⁹ A comparably complex role may have been played by Dionysus shown in the triad with Zeus and Hercules in the relief from Bukovo near Negotin. It should be noted that the Negotin area has been known as a vine-growing region since ancient times (Jovanović 2005, 520).

What should also be mentioned is the ample evidence that wine was supplied to this region by waterways from the early days of Roman domination. Wine was transported in amphorae, vessels specifically designed for storage and transport, and so were other foodstuffs intended for Roman military personnel and civilian population (Bjelajac 1996, 9, 17), such as olive oil, salted fish, fish sauce (e.g. *garum* and *muria*), olives, grains and dried fruit. The original content of the amphorae discovered on Upper Moesian sites is a little-studied issue. The sites have reportedly yielded only a few amphorae with food residues, and their original content has been conjectured from the findings of other researchers.

¹⁹ Also, his service in the decurionate of Sirmium may be linked with the *argentariae Pannonicae* which were administered from Sirmium; cf. Dušanić 1990, 588ff.

The presence of resin on the inner surface of the amphorae is characteristic of the wine amphorae: it was the traditional method of flavouring wine. Resin was found in some of the amphorae belonging to the west-Mediterranean type (Bjelajac 1996, 23) recovered from Singidunum and Viminacium on the Upper Moesian Danube frontier. Resin was also found in some Pontic amphorae (Bjelajac 1996, 54, 69). Apart from them, there are many finds of amphorae whose shapes or analogies suggest that they served for the transportation of wine. These west-Mediterranean, African, Pontic and east-Mediterranean amphorae of various types have been recovered from various sites along the Danube. Most come from sites in Belgrade (Singidunum) and Kostolac (Viminacium), but also further downstream: Saldum, Boljetin, Ravna, Donji Milanovac (Taliata), Hajdučka Vodenica, Tekija (Transdierna), Karataš (Diana), Kostol (Pontes), Mala Vrbica, Kurvingrad, Milutinovac, Ušće Slatinske Reke, Prahovo (Aquae) and Mokranjske Stene (Bjelajac 1966).

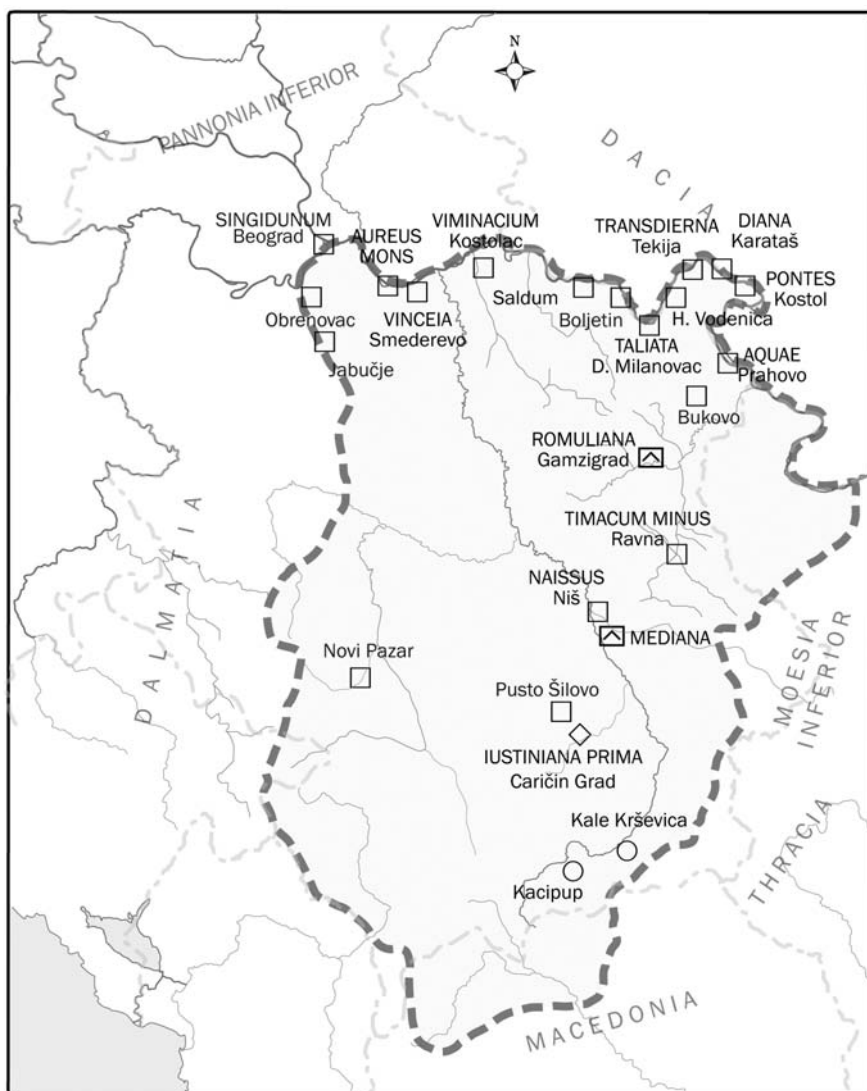
The Roman invasion did not only bring wine and the custom of wine drinking to the conquered areas, but also luxurious wine vessels. The province of Upper Moesia has yielded many lavish wine drinking vessels, which first appeared there as early as the beginning of the first century (Popović 1995, 145ff). Among them are the silver cup showing Dionysus and Ariadne (*CIL* III, 6334; Hirschfeld 1874, 423=*CIL* III *Suppl.* 8278; Cichorius 1901, 303; Vassits 1903, Pl. 1/1,2; Greifenhagen 1967, 27–63, figs. 1–10, 13; Baratte 1976, 33, Pl. 1/1; Veličković 1983, cat. no. 45; Popović 1994, 277, cat. no. 180; Pilipović 2011, cat. 41), or the silver cup from Jabučje near Lazarevac, also decorated with Dionysian imagery (Veličković 1983, cat. no. 35; Popović 1994, 225, cat. no. 140; Pilipović 2011, cat. 88). These are imported objects whose forms, craftsmanship and decoration suggest the post-Augustan Campanian production centres working in the tradition of the Alexandrian workshops of the Hellenistic age (Popović 1994, 46–48; Cvjetičanin 1995, 163). According to the inscription, the owner of the Ariadne cup was Lucius Flavius Valens, the prefect of an auxiliary unit recruited in Spain and stationed on the lower Danube. The owner of the vessel recovered from the hoard at Jabučje was either a well-to-do person or perhaps a soldier who had looted the valuables in Italy and brought them with him to Upper Moesia in the early phase of Roman domination. These examples suggest that wine was drunk out of luxurious wine cups at an early date.

* * *

The evidence described above appears to suggest that the first encounter of the native population, traditionally consuming beverages brewed from cere-

als, with wine had taken place as early as the end of the fifth century BC in the Hellenistic settlements in what was to become the southern part of the Roman province of Upper Moesia. On the other hand, a more significant encounter began much later, with the arrival of the Roman army in the Danube area in the first century AD. It is not impossible that the population of the eastern part of the province, which included Thracians, had known wine even before the Roman conquest. The amphorae, frequently with a resin lining for improving the quality of wine, and luxurious wine cups decorated with Dionysian motifs, began to be imported in the early days of Roman rule, which makes them a remarkable testimony to the significance of wine for the Romans who served, or later settled, in the region. According to the sources (Eutorp. IX.17; Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* 37), the vine was grown on the Golden Hill (*Mons Aureus*) in the environs of Smederevo, the site from which come a few artefacts belonging to the Dionysian/Bacchic cult. Many monuments of the Dionysian/Bacchic cult from the province may be indicative of the significance of the vine and wine. Most of them are broadly dated to the second and third centuries. Perhaps the most important are the inscriptions (*IMS* IV, 25 and 119) attesting to the worship of Liber as the god of the vine and wine in Naissus (Niš) and in the environs of Leskovac. It may be interesting to note that it was near Lebane, to the southeast of Leskovac, that a winepress (*torcularia*) and a number of billhooks were found. The exact purpose of the discovered agricultural tools, which include a considerable number of billhooks, is difficult to pinpoint. Even so, the highest concentration of billhooks was found at Ravna (on the site Timacum Minus). Implements used in vine-dressing were found on the sites of a late Roman villa and an imperial palace as well. The late Roman villa at Mediana yielded a winepress and numerous billhooks, which were also found at the imperial residence at Gamzigrad. The discovered presses and no doubt some of the billhooks may corroborate the assumption that wine was not only consumed but also produced in the region. Finally, it should be emphasised that this research makes no pretensions to offer any definitive conclusions; rather it is meant as a contribution to a little-studied topic, the understanding of which will hopefully be furthered by new archaeological discoveries.

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Wine and vine in Upper Moesia
Find-spots of archaeological and epigraphic evidence

Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
<i>Ant. bronz. Singid.</i>	<i>Antička bronzna Singidunuma</i> , ed. S Krunić. Belgrade: Belgrade City Museum, 1997.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selecta</i> I–III. Berlin 1892–1916.
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptons de la Mésie Supérieure</i> I, II, III/2, IV, VI, Belgrade 1976–1995.
<i>Rim. car. gr.</i> 1993	<i>Rimski carski gradovi i palate u Srbiji</i> , ed. D. Srejšović. Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1993.

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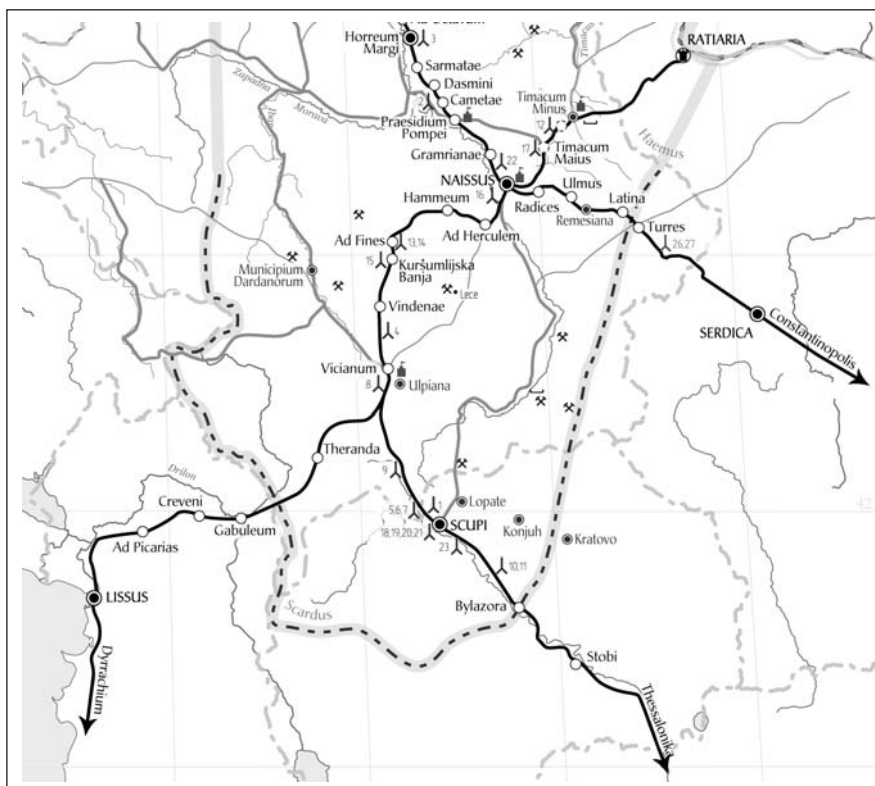
This paper results from the projects of the Institute for Balkan Studies *Society, spiritual and material culture and communications in prehistory and early history of the Balkans* (no. 177012), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence Contributing to Identifying the Location and Character of Timacum Maius

Abstract: Systematic archaeological excavation in the area of the village of Niševac near Svrljig, southeast Serbia, of a Roman settlement site, possibly Timacum Maius station on the main Roman road Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria connecting the Adriatic and the Danube, has been going on for five years. Epigraphic and etymological analysis of an inscription dedicated to Hera Sonketene (dat. Ἡρᾶ Σονκητηνῆ) provides evidence for the possible balneological character of the entire area of Timacum Maius, which was geomorphologically similar to and connected by a road network with the Thracian region of Denteletika centred on Pautalia, where the dedicant, Tiberius Claudius Theopompus served as strategos. The archaeological evidence complements the conclusions suggested by the epigraphic material. The recently discovered second-century Roman structure furnished with a hypocaust system using perforated circular-sectioned pebble-filled ceramic tubuli for heating the floors and outer walls of the building may have served a balneal purpose. A sizeable Roman bathhouse, with remains of two pools and two rooms with a hypocaust and ceramic tubuli, has also been partially explored. In the broader area of Svrljig Valley (near the village of Prekonoga), a luxurious Roman villa with a marble hexagon, numerous rooms and a bath, recently subjected to a rescue excavation, has been completely cleared and recorded. The first geophysical survey on the Timacum Maius site has also been undertaken.

Keywords: Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria road, Timacum Maius, inscription dedicated to Hera Sonketene, Pautalia, geomorphology, newly-discovered structural remains, geophysical survey

The ancient past of the Svrljig area, southeast Serbia, has been an object of interest for many curious persons and antiquity lovers, such as famous Felix Kanitz (1986: 350), but also for renowned historians, art historians, culturologists and archaeologists. The work of Djurdje Bošković and Petar Petrović provided a solid basis for embarking on archaeological research (Bošković 1951: 221–244; Petrović 1968: 55–61, 1976: 43–56, 1992: 121–132). In the area of the village of Niševac near Svrljig, systematic archaeological excavation has been going on for five years on an ancient Roman settlement site, possibly the station Timacum Maius on the major Roman road leading from Lissus via Naissus to Ratiaria or, in other words, from the Adriatic Coast via the central Balkans to the Danube (Petrović



Map 1 Roman road Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria

2007: 81–95)¹ (Map 1). Once the Romans consolidated their grip on the Balkans and the Empire's border on the Danube, this important route, built for military purposes in the first century AD, increasingly assumed economic significance, especially for transporting ores and metals from the Balkans to Italy and other parts of the Empire (Petrović 2008: 31–40). The Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria road, the shortest link between the Adriatic ports and the Danube, is shown in the famous Roman road map, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. On the section of the road between Naissus and the Danube through modern-day Serbia, the map records two stations and inter-station distances: Timacum Maius and Timacum Minus. Their possible locations have been a subject of much scholarly debate over the years. Since the *Ta-*

¹ The archaeological investigation has been carried out by the Belgrade-based Institute for Balkan Studies and is funded by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, the Municipality of Svrlijig, and the Centre for Tourism, Culture and Sport of Svrlijig. Since 2013 it has been carried out jointly by the Institute for Balkan Studies and the Bordeaux-based Ausonius Institute as part of a Serbo-French research project.

bula Peutingeriana records the distance of 27 Roman miles between Naissus and Timacum Maius, and only 10 miles between two Timacum stations, we have already proposed a correction to the map which consists in moving a tenner from the section between *Naissus* and *Timacum Maius* to the section *Timacum Maius* – *Timacum Minus*. In this way, the data from the map would tally with the situation in the field (Petrović & Filipović 2008: 29–43). It now seems quite certain that Timacum Minus was the fortified base of the 2nd Dardanian cohort near the village of Ravna not far from Knjaževac (Petrović 1995). Locating Timacum Maius, however, has been a much knottier issue. Yet, there is a growing body of evidence — e.g. the inscribed votive *ara* of a Thracian strategos dedicated to Hera Sonketene (Ἡρᾶ Σονκητηνῆ) from the Svrlijig fort (*IMS* III/2, n° 101 = *SEG* 45, 953); a votive *ara* dedicated to Jupiter (Iuppiter Optimus Maximus) from the village of Niševac (*IMS* IV, n° 62); the milestone of Trebonianus Gallus from the village of Plužine (*IMS* IV, n° 127); visible structural remains, plentiful fortuitous finds and above all, the results of archaeological surveys and excavations — suggesting that the Roman settlement near the village of Niševac on the edge of Svrlijig Valley may be identified as Timacum Maius (Petrović & Filipović 2008: 29–43; Petrović, Filipović & Milivojević 2012: 73–112).

Before presenting the results of the latest excavation campaign, it would be useful to take a more detailed look at the epigraphic evidence which may provide a clue to the character of the Roman settlement near Niševac and its contacts with neighbouring Thrace. Namely, the most illuminating of all known inscriptions from

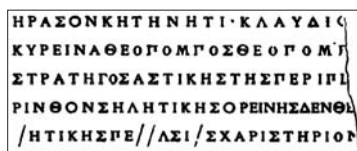


Fig. 1 Svrlijig, altar dedicated to Hera Sonketene (dat. Ἡρᾶ Σονκητηνῆ)

the Svrlijig area is the aforementioned altar dedicated to Hera bearing the extremely rare epithet Sonketene: Ἡρᾶ Σονκητηνῆ Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδι[ς] | Κυρεῖνα Θεόπομπος Θεοπόμπ[ου] | στρατηγὸς Ἀστικῆς περὶ Πέρινθον Σηλητικῆς Ὀρεινῆς Δενθε¹ [λ]ητικῆς Πε[δ]ιασίας χαριστήριον. The epithet is of Thracian origin and, based on an etymological analysis, it is an ethnicon derived from a local toponym, *Σονκητα (Duridanov 1989: 106; 1995: 825). The similar Thracian religious practice of attaching an ethnicon to deities has been attested in a number of various and well-known examples.² The

² Cf. e.g. the dedication *IGBulg* III, 1 980 [θ]εῶ Ἡρᾶ Ἀρτακηνῆ > from Ἀρτάκη (*Hdt.*) *Artace* (*Plin.*). (Duridanov 1989: 97); also, Apollo with the epithet Καρσηνός > *IGBulg* I 378; *SEG* 53:643, 1 derived from the toponym Καρσός (*Hierokl. Syn.*) Καρσώ (*Prok.*) *Carsion* (*Rav.*) (*Scyth. Minor*); Κελληνός – ethnicon (*IGBulg* III, 1 1520 Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Μουκιανὸς Δινεὸς ... Κελληνός) and the epithet of the deity (hero): *IGBulg* III, 1 1519 θεῶ Ἡρωτι Κελλων and *IGBulg* III 1523 Ἡρωτι Κελληνῳ from the toponym Κελλαι, *Cillae* (*It. Ant.* > *Cillis*). Duridanov 1989: 92 and 101.

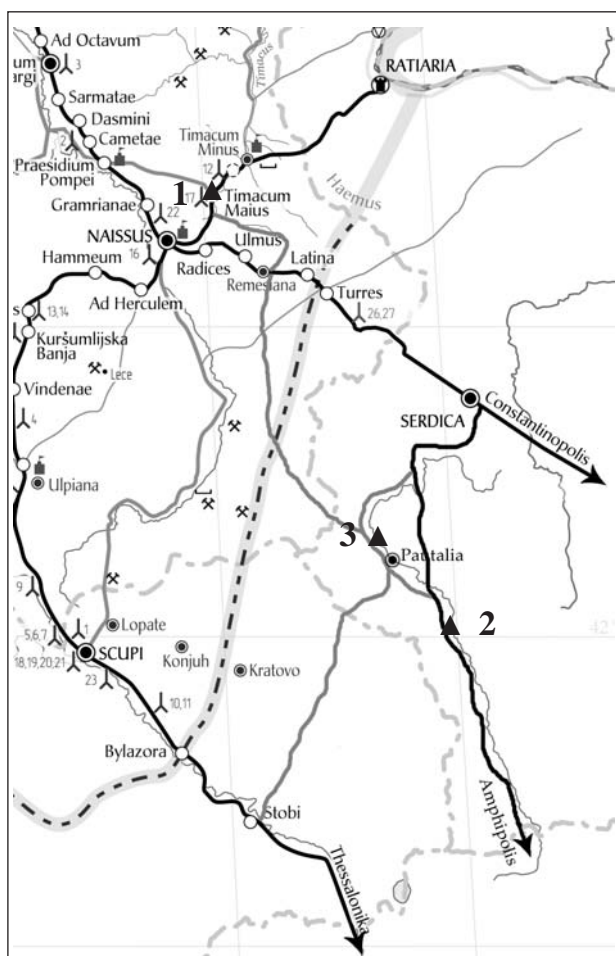
practice was adopted from the Greek tradition and was incorporated into Roman provincial culture (Ivanov 2004: 83–86). It may be interesting to try to decipher the meaning of the word *Σονκητα. Namely, it may be related to the east-Lithuanian *sunkà*, “liquid”; in Latin, for example, the corresponding term would be *sucus*, -i, “juice, moisture, sap, liquor”.³

The inscription was dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Theopompus, son of a Theopompus, apparently a Thracian strategos serving in the Denteletika region, Δενθελητικῇ Πεδιασία, a lowland area centred on Pautalia (modern Kystendil) and stretching from the upper course of the Struma river to Blagoevgrad in the west of present-day Bulgaria. This is also suggested by the honorary inscription from Topeiros, Greece, dedicated to Marcus Vettius Marcellus, governor of Thrace. The latter inscription, dated to AD 46–54, lists the names of Thracian strategoi, including Tiberius Claudius Theopompus (*AE* 1953/54, 235–244; *SEG* 16, 415). The date of the Topeiros inscription indicates the possible date of the unfortunately lost Svrlijig inscription. At the time the Topeiros inscription was made Claudius had already held the office of strategos in Denteletika; therefore, the toponym *Σονκητα contained in the goddess’s epithet should be expected to have been somewhere in the area under his administration, which seems to be suggested by two other inscriptions from Thracian Denteletika dedicated to the same goddess, Hera Sonketene.

One of them, recently discovered at Kresna, a place near Blagoevgrad, reads: Ἡρᾶ Σον[κη] | τηνῇ Διουζῆς | Δημοσθένους | στρατηγὸς Δ⁵ονθηλητικῆς (!) | πεδιασίας ἀνέθηκεν (Ivanov 2004: 83–86; *SEG* 54, 639). The inscription was dedicated by Διουζῆς, son of Δημοσθένους and strategos of Denteletika (Δενθελητικῇ Πεδιασία). The inscription, dated to between the middle and third quarter of the first century by the system of *strategiae* established by that time and by analogy with the inscription from Svrlijig, suggests the possibility that the practice of dedicating altars to Hera Sonketene continued after Tiberius Claudius Theopompus had left office (Ivanov 2004: 83–86).

The third known dedication to Hera Sonketene also comes from the ancient region of Denteletika. It was found in the Bulgarian village of Baykalsko Choklevo northeast of Kyustendil (Pautalia), where there probably was a shrine sacred to Hera. The inscription reads (*IGBulg* IV 2142): Κυρία Ἡρᾶ (!) Σονκη[την]. (Map 2)

³ Duridanov 1969: 66; 1989: 106; 1985: 45 (= Duridanov 1976): “***Sonkēta** – a place name, reconstructed from Hera’s epithet *Sonkētēnē* (in Greek inscriptions from the Baykalsko, Radomir district and Svrlijig, eastern Serbia). The name must have sounded as **Sunkēta*, formed from a word related to the eastern Lith. *sunkà* ‘sap (of a tree); fluid’; in the Lith. village name *Sunkiniai* (*Sunkinių kaimas*)”; Georgiev 1975: 50, s.v. Σονκητην. Cf. Lat. *sucus*, “juice, moisture, sap, liquor” (cf. de Vaan 2008, 596, s.v. *sucus*).



Map 2

Inscriptions
dedicated to Hera
Sonketene (dat.
"Ἡρᾶ Σονκητηνηῆ").
1) Svrlijig, Serbia;
2) Kresna, near
Blagoevgrad,
Bulgaria; 3)
Baykalsko
Choklevo
northeast of
Kyustendil
(Pautalia), Bulgaria

It should be noted that the areas of Kystendil (Pautalia), which was the centre of Thracian Deneteletika, and Blagoevgrad are known for a wealth of mineral and thermal springs and their beneficial healing effects. That it was so in ancient times as well is evidenced by the excavated structures at Pautalia dedicated to iatrical deities and closely associated with water, such as the temple of Asclepius, the aqueduct and the large baths, second in size in present-day Bulgaria to those at Varna on the Black Sea (TIR K-34, Naissus: 98; Sharankov & Katsarova 2004: 7–16). Pautalia, originally a village in Denteletika, was situated on the intersection of two major Roman roads: Serdica–Stobi and Philippopolis–Stobi. It was granted the status of city in the reign of Trajan (Ulpia Pautalia), flourished under the Severan dynasty, and was fortified at the time of Marcus Aurelius. Its importance is evidenced by the fact that in the second and third centuries the colonial mint at Pautalia struck several issues of high quality coins (TIR K-34, Nais-

sus: 98). The broader area exhibits yet another significant geomorphological feature. Apart from being rich in thermal springs, the valley or, more precisely, Osogovo Mountain overlooking the valley, was rich in ore deposits (iron, lead, zinc, gold, silver), which led the Romans to start mining operations in the area of present-day Kratovo, Zletovo, Bosiljgrad, Gorno Uyno and Dolno Uyno (Kazarova 2005: 9). The mining regions of Kratovo and Zletovo formed part of the province of Thrace (Dušanić 1980: 27, n. 135) rather than Moesia, but the latter possibility should not be ruled out either (Patsch 1937: 1, 227; Keramitčiev 1973: 147–154). The Romans apparently began mining operations quite early on, as soon as they established a stable order in the conquered territories.⁴

From Pautalia a local road (*via vicinalis*) led to the north, towards Moesia and the mining regions of present-day Vlasina and Bela Palanka (ancient Remesiana) in the Nišava river valley, where it ran into the high-road Naissus–Serdica (Niš–Sofia). From Remesiana, the local road ran along the Svrljiški Timok and intersected with the road Naissus–Ratiaria in Svrljig Valley, i.e. in the area of Timacum Maius (*IMS* IV, 52).

The data cited above raise not only the question why Tiberius Claudius Theopompus set up the only known altar to Hera Sonketene outside the Greek-speaking province of Thrace, i.e. outside Denteletika as the core area of the cult, but also why he did it in the area of Timacum Maius in present-day Svrljig Valley, a part of the Latin-speaking province of Moesia. The answer is not easy to work out. Obviously, for some reason Tiberius found himself on the Roman road Pautalia–Remesiana–Timacum Maius; perhaps he was using the shortcut (*compendium*) connecting Thracian Denteletika and the main road leading from Naissus to the Danube. Once in the area of Timacum Maius, he might have felt an urge to set up a monument to Hera Sonketene, the goddess worshipped in the region under his administration.

⁴ That the Romans tended to start mining operations at an early stage of their rule is evidenced by a piece of information contained in the written sources: Augustus ordered the first governor of Dalmatia, Vibius Postumus, to pacify the Dalmatae by making them mine for gold (e.g. work in mines). This information is important because it shows that the Romans began mining soon after the conquest and that the forced relocation of populations could follow soon after the establishing of Roman rule. Flor. *Epit.* II 25 (*Bellum Delmaticum*): *sed Augustus perdomandos (sc. Delmatas) Vibio mandat, qui efferrum genus fodere terras coegit aurumque venis repurgare; quod alioquin gens omnium cupidissima eo studio, ea diligentia anquirat, ut illud in usus suos eruere videantur.* In Procopius' *De Aedificiis*, there occurs among the names of some thirty renovated castelli in the area of Remesiana the toponym *Dalmates*, which suggests the presence of incomers from Dalmatia, probably miners (Dušanić 1977: 73–74, n. 137).



Fig. 2 Banjica, thermal and mineral springs

At this point, it may be useful to remember a somewhat forgotten fact about the broader area of Niševac and Svrljig, which may be of relevance to identifying the character of the Roman settlement we believe to have been Timacum Maius. Namely, Svrljig Valley was rich in thermal and mineral springs. Like Pautalia, Niševac (i.e. Svrljig) was known as a spa, which is documented in 1565 by the Ottoman Turkish toponym *Isferlik Banasi* (Svrljiška/Niševačka Banja; Serb. *banja*, “spa”). Its centre was near the present-day place called Banjica⁵ (fig. 1). In the course of the eighteenth century, the spa’s heyday came to a bizarre end. The cause was neither war nor an epidemic, but a whim of nature. Namely, in the early decades of that century the spring water at Banjica began to lose its natural properties, and the local Ottoman population turned to the springs at Soko Banja on the northern spurs of Ozren Mountain, which received Ottoman visitors coming from as far as Asia (Petrović, Filipović & Milivojević 2012: 129).

Given the proposed etymology of the epithet Sonketene referring to a liquid, water, and the indubitable presence of thermal and mineral springs in the area of Niševac/Timacum Maius even in Roman times, it may be

⁵ The Roman road crossed the Svrljiški Timok at Banjica, where the remains of a bridge, probably of an Ottoman date, are still visible. There are at Banjica the remains of four churches, of which the one dedicated to St Stephen reliably dates from late antiquity (Bošković 1951: 54). Banjica also yielded an honorary inscription for an early-third-century emperor (*IMS* III/2, n° 100).



Fig. 3 Niševac (Timacum Maius), two-room structure furnished with a hypocaust system

assumed that what prompted Theopompus to set up a monument to Hera Sonketene in the Svrlijig area was its obvious geomorphological and balneological similarity to Pautalia and Denteletika, even more so as the basin of the Timok river, like the broader Pautalia area, was a busy mining region, apparently activated shortly after the Roman conquest. It was organised as a district of the Dardanian mines (*metalli dardanici*) within the province of Moesia, i.e. as a fiscal domain administered by the prefect seated at Timacum Minus, the military base of the 2nd Dardanian cohort (present-day Ravna near Knjaževac). The mining territory of Timacum Minus has not been identified with precision. It probably encompassed the south parts of the Svrlijski Timok, Trgoviški Timok and Beli Timok river valleys, Stara Planina (Balkan Mountain) in the east, and stretched to the Crni Timok valley in the north, including Bor Basin (Dušanić 1977: 75 ff; *IMS* III/2, 37). Thus, yet another context in which the Svrlijig area, i.e. Roman Timacum Maius, may be looked at is the context of mining operations in the Timok region.

Perhaps Theopompus fell ill somewhere between Naissus and Ratiaria, was cured by the water from the local thermo-mineral springs, and, in gratitude for being restored to health, set up an altar to Hera Sonketene. The latest archaeological discoveries corroborate the hypothesis of the balneological aspect of the Roman settlement of Timacum Maius.



Fig. 4 Niševac (Timacum Maius), two-room structure, ceramic tubuli

The 2010 and 2011 excavations fully exposed a Roman two-room structure, which is unique in many respects. It was furnished with a hypocaust system for heating the floors and walls (fig. 2).

A total of twenty-six intermittently perforated ceramic *tubuli* — circular-sectioned pipes filled with pebbles were found. The *tubuli* flanked the flue that conveyed the hot air into the under-floor chamber and the walls (fig. 3). The furnace, *praefurnium*, was also discovered. The system of floor and wall heating functioned in the following way: the ceramic *tubuli* with perforations which could be blocked with ceramic stoppers, were filled with small pebbles which kept and slowly emitted heat. Through the perforations the hot air entered the *tubuli* sealed on the upper and lower sides with massive bipedal tiles, rose upwards and heated the under-floor chamber of the building. Some *tubuli*, as a rule those abutting the inner side of the outer walls, were not sealed on the upper side, but ceramic pipes of the same diameter were fixed onto them to convey the hot air to the upper wall zones. The pipes were fixed to the wall with T-shaped iron fasteners. This type of floor heating ensured a more efficient use of thermal energy and prevented condensation at a great temperature difference between the inside and the outside (Bouet 1999: 39–66).

The massive floor tiles laid over the *tubuli* showed significant remains of a thick and dense layer of waterproof plaster, apparently spread over a larger surface. It seems reasonable to assume that such a powerful plaster coating covered the bottom of the pool in the hot room, *caldarium*, the floor of which could have been overlaid with lavish materials such as marble

or decorated with mosaics. Unfortunately, the uppermost floor level of the structure has not survived due to the shallow stratigraphy of this section of the Roman settlement site. The assumption that this was a *caldarium* seems to be corroborated by a large amount of melted lead arranged in a line, possibly leaden pipes misshaped by the fire which destroyed the building.

The *terminus post quem* for the erection of the building is the date when ceramic *tubuli* began to be widely used for the hypocaust systems in the Roman Empire, which is the period between AD 70 and AD 80 (Forbes 1966: 54). As the discovered coins suggest the age of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, the building may have been constructed in the first half of the second century, remaining in use until the Gothic invasions in the late fourth century. Given that the Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria road was built at the time of the Roman conquest in the first century (Petrović 2008), it seems reasonable to assume that the Roman settlement with the excavated building grew immediately after the Danube border was consolidated, at a period following the construction of and in close connection with the road. Structures showing similar technological features and the cylindrical *tubuli* as a distinctive element of the hypocaust system are rarely found in the central Balkans. Analogies occur in the neighbouring countries, such as the sites of Bansko-Strumica in Macedonia (Taseva & Sekulov 2003: 261), Bargala in Bulgaria (Beldedoski 2003: 57), and Varaždinske Toplice in Croatia (Belančić & Gorenc 1961: 203). The distinctive hypocaust system with which our building was furnished was directly related to its purpose. Namely, the abovementioned analogies suggest that the building was a therapeutical balneum within the settlement that was a station on a Roman road. As for its owner, it might have been an affluent official of the local imperial administration.

During the 2012 campaign a portion of a larger Roman bathhouse was discovered (fig. 4). The explored northeast portion is about 11 m × 9 m in size. Discovered so far are two pools and two rooms with the hypocaust heating system. Since the pools were damaged by machinery during recent soil amelioration works on the left bank of the Svrlijski Timok, at this point nothing can be said of one of them, while the other is 7 m × 3 m. Since the latter was not heated, it was probably a cold bath (*frigidarium*). Embedded in the external and internal walls of the two rooms were circular-sectioned *tubuli* connected to the hollow space under the floor. The floor, which had collapsed into the subfloor chamber, was coated with a layer of hydrostatic plaster about 30 cm thick. The chamber contained collapsed parts of the ceiling and remains of massive rectangular-sectioned ceramic flues. The small finds recovered from the two rooms (ceramics, animal bones, metal artefacts and coins) suggest that the building lost its original function as a bath in the first half of the fourth century and was probably used as a dwelling.



Fig. 5 Niševac (Timacum Maius), Roman bathhouse (thermae)

In parallel with the excavation of the bathhouse at Timacum Maius, the luxurious Roman villa at the site of Rumenjak in the village of Prekonoga was cleared in cooperation with the regional, Niš-based, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments⁶ (fig. 5). It is a large structure built on the site of one of the strongest springs in the Svrljig area.⁷ The estate, sheltered by the northern slopes of Svrljig Mountain, is situated about 3 km east of Gramada Pass and the Naissus–Ratiaria road. The villa was more than 2000 m² in area and, apart from a small private bath decorated with marble slabs, contained a number of rooms arranged around the atrium. The excavation of the complex being still under way, the date of construction

⁶ The rescue excavation carried out in 1997 did not cover the entire complex. The structure at Rumenjak will be published once its remains are fully exposed and the site systematically investigated.

⁷ Presently, the spring at Rumenjak supplies water to a part of Svrljig and the entire village of Prekonoga.

and the purpose of individual rooms cannot yet be specified, but its close connection with the rich spring is unquestionable.

During the 2011 campaign an area of about one hectare on the site of Niševac/Timacum Maius was geophysically surveyed for the first time. The survey grid was laid around the test pits explored in the previous campaigns in order to see if it was possible to reconstruct the presumed urban blocks formed by the already explored structures. Larger-sized features recorded to the south and east of the main pits clearly indicated the extension of the archaeological features and urban blocks in this zone. Even though the surveyed area was limited, the readings showed numerous magnetic anomalies. The main structures and blocks of archaeological interest are large, primarily rectangular positive anomalies indicative of pits or burnt surfaces within structures. Three survey lines in the eastern portion of the site showed a series of rectangular anomalies, while those in the central and western portions of the surveyed area could not be related to any one archaeological structure. These suggest that this portion of the site may contain larger structures built to alignment, as can be expected on a Roman urban site. The orientation of these anomalies is parallel with virtually all other positive anomalies, which suggests a degree of planning in the entire surveyed area.

The geophysical survey results suggest typically Roman urban planning, the presence of structures and the arrangement of residential areas, thereby providing guidance for further archaeological investigation.

* * *

The interpretation of the dedicatory inscription to Hera Sonketene based on a more detailed analysis of the epithet of the goddess, the origin of the dedicant and the date of the inscription, suggests that apart of the already ascertained and discussed mining character of the broader area of Timiacum Maius, its balneological character should also be reckoned with. The Roman Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria road, as evidenced by the date of Theopompus' inscription, was in use as early as the mid-first century, immediately after the consolidation of Roman power in the conquered area. Almost at the same time, the growth began of a settlement which came into existence as a result of the road. The presence of Tiberius Claudius Theopompus in the area of Timacum Maius indicates its contact with neighbouring Thrace and Denteletika, but there is no doubt that this busy route and other local roads opened up the entire Timok valley to other parts of the Empire as well. The discoveries made in five successive archaeological campaigns, notably the remains of several structures and a section of a well-preserved Roman road, as well as the geophysical survey results, complement the epigraphic evidence and suggest a considerable importance, extent and distinc-



Fig. 6 Site of Rumenjak, village of Prekonoga, luxurious Roman villa

tiveness of the Roman settlement which we are inclined to identify with growing certainty as Timacum Maius, built on the former settlement site of a palaeo-Balkan tribe, the Triballi (Petrović & Filipović 2009: 25–30). Further excavations, especially within the joint project of the Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade, and the Ausonius Institute, Bordeaux, will fully expose the bathhouse as well as the other parts of the Roman settlement and, hopefully, provide new clues to defining the importance and character of the settlement with precision.

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904(398)
911.37 *Timacum Maius*

Abbreviations

Literature

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| <i>AE</i> | <i>Année épigraphique</i> , Paris. |
| <i>ANRW</i> | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin – New York. |
| <i>IMS</i> | <i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , Belgrade. |

IGBulg	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , Sofia.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden – Amsterdam.
TIR, K-34, Naissus	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani, Naissus – Dyrrachion – Scupi – Serdica – Thessalonice</i> , Ljubljana 1968.

Sources

Flor.	<i>Epit. Lucii Annaei Flori Epitomae Historiae Romanae</i> .
<i>It. Ant.</i>	<i>Itinerarium Antonini</i> .
Hierokl. Syn.	<i>Hieroclis Synecdemos</i> .
Prok.	<i>Procopii Caesariensis De aedificiis</i> .
Rav.	<i>Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia</i> .

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Poetic Grounds of Epic Formulae

Abstract: The study of oral formulae in the twentieth century had several phases. After the initial – very stimulating and influential – research by M. Parry and A. B. Lord, who focused on the technique of composing the poem and the mnemotechnic function of formulae, the focus at first shifted to the concept of *performance* (J. M. Foley), and then to the *mental text* (L. Honko), which introduced into research horizons social, ideological, psychological and mental conditions of improvisation, interaction between the singer and the audience, collective and individual factors of memorising, cultural representation, and the like. Although all the abovementioned aspects undoubtedly determine the structure of a specific variant, it should be kept in mind that formulae transcend concrete improvisations and connect different epic zones, different local traditions and different times. The formula precedes verbal improvisation both chronologically and logically. Therefore – before explaining the repeating of formulae by the needs and nature of improvisation (composition-in-performance) or the generating of formulae in specific variants by textualisation of mental text – we must explain the existence of the formula in the first place. This paper seeks to point out the complex system of factors that determine the genesis of formulae. Formulae are regarded as cultural codes, which combine elements from different spheres (the conceptualization of space, time, colour and so on, elements of rituals, customary norms, historical experience, life realities, ethics, etc.). Therefore, their structure is described in terms of *hidden knowledge*, *hidden complexity*, *frame semantics*, *the tip of the iceberg*, *compressed meanings*. Meanings “compressed” in the formulae are upgraded with new “income” in every new/concrete realisation (i.e. poem) and this is the area where aesthetics rivals poetics.

Keywords: oral formulae, oral epics, poetics, conceptualization of space and time, South Slavic tradition, folklore

Although the theory of formulae may be said broadly to go back to Antiquity (more securely it is linked to the rhetoric of the Neoplatonist Hermogenes; Mal'tsev 1989: 24), and although, in a narrower sense – as the study of specifics of oral poetry – it dates back at least to the first decades of the twentieth century (A. van Gennep, *La Question d'Homer*, Paris 1909), its founders are with good reason considered to be M. Parry and A. Lord. Their work and papers connected homerology with living oral tradition, putting on a broader basis both the study of ancient epics and the study of oral folklore. However, the specified analytic position had its disadvantages. Contact with live oral performance focused the attention of researchers on the *technique* of composing the poem, whose importance has been made absolute at the cost of marginalising all other aspects of oral epics and oral formulae:

...it must have been for some good reason that the poet ... kept to the formulas even when he ... had to use some of them very frequently. What was this constraint? ... The answer is not only the desire for an easy way to make verses, *but the complete need of it* ... There is only one need of this sort which can even be suggested — the necessity of making verses by the spoken word ... The necessity shows its force most clearly ... in the simple numbers of formulas. (M. Parry; cf. Sale 1996: 379–380; italics mine)

Formulaity is, however, not just a feature of oral folklore, but of a whole range of arts, both linguistic and non-linguistic, which is a serious argument in favour of the thesis that the essence of formula does not lie in its mnemotechnic function – which, of course, cannot be denied, but which cannot be considered as a starting point of formula and formulaity:

Formulaity is not specific only to lyric poetry, nor even to folklore in general, but to the multitude of canonical systems of art, both literary and other (e.g. folklore painting and visual arts, medieval literature and iconography), where neither orality nor mnemotechnics can be spoken of. (Mal'tsev 1989: 18)¹

The other extreme was the reaction to the Parry-Lord positions which led to the expansion of studies that observed/considered formula only as a *means* of compositional technique and narrowed the field of research to the formal/mechanical and statistical aspects. The focus was shifted to the concept of *performance* (“from composition as the central element of the theory of oral poetry toward the notion of performance”, Bakker & Kahane 1997: 3) and *mental text*,² which introduced into the scope of research social, ideological, psychological and mental conditions of improvisation, interaction between the singer and the audience, collective and individual factors of memorizing, cultural representation, and the like. In this case too – as in the studies by M. Parry, A. Lord and their “harder” followers – the fact was overlooked that the formula, both chronologically and logically, precedes verbal improvisation (because singers learn formulae before they use them in performance) and the constituting/structuring of a mental text (the latter being based upon already existing formulae). This further means that before we explain the repeating of formulae by the needs and nature of improvisation (composition-in-performance) or the generating of formulae

¹ „Формульность является спецификой не только лирики, не только фольклора в целом, но целого ряда канонических художественных систем, как словесных, так и несловесных (например, народное изобразительное и прикладное искусство, средневековая литература и живопись), где ни о какой устности и хранении в памяти не может быть и речи.“

² “The last few years have seen a dramatic and gratifying upsurge of interest in the Homeric formula. This new interest has gradually come to focus on the real nature of the formula as a mental template in the mind of the oral poet, rather than on statistical aspects of ‘repetition’ found among phrases in the text” (Nagler 1967: 269).

in specific variants by textualization of mental text (L. Honko), we must first explain the existence of formula at all.

Lauri Honko criticized the “classical” approach to oral epics for putting texts that do not belong to the same segments of tradition on the same level:

The days are past when a scholar sought for a “master form” by combining elements from different singers of epics, sometimes from different areas, too. Such composite texts were in danger of gliding outside the local poetic system. Their connection to sung performance was lost or skewed.
(Honko 2000a: vii)

Yet, formulae do connect poems of various epic singers and texts that belong to different epic zones, different local traditions and different times (in Serbian/South Slavic tradition there are records from the late fifteenth century to the present day). If we all agree with L. Honko (and many other researchers of similar methodological orientation) that better insight into the meaning of specific variants cannot be established if we neglect the performative situation, and that the semantic potential of oral presentation exceeds the semantic potential of records,³ there still remains the fact that

³ “Yet the performance paradigm has made it perfectly clear that the oral performance is as medium totally different from the printed text. Its spectrum of expressive means is much wider than that of print, and if effectively utilizes contextual, allusive understanding of the verbal message, often supported by the invisible presence of traditions not expressed verbally but influencing the processing of meaning. What we have here, in fact, requires intersemiotic translation, i.e. ‘the transference of a message from one kind of symbolic system to another’ (Nida 1964)” (Honko 2000b: 13). L. Honko and theorists of similar provenance neglect, however, the fact that meaning is always established in individual consciousness (which automatically means that it is not something fixed, something that can be completely and accurately described). That fact, however, makes the distinction between the *text* and the *recorded performance* based on the scope of detected meaning — less based. The idea that all factors that influence an improvisation can be “collected” is especially problematic: “If we are able to gather information on all the factors which influence the performance, we may order our knowledge in a processual profile of the textualization of a particular story. In so doing we must critically assess — and fight against — such stereotypes as ‘one story’, ‘variant’ and ‘fixed form’. The story may be modulated in ways for which we possess no textual evidence. ‘Variant’ raises the question of inertia, continuity and invariant in oral poetry (what is the ‘thing’ that varies?); to avoid the problem we may try to use such terms as ‘telling’, ‘rendition or ‘performance’ instead of ‘variant’” (Honko 2000b: 16). One possible answer to the question “What varies?” the author gives in the sentence that precedes it — *the story* varies: “The *story may be modulated* in ways for which we possess no textual evidence” (Honko 2000b: 16). It is not possible to speak of inertia and continuity as of some “thing” that is transmitted from one performative situation to the other, because in that case we would have to argue that not even the same man ever improvises twice (which even Heraclitus knew, when he stated that a man can never step in *the same river twice*).

formulae (except the simplest types, such as adjective + noun) cannot even be detected on the basis of one performance (no matter how meticulously recorded and no matter how minutely described), or based on the corpus of a single singer. The existence and meaning of formulae can be discussed only in the much broader context of a local (epic) tradition.

Hence, if we want to explain the nature of the phenomenon, the origin, meaning and sense of formulae and their survival in an extremely long, often immeasurable period of time, despite variations in every new improvisation and the opportunities for singers to distort the canon (which they most certainly often did!), we must turn to poetics (broadly understood), which is what even some proponents of the idea of a mental text plead for:

Furthermore, it is an unfortunate fact that, despite many suggestions and some preliminary attempts, no coherent aesthetic theory has as yet emerged which would equip us to understand or appreciate the special nature of oral poetry as poetry. Unlike Parry himself, some students of the formula have tended to regard it as a “phrase type” or “metrical type”, without complicating the issue with meaningfulness or aesthetic value – a simplification which, as I shall try to show, throws the baby out with the bath water. (Nagler 1967: 273)

Although M. Nagler has not gone far in constituting a coherent aesthetic and poetic theory of oral epic poetry, this statement can certainly be the *credo* of any similar attempt. Insisting on meaningfulness and aesthetic value turns us back, however, to one important distinction made (without the pomp and echoes that follow Homeric studies, and in a language much less known than English) between *formula* and *formulaity*:⁴

...the epic formula is a tool resulting from the “working” of formulaity within the framework of the secondary linguistic system of epic poetry; the relation between them is a generic one, formulaity being only one of the conditions necessary for creating formulas and not identical with them. (Detelić 1996a: 220)

Formulaity is not characteristic of epic language only, but of verbal communication in general (Vinogradov 1938;⁵ cf. Kravar 1978), because

⁴ Albert Lord (2000: 47) also noticed that difference: “There’s nothing in the song that is not formulaic”. However, he is not terminologically (or logically) consistent, and in the first sentence that follows the one just quoted, “formulaic” starts to mean the same as “formula” by his definition: “Moreover, the lines and half lines that we call ‘formulaic’ (because they follow the basic patterns of rhythm and syntax and have at least one word in the same position in the line in common with other lines or half lines) not only illustrate the patterns themselves but also show us examples of the systems of the poetry”.

⁵ “В системе русского языка слова, по большей части, функционируют не как произвольно и неожиданно сталкиваемые и сцепляемые компоненты речи, а занимая устойчивые места в традиционных формулах. Большинство людей говорит и пишет с помощью готовых формул, клише” (Vinogradov 1938: 121; cf. Mal’tsev 1989: 6).

it is “a paradigmatic element of every primary linguistic system” (Detelić 1996a: 220). Syntactic norms/structures inherent in language are a basis of formulaity even before epic modelling starts. Metric form is an additional, and the first, poetic factor of restrictions: “Oral verse created a syntax within a syntax: within it occurred a particular phraseologization, the fixing of a separate set of syntactic patterns” (Petković 1990: 201). Even A. Lord fell into the trap of not distinguishing between two levels of formulaity – linguistic and epic/poetic – singling out as formulae groups of words linked only by morpho-syntactic form (a *three-syllable noun in the dative* followed by the reflexive, for example):

dogatu se
junaku se (Lord 2000: 47)

In an attempt to draw a distinction between the two aforementioned types of formulaity, M. Detelić introduced the term “real formulae”, referring to the formulae generated by the epic system, and not by the language (and verse) itself:

...therefore it is necessary to discern between formulas coming from everyday speech (and necessarily going through changes while adjusting to metric-syntactic pattern of asymmetric decasyllabic verse) and the formulas as an important element of technique, style, and composition in traditional epic versemaking. (Detelić 1996a: 219)

To some extent (but not quite!) the distinction is compatible with the difference between formulae derived from the plot/sujet of the poem (imposed by the logic of narration/story development) and those generated from non-sujet and non-epic context. The latter can lead to a collision of layers of different origins (sujet and non-sujet), from which appear situations recognized as paradoxes/oxymorons (the “white throat” of a Black Arab; the attribution of an unfaithful wife as a “faithful one”, a burnt tower as “white”, and so on; for examples in Homer cf. Combellack 1965).

Although in the quotation above “technique, style, and composition in traditional epic versemaking” are especially accentuated, the generic system (of formulae) is predominantly based on the complex semantics whose origins are in the depths of folk memory, the type of culture and imperatives/norms of the genre. The “right formulae” are points/hubs that connect different genre systems and different levels/layers of epic tradition and tradition in general (Detelić 1996b: 104–106). They have a high semantic density and hold cultural information of the first degree (cf. Mal'tsev 1998: 6), which – by definition – cannot be transmitted directly. Therefore, formulae are elements that mediate basic social stratification, basic ethical and ritual-customary norms and the structures of thinking, as well as sublime experience of traditional communities. Repeatability is the most striking feature of formula, but repeatability, as G. Mal'tsev noticed, is not the essence of it:

We cannot agree with J. Hainsworth (and his school of thinking) that “the essence of a formula is its repetition”; repetition is only an outcome, a result of the formula’s “essence”, i.e. of the inner liability of the given representation, of the given meaning as a traditional idea.⁶ (Mal’tsev 1989: 43)

1 *Space conceptualization*

1.1 *Semantization and structuring of spatial oppositions*

Among three main categories of symbolic thinking (space, time and number) space is the only one that is perceived by senses. This fact has made spatial orientation a basic human orientation and set apart the mentioned category as a basis of conceptualizing:

- (1) time and number (which are non-perceptible categories)⁷ and
- (2) a series of social/cultural categories.

Conceptualization of time by spatial determinants is, however, characteristic of human thinking as such and it is embedded into the very foundations of the linguistic and phraseological system. We speak of “*getting closer to* Thanksgiving, *approaching* (or *coming up on*) the weekend, *passing* the deadline, *arriving in* a minute, *leaving* some unhappy event *far behind*, *reaching* Saturday, and being *halfway through* the month” (Johnson 2007: 8).⁸ In oral epics it resulted in formulaic attribution of time (and some categories that imply time, such as the length of a particular condition or the duration of

⁶ “Нельзя согласиться с положением Дж. Хайнsworth (и представляемой им школой) о том, что ‘сущность формулы в ее повторяемости’ (‘The essence of a formula is its repetition’); повторяемость – только следствие, результат ‘сущности’ формулы, т.е. внутренней обязательности данного представления, данного смысла как традиционной идеи.”

⁷ Time metaphors are mainly based upon spatial categories (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 139–161; Johnson 2007: 6–12), as well as the concept of number, which can be illustrated by elementary arithmetic operations. If it is tasked to specify the sum of 7 and 5 or the difference between 7 and 5, it just means that one should start from 7 and count 5 steps *forward* or *backward*. Number 7 becomes the starting point of a new series and assumes the role of zero (cf. Cassirer III 1985: 219).

⁸ On the other hand, space is conceptualized by time determinants – hours and days. Here again we are not speaking about “true” epic formulae, but the formulae taken from linguistic/phraseological system: “How big is the field in front of Novin? / It is wide four hours [of walking/riding], / It is long twelve hours [of walking/riding], / And it is all covered by Vlachs” [Koliko je polje pod Novinom, / U širinu četiri sahata, / U duljinu dvanaest sahata, / Sve je vlaški tabor pritisnuo] (Vuk III, 33:300–303). “When Ivo Crnojević decided to marry / He requested a girl from afar / Three days’ walk through the flat fields / Four days walking over the black mountains / One month sailing over the grey sea / From that ban of a maritime state” [Kad se ženi Crnojević Ivo / daleko je prozio djevojku / tri dni hoda priko ravna polja / četir’ danah priko crne gore / misec danah priko sinja mora / u onoga bana primorskoga] (ER 188).

some action) – as “long” (Serb. “dugo”): “It was not for a long time” [“To vrijeme za *dugo* ne bilo”] (SM 5); “Sister Heike, stay miserable for a long time” [“Seko Hajke, *dugo* jedna bila!”] (SANU III, 50); “This promise – not for a long time” [“Ova vjera ne za *dugo* vr’jeme”] (MH II, 20); “It’s been long and time has passed, / And for a long time the *ban* stayed” [“*Dugo* bilo i vrijeme prođe, / I *zadugo* bane začamao”] (Vuk II, 44) and so on.

This aspect of formulaity – taken from the linguistic system – has to be differentiated from formulaity generated within the epic genre. Such is, for example, the formula in which the length of time that the hero was bed-ridden relates to the length/width of the bed in which he lay (space) (although in a particular case correlation is, to some extent, based on realities):

Brzo trči dvoru bijelome, Pa mi steri mekanu postelju, <i>Ni dugačku, ni vrlo široku,</i> <i>Jer ti <i>dugo</i> bolovati ne ću.</i> (Vuk III, 78: 235–238)	Run quickly to the white court, And make a soft bed for me, <i>Neither long nor very wide,</i> <i>Because I will not ail for a long time.</i>
Steri meni mekanu ložnicu, <i>Ne steri je <i>dugu</i> ni široku,</i> <i>Jer ti neću <i>dugo</i> bolovati.</i> (Rajković, p. 242)	“Make me a soft chamber, ⁹ Make it neither long nor wide, Because I will not ail for a long time.”

More often it is, however, activated tendency of mythic thinking to stratify physical space and make it heterogeneous by a specific type of semantization.¹⁰ Not a single pair of spatial relations stayed immune to this action of mythic thinking: “near” became “our”, “far” – “strange”, “in front of” – “life”, “behind” – “death”;¹¹ “right” and “left” became positively or negatively connotated in local variants of traditional culture. Although all previously mentioned pairs are multiply semantized (pure : impure, human : inhumane/demonic, etc.), the opposition *up* : *down* is by far the most generatively productive. (Reason for that could be found in the fact that this opposition, among other things, constitutes the vertical [Axis Mundi], which is – due to gravity and human perception – favoured direction [in vacuum or mathematical space there are neither preferred directions, nor

⁹ *Ložnica* (chamber) is not quite the same as *postelja* (bed), but it also can be soft: in the houses of the Muslim upper class, there were no beds in the western style. It was more like a Japanese concept of space where bedclothes were kept in wardrobes during the day, and pulled out for the night. In that sense, a chamber can be soft if necessary.

¹⁰ Mythic thinking tends to alter differences of all sort into the spatial differences, and to present them directly in that (spatial) form (cf. Cassirer II 1985: 101).

¹¹ In folk legends and folk beliefs some demonic beings have been presented with no back (Radenković 2008: 103). Prohibition of looking back is based on the same symbolic structure: space behind belongs to the demons, and looking back can open a channel between the world of the dead and the world of the living.

spatial categories like up : down, left : right, in front of : behind, etc.) Although polymorphic (phytomorphic/tree, anthropomorphic/Odin/Christ/Virgin Mary, pole/stick/Axial rod, ladders, etc.), this spatial axis is universal in all traditional cultures. In South Slavic oral epics this characteristic of spatial cognition generated an entire system of formulae:

- 1) *Dolje leže, gore ne ustade* [He lay *down*, and did not get *up* again.]
(Vuk II, 74:121)
Dolje pade, gore ne ustade [He fell *down*, and did not get *up* again.]
(Vuk III, 88:149;
Vuk IV, 30:188)
Dolje pade, više ne ustade [He fell *down*, and never got *up* again.]
(Vuk VI, 10:189)
(up/vertical = life : down/horizontal = death);
- 2) *Vodi konje u donje podrumе,* [He takes horses to the cellars *bellow*,
A delije na gornje čardake And the heroes to the *upper* tower]
(MH IX, 14)
Konje vodi dolje u podrumе, [He takes horses *down* to the cellars,
A Ivana gore u čardake And Ivan *up* to the tower]
(SANU III, 27)
Konje vodi u ahare donje, [He takes horses to the cellars *bellow*,
Bega vodi na gornje čardake He takes Bey to the *upper* tower]
(Vuk II, 75)
(cf. Vuk II 92; MX I, 66)
(down/bellow = inhuman/animal: up/upper = human/socialized)
- 3) *Ono su ti pod kamenom guje* (Vuk III, 24:304, 314)
Ljuta, brate, pod kamenom guja (Vuk III, 24:380)
Kako ljuta guja pod kamenom (Vuk IV, 33:224)
Kao ljuta guja pod kamenu (Vuk VI, 67:326)
Ali tuži ko pod kamenom guja (KH III, 4:1573)
i šarena pod kamenom guja (KH III, 6:148)
kako ljute zmije pod kamenom (SM 37:146)
[All quotes refer to the “snake(s) *under* the stone”, mainly through comparison.]

In the last examples, the bottom of the Cosmic Axis (“*under* the stone”) is symbolically marked by the creature that is steadily related to it – snake/serpent/adder.¹² Complete Vertical axis is established in the Slavic

¹² Snakes are really associated with stones and rocks (as their habitats), but not exclusively. It is indicative, however, that nowhere in the corpus an adder is positioned *on* a stone/rock, but always *under* it (there is just one exception: “Like angry [dangerous] snakes *in* the rock” [“Kao ljute u kamenu guje”]; Vuk II, 70:44).

antithesis that involves the same formula (down = snake : up¹³ = fairy [Serb. “vila”]):

Bože mili: čuda velikoga! Što procvilje u Banjane gornje? Da l’ je vila, da li guja ljuta? Da je <i>vila</i> , na <i>više</i> bi bila, Da je <i>guja</i> , <i>pod kamen</i> bi bila; Nit’ je vila, niti guja ljuta, Već to cvili Perović-Batriću U rukama Čorović-Osmana. (Vuk IV, 1:1–8; cf. Vuk VI, 78:1–8)	Dear God, what a great wonder! What is whining in Upper Banjane? Is it a fairy, or a bitter snake? If it were a <i>fairy</i> , she’d be <i>up</i> in the sky, If it were a <i>snake</i> , it’d be <i>under</i> the rock; It’s neither a fairy nor a bitter snake, But it’s Perović Batrić whining, In the hands of Čorović Osman.
Što procvili u Zadru kamenu U tavnici mlad’ zadarskog bana? Al je vila, al je zmija ljuta? Nit je vila, nit je zmija ljuta. Da je <i>vila</i> , u <i>gori</i> bi bila, Da je <i>zmija</i> , u <i>stini</i> bi bila, Već to cvile sužnji u tamnici. (MH III, 23:1–7; cf. Vuk VIII, 35:1–6)	What is whining in the stony Zadar, In the dungeon of Zadar’s young ban? Is it a fairy, or a bitter snake? It’s neither a fairy nor a bitter snake. If it were a <i>fairy</i> , she’d be in the <i>forest</i> , If it were a <i>snake</i> , it’d be in the <i>rocks</i> . It’s the whining of captives in the dungeon.

In these examples the fairy (as a winged creature) figures instead of a bird – which in mythology and folklore is universally and consistently connected to the top of the Axis Mundi (whether this Axis is imagined as the World Tree, Caduceus, Uraeon/Uraeus or some similar model; cf. Delić 2012). Although the fairy is nowhere in South Slavic folklore described as a bird,¹⁴ in another type of (introductory) formulae she alternates with it. It is a formula in which a “voice” (news about an event) reaches the addressed person from a great distance, or from the future. In these cases, the mediators are:

¹³ Forest/mountain [Serb. gora/planina] figures as a point away from house/court/city [Serb. kuća/dvor/grad] both on horizontal and vertical levels: as far and as high.

¹⁴ Fairies are typically imagined as young, beautiful, slender girls with long golden hair, sometimes also with animal attributes (goat, donkey, horse, cow’s feet, etc.) (Sl. M: 80). Some of them are called “oblakinje” (from Serb. “oblak” – cloud); they have the power to influence the rain (“I’m neither crazy, nor too wise, / Nor a fairy to lead the clouds” [Serb. “Nit’ sam luda, nit’ odviše mudra, / Nit’ sam vila, da zbijam oblake”]; Vuk I, 599) and some sort of flying equipment – “krila” (wings) and “okrilje” (the word derived from the word *krila*, but it is not known what it is exactly or how it looks like). Although called “wings”, they are not parts of the body: they can be taken off or given as a present (cf. MH I, 75:15–30). In one type of sujet (group of poems/variants), the hero has to steal the fairy’s wings before he can marry her. In Bulgarian folklore fairies sometimes wear dresses decorated with bird feathers (Sl. M: 80), which may also be a relic of the onitomorphic image of fairies.

(1) a bird, as in Bulgarian folklore (Blg. “pile [пила]”):

Пилѣ пѣе всрѣдѣ морѣ,	[The bird sings in the middle of the see]
каино пѣе, дума дума:	[As it sings, it speaks]
по турци щѣ мор да станѣ,	[The sea will retreat for the Turks]
по християнѣ пѣни щѣ пѣни	[And they will plunder the Christians]
(SbNU34, p. 17) –	

(2) *birds* – two black ravens (Serb. “dva vrana gavrana”), or –

(3) a *fairy* (it is particularly significant that it is only in this type of formulae that the fairy produces/emits a sound like the falcon (Serb. “klikatati”)).¹⁵

In all cases, the “voice” [news] is bad – it reports about the accident that already happened or foretells an accident that will happen soon – which posits messengers between life and death:

GAVRAN GLASONOŠA

Polećela dva vrana gavrana,
Sa Mišara polja širokoga
A od Šapca grada bijeloga,
Krvavijeh kljuna do očiju,
I krvavih nogu do koljena...
(Vuk IV, 30:1–5)

Polećela dva vrana gavrana
(Vuk III, 88:1; Vuk IV, 45:1; Vuk IX,
25:4; similar in: Vuk VI, 54:59; Vuk VII,
56:1; Vuk VIII, 2:1; SANU IV, 23:1;
Vuk VI, 54:1; Vuk IV, 2:1; 26:1; SANU
III, 19:1; Vuk VIII, 28:1; Vuk VIII,
65:1; Vuk IX, 6:63; MH VIII, 18:13,
26; SANU III, 52:10; SM 24:1; Vuk
IV, 59:1–2; Vuk II, 45:119–120; Vuk II,
48:57–58)

RAVEN THE NEWS-BEARER

Flying there come two coal-black ravens,
From afar, from the plain of Mišar,
From the white fortress of Šabac.
Bloody are their beaks to the very eyes,
Bloody are their claws to the very
knees...¹⁶

Flying there come two coal-black ravens...

¹⁵ In oral epics, this kind of announcing is transferred to the heroes too [Serb. “*Kliče* Stojan tanko glasovito”, “*Kliče* Iva kroz lug popevati”, “*Kliče* Nikac grlom bijelijem” etc., with meaning: “Stojan/Iva/Nikac... starts to sing”], which correlates with their attribution [Serb. “Ban uđade sestricu Jelicu ... Za *sokola* Brđanina Pavla”, “Strahin-bane, ti *sokole* srpski”, “Jo Kaica, moj *sokole* sivi” etc.; in these examples heroes are metaphorically named as *falcons*).

¹⁶ Translated from Serbian by John Matthias and Vladeta Vuckovic. (http://www.kosovo.net/history/battle_of_kosovo.html; 19/7/2013).

KLIKOVANJE VILE

Kliče vila s Urvine planine,
 Te doziva Kraljevića Marka:
 “Pobratime, Kraljeviću Marko!
 Znadeš, brate, što ti konj posrće?
 Žali Šarac tebe gospodara,
 Jer ćete se brzo rastanuti.”
 (Vuk II, 74:19–24)

Kliče vila prije jarkog sunca
 (Vuk IV, 34:98; similar in: Vuk IV,
 43:4; Vuk VI, 67:80; Vuk VIII, 42:3;
 Vuk IX, 26:671; 27:1; SM 8:1; Vuk
 IV, 21:1; Vuk VIII, 23:49; 54:1; Vuk
 IV, 49:1; Vuk VIII, 17:73; 47:1; Vuk
 IX, 4:1; KH II, 72:1; MH IX, 19:1;
 SM 49:1; Vuk IX, 2:135; EH 12:165;
 SANU IV, 44:1; SM 134:13; SM
 174:1; Vuk II, 95:3; Vuk IV, 31:430;
 Vuk IV, 56:142; Vuk VIII, 52:1;
 SANU IV, 37:1; KH II, 48:1; MH I,
 68:292; SM 27:55; SM 134:3)

FAIRY'S ACCLAMATION (CALL)

A fairy cries from Urvina mountain
 And she calls Marko the Prince:
 “My blood-brother, oh, Prince Marko!
 Do you know, brother, why your horse stumbles?
 He mourns you, his master,
 Because you will be parting soon.”

A fairy cries before the rising sun...

Although ravens could be incorporated in this formula on the basis of realities – as the last participants in battles (they were scavengers that fell on the bodies of dead warriors, which made them associated with the god of death, and – also – they could easily be taught to talk) – the very jagged mythological background indicates a more complex and deeper origin of the formula. However, even if we establish a parallel with:

(1) Odin's two birds (ravens Huginn and Muninn [Thought and Memory]), which leave Odin at dawn and fly around the world to bring him news of what is happening (Loma 2003: 121), or –

(2) shamanic practice (North Eurasia) “in which the raven plays such an important role of pre-shaman, cult hero and demiurge” (Loma 2003: 125), or –

(3) Mesopotamian myth of the Great Flood, where the raven that does not return (analogous to the biblical dove) indicates the end of the flood (Loma 2003: 110) – there still remains the fact that the archetype of mediation is steadily associated with this bird, and that it goes beyond specific myths and specific folklore traditions. In this respect, the “report of ravens” (the pattern that G. Gesemann and A. Schmaus named “raven the news-bearer”; Gezeman 2002 [1926], Šmaus 1937) is not different from the “fairy's acclamation/prophecy” [Serb. “klikovanje vile”].

Becoming tied to underlying cultural codes – such as the basic structure of spatial axis – the archaic image of a fairy-bird in the epic formula becomes ossified, deformed and barely recognizable. Out of this formula, and

in other folk genres, this notion is practically forgotten and almost completely suppressed by other layers of tradition. Extremely rare and hardly noticeable signals confirm our findings. One of such comes from a ritual poem the purpose of which is to call down rain (Serb. “dodolske pesme”), where the ritual situation has contributed to its conservation. In that lyric poem the fairy is positioned on the top of the fir, high “up to the sky”, as well as a bird on the top of the World Tree in mythologies and their folklore derivatives:

<i>Nasred sela vita jela,</i>	In the middle of the village – a thin fir,
<i>Oj dodo, oj dodole!</i>	Oh, dodo, oh, dodole!
<i>Vita jela čak do neba.</i>	A thin fir up to the sky.
<i>Na vr' jele b'jela vila,</i>	On the top of the fir – a white fairy,
<i>U krilu joj ogledalo;</i>	With a mirror in her lap;
<i>Okreće ga, prevrće ga.</i>	She's turning it over and over.
<i>Prevrnu se vedro nebo</i>	The clear sky turns over,
<i>I udari rosna kiša.</i>	And a dewy rain sets in.
<i>Oj dodo, oj dodole!</i>	Oh, dodo, oh, dodole!
(AnL 132)	

1.2 Segmentation and semantisation of physical space

Different segments of physical space carry the same system of connotations as the aforementioned spatial relations (up : down, left : right, in front of : behind, etc.). Among them, as particularly accentuated, stand out *house/tower/court* and *city* (as closed, safe human spaces), on one hand, and *mountain*, *water* (sea, lake) and *road* (as open, demonic/chthonic, dangerous locations), on the other (Detelić 1992). The logic of systemic oppositions determined – among other things – formulaic epic attribution: mountain (forest) became *black*, sea – *grey*, tower/court and city – *white* (Detelić & Ilić 2006; Detelić & Delić 2013).¹⁷ Similarly, the typical epic antagonist is the Black Arab (from the Turkish perspective: Black George [Serb. Karađorđe, Turkish “kara” = black]), while the attribution of the hero¹⁸ inclines toward the op-

¹⁷ Origins of attribution are not the same (*white city* [Serb. “beli grad”] carries the traces of sacredness, as well as *white church* [Serb. “bela crkva”], for example), nor is the symbolic of colours monolithic and uncontroversial (both *white* and *black* can carry different, mutually contradictory symbolic values); cf. Detelić & Ilić 2006; with a bibliography.

¹⁸ This refers not (only) to the character that is perceived as “our” from the author’s position (perspective of a singer), but to the hero as an eponym of a genre, with the following structural elements: parts of the body, clothes, horse, weapon (as private/personal), and family, court/tower and city (as public). Therefore, the second type of attribution – imposed by the rules and the imperatives of a heroic genre – sets apart formulaic description of body parts, weapons and duels as *heroic* (cf. Detelić 2008).

posite semantic field: his throat and arms are formulaically described as *white* (Serb. “*belo grlo*”, “*bele ruke*”), his cheek – as *bright* (Serb. “*svetli obraz*”), his weapons – as *shiny* (Serb. “*svijetlo oružje*”) (Detelić & Delić 2013).

The described segmentation of space has generated a whole range of formulae based upon characteristics of chthonic zones and taboos related to them. Correlation *voice = human : silence = inhuman* generated the formula “singing through the mountain”, which figures as a typical sign of violating the chthonic space. In entire circles of variants (different models of *sujet/story/plot*), singing through a mountain initiates a conflict between hero and demon (fairy) or some isomorphic figure (rebel/rebels [Serb. “*hajduk*”/“*hajduci*”] / mountain wolfs [Serb. “*gorski vuci*”]). This formula usually includes the motif of an extraordinary/destructive power of the voice, inherited from mythic layers.¹⁹ The origin of the motif (in narrative terms) – as supposed by Lj. Radenković – could be found in the myth of Thunder God and his family (cf. Sudnik & Tsivian 1980: 242; Radenković 1988):

Kad ugleda mlada Andelija, Zapiva mu grlom debelijem. Kako piva, kuja je rodila: <i>S gorice je lišće poletilo</i> <i>Po planini trava pokleknula.</i> To začuo Malen harambaša, Pijuć vino s trideset hajduka. (MH VIII, 16:24–30)	When young Andjelija saw it, She started to sing in a loud voice. How does she sing! Bitch gave her birth! <i>The leaves flew from the trees,</i> <i>The grass flattened in the mountain.</i> Harambasha Malen heard it, while drinking wine with his thirty hajduks.
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Като окне Елена невеста на гората шумки отпаднале, по полето трева повейнала, у извори вода пресъхнала. Дочул я е Лалош из горица [...] (SbNU 53, no. 532, p. 647)	As Elena the bride began to sing, <i>The leaves fell from the trees,</i> <i>The grass withered in the mountain,</i> <i>The springs dried up.</i> Laloš from the mountain heard it [...]
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Similarly, the correlation between the oppositions *pure dead : impure dead* and *graveyard* (consecrated space) : *mountain* (chthonic space) generated a very complex formula – “burial in the mountain”, which sublimated a number of key elements of the cult of the dead. Those who die in an impure place – even if it is through no fault of their own – assume the characteristics of the space itself and have to be buried where they died (Detelić 1996b: 99). Therefore, such persons are not carried to the cemetery. The grave is dug on the spot (in the mountain or some other impure place – by the road,

¹⁹ The symbolic aspect of that voice partly overlaps with the notion of the (cosmic) vertical: “The strength of the voice is usually expressed through two elements: the leaves fall from the trees (= up – down) and the grass flies up from the ground (= down – up), creating a symbolic axis Heaven – Earth” (Radenković 1998: 240).

near the crossroads and the like), and arranged in a way that incorporates elements of ritual/cult (water, appropriate plants, funeral gifts – small coins and gold coins [Serb. “groši i dukati”] etc.; cf. Detelić 2008; Detelić 2013). This case shows as evident the distinctive tendency of mythical thinking toward tautology – i.e. multiplication and accumulation of details from the same semantic field:

- (1) *mountain* is a liminal space (entrance to the other world);
- (2) *water* is “strong” border (between the worlds of the living and the dead);
- (3) *tree* and *liana* (grapevine, rose) as mediators between the upper and nether worlds (analogous to the world of the living and the world of the dead);
- (4) *sitting in the forest* – as an absence of movement – is a metaphor for death.

THE GRAVE OF LJEPOSAVA,
THE BRIDE OF MILIĆ THE STANDARD-BEARER
(in the mountain)

Sastaše se kićeni svatovi,	The wedding guests came together,
Sabljama joj sanduk satesaše,	They made her casket with sabres,
Nadžacima raku iskopaše,	They dug her grave with hatchets,
Saraniše lijepu đevojku	They buried the beautiful girl
Otkuda se jasno sunce rađa;	Where the bright sun rises;
Posuše je grošim' i dukatim';	They threw groats and ducats on her;
Čelo glave vodu izvedoše,	They brought water to the head of the grave,
Oko vode klupe pogradiše,	And made benches around the water,
Posadiše ružu s obje strane:	And planted a rose on either side:
Ko j' umoran, neka se odmara;	For him who is tired – to get rest;
Ko je mlađan, nek se kiti cv'jećem;	Who is young – to spruce himself with flowers;
Ko je žedan, neka vodu pije	Who is thirsty – to drink water,
Za dušicu lijepe đevojke.	For the soul of the beautiful girl.
(Vuk III, 78:189–201)	

THE GRAVE OF IVAN SENJANIN'S NEPHEW
(by the road)

Lepo ga je uja saranio,	His uncle buried him nicely,
Javor-sanduk lep mu satesao,	He made him a maple-wood casket,
Šaren sanduk ko šareno jaje	Colourful casket like a colourful egg,
S leve strane te šarene grane,	On the left side – those colourful branches,
S desne strane sitne knjige male.	On the right side – tiny little letters.
Jošt na lepšem mestu ukopa ga,	He buried him in an even nicer place,
Raku kopa kraj druma careva,	He dug the pit by the emperor's road,
Oko groba stole pometao,	Around the grave he put tables,

Čelo glave ružu usadio,	And planted a rose at the head of the grave,
A do nogu jelu usadio.	And a fir at his feet.
Do te jele bunar iskopao	By this fir – he dug a well,
I za jelu dobra konja svez'o:	And to the fir he tied a good horse:
Koji prođe tud drumom carevim	For him who passes by the emperor's road,
Ko j' umoran, neka otpočine,	Who is tired – to get rest,
Ko je mlađan, pa je za kićenje,	Who is young and fit for bedecking –
Nek' se kiti ružicom rumenom,	let him bedight with the red rose,
A koga je obrvala žećca,	And who is overwhelmed by thirst –
Bunar ima, nek' utoli žećcu,	There's the well – to quench his thirst,
Ko je junak vredan za konjica,	Who is a hero worthy of a horse –
Nek' ga dreši, pa nek drumom jezdi	Let him untie it, and ride along the road,
Sve za zdravlje Ive Senjanina	All for the health of Ivan Senjanin,
I za dušu nejaka nećaka	And for the soul of the young nephew.
(SANU III, 40:93–114)	

In this case the epic is indifferent not only to the sex of the diseased (male/female), but also to the formal (confessional) differences between the Orthodox and Catholic funeral rites. The graves of both Christians and Muslims are treated in an analogous way:

THE GRAVE OF AHMED THE STANDARD-BEARER
AND BEJZA FROM VARAD

(in the field)

Otalen se Turci povratili,	The Turks returned from there,
Mrtvu oni Bejzu ponesošē.	And took dead Bejza with them.
Kad su sišli u polje kaniško	When they reached the field of Kaniža,
Do sokola Ahmed-bajraktara,	And the falcon, Ahmed the standard-bearer,
Tu su konje dobre razjahali,	They dismounted their good horses,
A Ahmedu kuću načinili	And made a house for Ahmed,
I kod njega Bejzi Varatkinji.	And near him one for Bejza from Varad.
Više bajre turbe načinili,	They made a türbe ¹⁹ above the standard-bearer,
Oko njega bašču ogradili,	Enclosed the garden around it,
A po bašči voće posadili,	And planted fruit trees in the garden,
A u bašču vodu navratili,	And brought water to the garden,
Oko vode klupe pogradili,	They made benches around the water,
Kraj turbeta džadu načinili:	And a road by the türbe:
Ko je žedan, neka vode pije,	Who is thirsty – to drink water,
Ko je gladan, neka voće jide,	Who is hungry – to eat fruits,
Ko je susto, neka otpočine,	Who is tired – to get rest,
A spominje Ahmed-bajraktara	And to mention Ahmed the standard-bearer
I divojku Bejzu Varatkinju.	And Bejza the girl from Varad.
(MH IV, 44:430–447)	

²⁰ Türbe is a Muslim tomb similar to a chapel or a mausoleum, usually built for noblemen.

2 Conceptualization of time

Unlike space, time does not have the “character of being” (cf. Cassirer 1985 III: 144) and, as noted above, cannot be perceived by senses. Therefore, the language itself is forced (before the epic modelling even starts) to denote temporal dimensions and relations by spatial determinants (cf. the examples in section 1.1). Even the exact sciences have not been able to avoid this type of figurative representation: time is imagined as an infinite *line*, as a *spiral* or *circle*, or – in non-standard topologies of time – as a *ray* (*half-line*) without beginning or end, as a *line segment*, or as a *branching* time (cf. Arsenijević 2003: 59–73). In folklore, time is predominantly conceptualized through cosmic and biological rhythms, which are perceived as fundamental. As the categories of physical space are defined in relation to the human body in a gravitational field,²¹ the experience of time flow is mediated through phases of human life, as they are biologically and socially defined and segmented. Hence, oral formulae are often associated with key rites of passage (birth, marriage, death) or daily and annual cycles. The first mentioned can be found in different positions in the text – initial (like in the *bugarštica*²² about the death of Vuk Grgurević Branković, written down in the mid-seventeenth century) or final (like in a Macedonian lyric poem):

INITIAL POSITION

Što mi graka postojā u gradu u Kupjenomu,
 Kupjenomu gradu,
 Ali mi se djetić ženi, ali mlado čedo krsti?
 Ah, ni mi se djetić ženi, niti mlado čedo krsti
 Za Boga da vam sam,
 Nego mi se Vuk despot s grešnom dušom razdjeljuje.
 (Pantić 2002: 75)

What's that noise in the town of Kupjenovo,
 The town of Kupjenovo,
 Is it a young man *getting married*, or a child being *baptized*?
 Oh, neither is a young man getting married, nor a child baptized,
 For God's sake,
 But Despot Vuk is *parting with his sinful soul* (= dies).²³

²¹ In traditional societies space was even measured by parts of the body – foot, span, cubit, etc.

²² *Bugarštica* is a special type of oral poem, sung in long verses (15 or 16 syllables), mostly in urban areas. They were mainly recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the Adriatic coast.

²³ Vuk Grgurević Branković – in oral epics known also as Vuk the Fiery Dragon [Serb. “Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk”; the name “Vuk” means “wolf”] – was a member of the Branković

FINAL POSITION

[...] Ми го дочу крива лоза винена: – Што се фалиш, трендафилу окапнику! Јас ке родам многу грозје в година, ке оженам многу млади јунаци, ке омџам многу млади девојки, ке закопам триста стари старици, ке си крџтам триста луди дечина. (Miladinovci 21)	[...] Curved grapevine has heard it: “Why do you boast, oh rose on the window! I’ll bear a lot of grapes this year, I will <i>marry</i> many young heroes, I will <i>marry</i> many young girls, I will <i>bury</i> three hundred old elders, I will <i>baptize</i> three hundred crazy kids.”
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The same formulaic nucleus is identified in a group of poems in which three kings/nobles of another religion or nation invite the hero to baptism (= birth), to wedding (= marriage), or to war (= death). This formula is as a rule in the initial position:

Ali Marku tri knjige dodoše: Jedna knjiga od Stambola grada, Od onoga cara Pojazeta; Druga knjiga od Budima grada, Od onoga kralja Budimskoga; Treća knjiga od Sibinja grada, Od vojvode Sibirjanin-Janka. Koja knjiga od Stambola grada, Car ga u njoj <i>na vojsku poziva</i> , Na Arapsku ljutu pokrajinu; Koja knjiga od Budima grada, Kralj ga u njoj <i>u svatove zove</i> , U svatove na kumstvo vjenčano, Da ga vjenča s gospođom kraljicom; Koja knjiga od Sibinja grada, Janko u njoj na kumstvo zaziva, <i>Da mu krsti dva nejaka sina</i> . (Vuk II, 62:3–19)	Three letters came to Marko, One letter – from the city of Istanbul, From that emperor Bayezid; The second one – from the city of Buda, From that king of Buda; The third one – from the city of Sibiu, From Captain Janos of Sibiu, In the letter from the city of Istanbul, The emperor invites him to join the <i>army</i> , In the bitter province of Arabia; In the letter from the city of Buda, The king invites him to the <i>wedding</i> , To be his best man, To marry the king to the queen; In the letter from the city of Sibinji, Janko asks him to be the godfather, To <i>baptize</i> his two young sons.
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In traditional cultures, the daily cycle was measured primarily by the motion of celestial bodies (planets, Moon, Sun). In many ancient religions, and in South Slavic folklore, a key role was played by Venus [Serb. “Danica”, both a female name and the name for the morning star, daystar]. It assumed this role probably because of the correlation between its movement and the sunrise/sunset, which generated a system of formulae, mainly introductory, both in lyric and in epic poetry:

family “of Srem” [Serb. “sremski Brankovići”] and a famous fighter against the Ottomans. They were the last medieval rulers of Serbia before it was finally conquered by the Ottomans after the fall of Smederevo in 1459.

LYRICS

Falila se <i>Danica zvijezda</i>	The Morning Star bragged
Da je prose troji prosioci:	That three suitors ask her hand in marriage:
Jedni prose za žareno sunce,	The first asks her for the bright Sun,
Drugi prose za sjajna mjeseca,	The second asks her for the shiny Moon,
Treći prose za sedam vlašića.	The third asks her for the seven Pleiades. ²⁴
[...]	[...]
Al' govori žareno sunašće:	And the bright Sun says:
"Pođi za me, Danice zvijezdo!	"Marry me, the Morning Star!
<i>Svu noćicu za sunašćem ajde,</i>	All night long you'll follow the Sun,
<i>A u danu pred sunašćem ajde."</i>	All day long – go in front of the Sun."
(Rajković 185)	
<i>Jarko sunce ide na konake,</i>	Bright Sun goes to its residence (= to sleep),
<i>Pred njim ide Danica zvijezdica,</i>	The Morning Star goes ahead of him,
Pa je njemu tiho govorila:	And she quietly speaks to it:
"Jarko sunce, jesi l' s' umorilo?"	"Bright Sun, are you tired?"
(Ristić 11)	

EPICS

Kad <i>Danica</i> na istok izađe,	When the Morning Star rose in the east,
<i>Mesec</i> jasan nad zaodom beše,	Clear Moon was setting down,
Milošu obadva dodoše,	Both [heroes] came to Miloš,
Pak Milošu govorit' počese...	And began to talk to Miloš...
(SANU II, 30:1425–1428)	
Još zorica ne zabijelila,	The dawn has not broken yet,
Ni <i>danica</i> pomolila lica,	Nor has the Morning Star showed her face,
I od dana ni spomena nema,	And there's still no sign of daylight,
Dok poklikta sa Javora vila	But the fairy [vila] cries from Javor moun-
(Vuk IV, 38:1–4; cf.: Vuk II, 95; Vuk III, 10, 39, 47; Vuk IV, 38, 43, 46; Vuk VIII, 42; Vuk IX, 25; KH I, 25; KH II, 43, 57; KH III, 8, 10; MH II, 45; MH VIII, 6; SANU II, 31; SM 11, 134)	tain.
Kad u jutru zora zab'jeljela,	When the dawn broke in the morning,
I <i>danica</i> pero pomolila	And the Morning Star showed her feather.
(KH I, 2; cf.: KH II, 50; MH IV, 50; MH IX, 23)	
Još zorica ne zabijelila,	The dawn has not broken yet,
ni <i>Danica</i> pomolila krilca	Nor has the Morning Star showed her wings.
(SM 85)	

²⁴ In Serbian, the nouns Sun (neutrum), Moon and Pleiades (Serb. "Vlašići") are masculine nouns, so they can marry the "morning star" Danica (Venus), which is a feminine noun.

Such position in oral formulae and such importance in time conceptualization leads to the conclusion that Danica, the Morning Star (Venus) could be a folklore counterpart of the primordial deity of Time, which in ancient myths and philosophy precedes cosmogony (cf. Šćepanović 2012: 19–25 with relevant bibliography). This symbolic and ontological dimension, inherited from the most ancient cultural layers, could explain quite stable figuring of the “star” Danica in the initial oral formulae:

EPICS

Mjesec kara zvijezdu danicu:	The Moon scolds the Morning Star:
“Đe si bila, zvijezdo danice?	“Where’ve you been, Morning Star?
Đe si bila, đe si dangubila?	Where’ve you been, wasting your time?
Dangubila tri bijela dana?”	Wasting your time for three white days?”
Danica se njemu odgovara:	The Morning Star replies:
“Ja sam bila, ja sam dangubila	“I’ve been, I’ve wasted my time,
Više b’jela grada Bijograda,	Above the white city of Bijograd,
Gledajući čuda velikoga,	Watching a great wonder,
Đe dijele braća očevinu,	Brothers dividing their patrimony,
Jakšić Dmtar i Jakšić Bogdane...”	Jakšić Dmtar and Jakšić Bogdan...”
(Vuk II, 98:1–10)	

LYRICS

Sjajna zv’jezdo, đe si sinoć sjala?	Shiny star, where did you shine last night?
“Ja sam sjala više Biograda,	“I shined above Biograd,
Osvitala više Carigrada,	Rose above Constantinople,
Te gledala šta se tamo radi...”	And watched what’s happening there...”
(Bašić 94)	
Dve se zvezde na nebu skaraše,	The two stars quarreled in the sky,
Preodnica i zvezda Danica.	The Forerunner and the Morning Star.
Preodnica Danici besedi:	The Forerunner tells to the Morning Star:
“Oj Danice, lena ležavkinjo,	“Oh Morning Star, lazy slacker,
Ti preleža od večer’ do sveta,	You were lying from evening to morning,
Ja obido’ zemlju i gradove...”	While I circled the country and the cities...”
(SANUI, 275)	

The aforementioned ancient philosophical concept (time as primordial deity which precedes cosmogony) is based upon the distinction between mythical time (which is an absolute past) and historical time (within which each item points to another that lies further behind, so recourse to the past becomes *regressus in infinitum*; cf. Cassirer II 1985: 112). Mythical past – as the time of the “origin” of things both natural and cultural – is replicated in ritual situations and intervals that carry the quality of mythic/holy time through the logic of a “beginning”. Like the mythical experience of space and its conceptualization in traditional cultures, mythical perception of time separates homogeneous physical continuum and validates its segments differently. As G. Mal’tsev showed in a broad comparative context,

it highlights *early morning/dawn* as the densest and the most productive formulaic nucleus:

In the daily cycle, the “dawn”, the appearance of the sun – that is the time of the “beginning”, the time of birth and of rebirth, the time associated with destiny. The magic of sunrise is caused by these notions. As every “beginning”, the morning is sacralized and mythologized ... It is on the morning – the beginning – that depends the development, the destiny of the coming day. (Mal'tsev 1989: 79–80)²⁵

The given complex of notions (“magic of the morning”) and the given logic of thinking founded one of the most widespread oral formulae. It has many stylizations (cf. tables below), occurs in a broad cultural areal (Panslavic context) and in a wide range of genres:

(1) in proverbs with the meaning “The *early* bird catches the worm” [Serb. “Ko *rano rani* – dve sreće grabi”; “Who gets up *early* – doubles his luck”], [Rus. “Кто *рано* встает, тому бог подает”, “Who gets up *early* – God gives him luck/goods”]

(2) lyric poems (especially ritual)

(3) epic poems

(4) phrases (such as “Good *morning!*”)

(5) legends/narratives, etc.

The formula shows a slightly higher lexical fixation in the initial position, but not a higher frequency, because every change or the beginning of an action can be linked to early morning/dawn/sunrise in the medial stages as well:

INITIAL POSITION (EPICS)

Rano rani ²⁶ đakone Stevane (Vuk II, 3:1)	Deacon Stephen gets up early...
Rano rani Turkinja devojka (Vuk II, 57:1)	Turkish girl gets up early...
Rano rani Kraljeviću Marko, Rano rani do ishoda sunca (MH II, 7:1–2)	Prince Marko gets up early, He gets up before sunrise...

²⁵ “В суточном цикле ‘рассвет’ появление солнца – это время ‘начал’, время рождения возрождения, время, связанное с судьбой. Магия рассвета обусловлена именно этими представлениями. Как всякое ‘начало’ утро сакрализуется и мифологизируется [...] От утра – начала – зависит течение, судьба грядущего дня.”

²⁶ In Serbian both the adverb *early* (Serb. “rano”) and the verbs with the meaning “to get up early in the morning”, “to do/start something early in the morning” (Serb. “rani”, “poranio”, “uranio”) are derived from the same root (*figura etymologica*).

Podranio Kraljeviću Marko, Podranio u nedjelju svetu Prije zore i bijela dana, Podranio u lov u planine (MH I, 40:1-4)	Prince Marko got up early, He got up early on Holy Sunday, Before dawn and daylight, He got up early to hunt in the mountains...
Uranila Kosovka djevojka, Uranila rano u nedelju (Vuk II, 51:1-2)	The Maiden from Kosovo got up early, She got up early on Sunday...
Zoran junak rano podranio (Vuk IX, 7:1)	Brave hero got up early...
Sitna knjiga rano podranila (Vuk VIII, 72:1)	The small book [letter] arrived early...

MEDIAL POSITION (EPICS)

Rano rani ljuba Prijezdina, Rano rani na sam Đurđev danak, Rano rani na vodicu ladnu (SANU II, 78:43-45)	The wife of Prijezda got up early, She got up early on St. George's day, She went early to the water...
Poranio beže Milan-beže (Vuk II, 10:63)	Milan-bey got up early...
Prije beže bješe poranio (Vuk VI, 6:56)	Bey got up early, before...
Dobro ti si jutro poranio (EH 1:396)	You got up early on a good morning...
Na Ilinj-dan bijah poranila (KH III, 4:135)	I got up early on St. Elias' day...
Uranio slavan car Lazare (Vuk II, 43:106)	Glorious emperor Lazar got up early...
Noć noćio, rano podranio (MH III, 4:134)	He stayed overnight, and got up early...

In lyric poems, the variational field of formula (the scope of variation) is slightly larger (among other things, because of the existence of multiple metric forms), but semantics is the same:

Podranila Đurđevića Jela, Prije Đura u gorici došla, Nabrala je cmilja i bosilja, A najviše đurđeva cvijeća (SANU I, 95)	Helen, the wife of George, got up early, She came to the woods before George, She picked some immortelle and basil, But most of all she picked St. George's flowers [lily of the valley].
Porani, Belo, porani Porani, Belo, na vodu (Vuk V, 554)	Get up early, Bela, get up early Get up early, Bela, to fetch the water.

Ranila rano, oj, i, Nedelja, i! U njojne nove gradine Da bere rosan tr'ndavil (AnL 148)	Got up early, oh-e, the Sunday, eeee! To go to her new vineyards To pick dewy roses.
Uranila, koledo, stara majka, koledo! Svetoj crkvi na jutrenju, Susrete je sveti Petar Na jelenu zlatorogu (Vuk I, 191)	The old mother, koledo, got up early, koledo! To go to holy church to the morning service. She met St. Peter Riding on a golden-horned deer.

Another type of qualitative distinction is observed in the division into *good* and *bad* moments,²⁷ which chronological series makes discrete on the basis of the nature (features) of time intervals or moments:

GOOD MOMENT

To vi, Bože, u <i>čas dobar</i> bilo! (Vuk II, 27)	O God, may it be in a good moment for them!
Id'te deco, pošli u <i>dobri čas</i> ! (Vuk II, 82)	Go, children, may the moment of your depart be good!
U <i>čas dobar</i> , Osman-bajraktare! (KH III, 7)	In a good moment, Osman the standard-bearer!
Jer se ženim, u <i>dobar čas</i> bilo! (SANU III, 21)	Cause I'm getting married, let it be in a good moment!
Hajd' dorate u <i>sto dobrih časa</i> ! (KH I, 8)	Go ahead, my bay, in hundred good moments!

BAD MOMENT²⁸

Dobro jutro, beže Ljuboviću! U <i>zao čas</i> po me ili po te. (Vuk III, 70)	Good morning, Ljubović bey, In bad moment either for you, or for me!
Simeune, dugo jadan bio! U <i>z'o čas</i> ga roda potražio! (Vuk II, 14)	Simeon, stay miserable for a long time! In bad moment you went to search for ancestors!
U <i>z'o čas</i> si zemlju zamutio, A u gori Kosovo razbio. (SM 62)	In bad moment you stirred the country, And in worse one – destroyed Kosovo.

²⁷ Analogy with the notion of *kairos* in ancient and medieval cultures is imposed. In ancient traditions noun *kairos* (καῖρός) was sometimes used as a synonym for *chronos* (χρόνος). *Chronos* is, however, often associated with eternity (Šćepanović 2012), which make it the basic term in the area of philosophical categories (Radić 2012: 35). On the other hand, *kairos* has a more specified meaning and generally is determined as time suitable for some action, both in antiquity (Aristotle) and in the middle ages (cf. Radić 2012: 35, 42).

²⁸ About beliefs in *bad moment* in Slavic traditions cf. Radenković 2011.

* * *

Even this reduced and incomplete review indicates extreme complexity of codes that fund oral formulae and complexity of meanings generated or transferred by them. In this paper, the focus was on the conceptualization of space and time – and even that only partially. Among other things, a whole system of formulae which structures annual cycle (speaking in cultural categories) was neglected, as well as some other means of conceptualizing, like Church calendar (“From St. George’s to St. Demetrius’ Day” [Serb. “Od Đurđeva do Mitrova dana”]) or seasonal changes. For the latter, the most beautiful example is the famous Slavic antithesis at the beginning of the *Hasanaginica*:

What is whitening there, in the green hills?	
Is it snow, or is it the swans?	
If it were snow, it would have melted long ago,	MELTING OF SNOW = SPRING
If it were swans, they would have flown away.	BIRDS FLYING TO THE SOUTH =
It is neither snow nor swans,	AUTUMN
But the tent of aga Hasan-aga.	
(Vuk III, 80: 1–6)	

Out of our focus stayed the much wider area – actually quite a few segments of culture:

(1) ritual and ethical models: marriage to a maiden from a far away place, for example [Serb. *ženidba* “na daleko”]; establishing of loyalty or heroism, which generated a number of crucial “stable” epithets (*faithful* wife [Serb. “*verna ljubica*”], *heroic* head/shoulders/chest/duel [Serb. “*glava/pleća/prsa junačka*”, “*megdan junački*”]) (cf. Detelić 2008), and so on;

(2) elements of social stratification (social hierarchy and etiquette, entitling),

(3) whole areas where cultural codes (Indo-European heritage) converge with distinctive types of conceptualization; the best example of that sort is category of colour, especially domains of black and white and corresponding formulaic attribution.²⁹

Besides, a sublime life and historical experience also participate in constitution of oral formulae, which is, for example, obvious in attribution of:

²⁹ Linguistic literature on the subject is quite extensive, especially studies based on the cognitive approach (basic study in this field is Berlin & Kay 1969, which initiated further investigations and theories, *prototype theory*, for example). About the semantics of white colour in South Slavic oral epics, mainly in relation to the formulae *white town*, *white tower* and *white hall* see Detelić & Ilić 2006 (with bibliography of linguistic provenance that covers the Slavic cultural area) and Detelić & Delić 2013.

(1) arms (after the origin: sabre from Damascus/Sham or Germany [Serb. “sablja dimiščija/alamanka/šamlijanka”], rifle from Italy [Serb. “puška latinka/talijanka”] or from Germany [“danickinja”]),

(2) cities (as capitals [Serb. “stojni Beograd/Carigrad/Prizren”, from “prestoni” = capital]), or –

(3) typical characters (Latins are described as *wise* [Serb. “*premudri Latini*”, “*mudra Latinija*”] and as *tricksters* [Serb. “*Latini su stare varalice*”, “*Latini su mudre varalice*”], which are folk stereotypes based upon political skills and flexibility of the Venetian Republic).

Formulae can also contain information about the genre or the type of sujet (plot) which follows, usually the initial ones. In such cases, they can serve as specific “switchers” too (they send information about the change of discourse, i.e. about the transition from vernacular to poetic discourse; cf. Petković 1990; Detelić 1996: 23–25). Furthermore, formulae have specific intertextual disposition, for which J. M. Foley introduces the term *traditional referentiality* (Foley 1995).

All the mentioned aspects – together or in some combination – determine the genesis and the structure of formulae. It allows us to regard each of them as the “tip of the iceberg”, whose underwater massif constitutes of traditional system as a whole (whereby that whole must include categories of thinking, genre norms and other factors that common concept of traditional system does not involve). Therefore, the survival of formulae should be linked not only (and perhaps not even primarily) to their mnemotechnic function, but also to the fact that tradition reproduces, defines and maintains itself by them:

Tradition – it is primarily semantic, evaluative category. So, we investigated the formula – a kind of overwater part of an iceberg. “Underwater” part – most substantial and probably the most significant – does not express itself directly in specific ways [...] A deep layer of tradition with its own parameters, trends and connections can be observed as comprehensive and potentially inexhaustible centre that ‘irradiates’ meanings. Tradition – it is a generating category, and formulae act as canonical fixations of certain areas of the traditional semantics.³⁰ (Mal'tsev 1989: 68–69)

³⁰ “Традиция – это прежде всего смысловая, ценностная категория. Так, исследуемые нами формулы – это своего рода надводная часть айсберга. А часть ‘подводная’ – нечто наиболее содержательное и, пожалуй, зачастую наиболее существенное – непосредственно не выражается особыми путями [...] Глубинный уровень традиции со своими собственными параметрами, тенденциями и связями может рассматриваться как содержательный и потенциально неисчерпаемый центр, ‘иридирующий’ значения. Традиция – это порождающая категория, и формулы выступают как каноническая фиксация определенных зон традиционной семантики.”

Therefore, the analogy that has been established lately between folkloristic approach to the formulae and cognitive-linguistic approach to speech (metaphor),³¹ except at the level of creation (composition-in-performance) – and before at the level of creation – should be recognized at the level of semantic structures. Semantic structure of formulae and semantic structure of metaphor and linguistic units in general could be equally well described in terms of both scientific disciplines: *iceberg* (“iceberg” – Mal’tsev 1989, “the tip of the iceberg” – Fauconnier & Turner 2002), *hidden knowledge*, *hidden complexity*, *frame semantics*, or perhaps most accurately – *compressed meanings*. The meanings that are “compressed” and modelled originate, as we have seen, in the system of traditional culture – which has absorbed elements from extremely diverse spheres (conceptualization, rituals, life realities, historical experience, common law, ethics, etc.). Those meanings are, however, upgraded with new “income” in every new/concrete realization (i.e. poem) (cf. Detelić 1996: 106–107) and this is the area where aesthetics rivals poetics.

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821.163-13.0
398(=163)

Corpus

Collections available at: <http://www.mirjanadetelic.com/e-baze.php>:

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³¹ Cf. presentations at the conference *Oral Poetics and Cognitive Science* (The School of Language and Literature at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), Freiburg, January 24–26, 2013; conference website: <https://sites.google.com/site/oral-poetecogsci/>).

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The Varieties of Formulaic Diction in Turkic Oral Epics

Abstract: This article tries to show that the formulaic diction on the level of verse line and formulaic patterning in the composition of scenes are closely related and must be studied together. The analysis is done on the example of Turkic epics. Of the formulaic patterns the most prominent one is the variety of use of the attribute *ak* (white), which appears to be one of the most common epithets in Turkic epic poetry. It is usually connected with cloth (e.g. caftan, yurt), different parts of body (face, bosom), antelope, the lumps of gold given as bride-price and various kinds of arms (sword, spear) etc. It is usually denoted evaluatively as purity and beauty. In this matter Turkic epics share its position with many national epics of the middle ages including Serbian, Old English, Old German etc. The same role is analyzed for the opposite pattern “dust of earth”, and for the two themes: preparation of the hero for his journey and council scenes which are also mutual to many medieval epic traditions such as aforementioned Serbian and others.

Key words: Turkic epics, formula, formulaic diction, pattern, composition

Formula, meter, parallelism

Martin P. Nilsson, in a book on Homer, writes that “[t]he singer is able to improvise because he has learnt the epic technique or, to quote Goethe: *eine Sprache, die für dich dichtet und denkt*” (Nilsson 1933: 202). The main reason why the language of oral poetry can be described as “a language that creates poetry and thinks for you” is doubtless its formulaic nature. There is, however, no agreement in the many studies devoted to formulaic style and diction on what is to count as a formula. A case in point is Old English. Serious scholarship on the formulaic nature of Old Germanic poetry began in 1889 with the publication by R. M. Meyer of a collection of “formelhafte Elemente” [formulaic elements] in Old Norse, Old English, and Old High German poetry, running to over 500 pages (Meyer 1990). Today, more than a hundred years later, our notion of the formula has been sharpened and Meyer’s all-inclusive use of the concept has been discarded. But even so, the work of the various scholars who have done research on the formulaic character of Old English poetry embodies widely diverging and sometimes mutually contradictory views. Despite disagreement and controversy, most scholars today will concede, however, that their point of departure is Milman Parry’s definition of the formula with regard to the Homeric epics, and that this definition should indeed be the basis for any definition of the formula, however much a particular tradition might call for adjustment and refinement. According to Parry (1971: 272), a formula

is defined as “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea.”¹ For Parry the metrical conditions governing the “group of words” were those of the Greek hexameter, just as they are those of the South Slavic *deseterac* for Lord or those of the alliterative line for scholars in the field of Old Germanic poetry. When we look at the formulaic character of Turkic oral epic poetry, we find a close relationship between meter and syntactic structure on the one hand, and between syntactic patterning and parallelism on the other.

The verse of Turkic oral poetry is syllabic; two types of verse-line are most widespread in the epics, a line of 7 or 8 syllables, and a line of 11 or 12 syllables. The shorter line is typical of heroic epics, in particular in Kirghiz and Kazakh; the longer line is often found in “romances,” i.e. in oral narratives of a more lyrical character, generally love-stories that often have an unhappy ending. In Kirghiz and Kazakh heroic epics are as a rule in verse, while in other traditions (Uzbek, Karakalpak, Turkmen etc.) they tend to be performed in a mixture of verse and prose. Here the verse parts are sung, while the prose parts are spoken. This “prosimetric” form is typical of the oral romances.²

Parallelistic structures in Turkic are first found in the runic inscriptions of the eighth century; the earliest records of parallelistic lines in Turkic oral poetry occur in the eleventh-century *Dīvān luġāt at-Turk* by Mahmūd of Kashgar. In epic poetry, the formulaic beginning is frequently in the form of parallelistic locative constructions (suffix *-da*), as for instance in the Karakalpak epic *Qırıq Qız* (Forty Maidens):³

Büringü ötken zamanda,	In the days of old,
sol zamannıñ qädiminde,	in the days of yore,
qaraqalpaq xalqında,	among the Karakalpaks,
ata jurtı Turkstanda,	in the homeland of Turkestan,
Sarkop degen qalada,	in a town called Sarkop,
az noġaylı elatında...	in the small Noghay tribe...

As Viktor Zhirmunsky has argued, the predilection of parallelism has led to the creation of rhyme in Turkic oral poetry (Zhirmunsky 1985: 320–352). The Turkic languages belong to the agglutinative type of languages, which means that the various grammatical morphemes expressing case, number, tense etc. are suffixed to the word-stem and remain comparatively fixed. These suffixes vary only slightly according to the rules of vowel har-

¹ For a recent survey of the oral-formulaic theory, see Foley and Ramey, 2012: 71–102.

² For a discussion on this form, see Reichl 1997: 321–348.

³ Quoted from Q. M. Maqsetov, N. Žapaqov, T. Niyetullaev, eds., *Qırıq Qız* [Forty Maidens] (Nukus 1980: 42).

mony. In the quotation above the locative suffix is found in the forms *-da* after dark and *-de* after light vowels (as after *i* in *qādimin-de*).

A Turkic epic might also begin with some maxim or gnomic verses, arranged in parallelistic fashion, such as in the Kirghiz *Kökötöydün aşı* (*The Memorial Feast of Kökötöy-Khan*) from the *Manas*-cycle:

Altın iyerniñ kaşı eken:	A golden saddle has its pommel:
ata yurtnuñ başı eken.	a people has its chieftain.
Kümüş iyerniñ kaşı eken:	A silver saddle has its pommel:
tün tüškön kaliñ köp Noğay yurtnuñ	the Nogay teeming as shadows
başı eken.	at nightfall have their chieftain.

Here the parallelism of the lines can be analysed as Qualification + noun + genitive + noun + possessive + *eken* (is):

Altın ata kümüş tün tüškön kaliñ köp Noğay	iyer- yurt- iyer- yurt-	-niñ/ -nuñ	kaş- baş- kaş- baş-	-i	eken
gold father silver the Nogay teem- ing as shadows at nightfall	saddle- land- saddle- land-	-OF	pommel- head- pommel- head-	-ITS	is

Formula and formulaic system

In order to illustrate the formulaic patterning of Turkic oral epics, I will take a short passage from the Kazakh heroic poem *Qambar*. Äzimbay, a rich man of the Noghays, has six sons and a daughter. When his daughter, the beautiful Nazım, comes of age, she is allowed to choose a husband from the men who have flocked to Äzimbay's encampment as prospective husbands. But none of the suitors passing in review finds favour with Nazım. One young man had, however, not been invited to this gathering, Qambar of the impoverished clan of the Tobır, and it is precisely with this young man that Nazım falls in love when she first hears of him. Qambar has to prove his valour before he can marry Nazım, and it is his heroic deeds that form the substance of the narrative. In this passage Nazım is reviewing her suitors:⁴

⁴ Quoted from M. O. Auezov and N. S. Smirnova, eds., *Qambar-batır* [The hero Qambar] (Alma-Ata 1959: 38).

	Altın tuğır üstinde	On a golden perch,
	Nazım otır qonaqta	Nazım was sitting
105	<u>aq tuyğınday erikken.</u>	105 in boredom like a white hawk.
	<u>Qara men töre talasıp,</u>	Ordinary people and noblemen argued with one another,
	<u>forimına qarasıp,</u>	looked at her stature,
	<u>aldınan ötti körikten.</u>	and passed in front of the beauty.
	<u>Qız Nazımın maydanı</u>	The <i>maydan</i> ⁵ where Qız Nazım was sitting
110	är toptıñ boldı bazarı,	110 turned into a bazaar, teeming with people of all kinds.
	tüsedı köpke säwlesi	Her brightness shone on the many people.
	qağazday kirsiz azarı.	Her complexion was spotless like paper.
	Osinša žurttıñ artınan	Among so many peoples
	awmađı žaŋğa nazarı.	her gaze did not settle on a single person.
115	<u>Žerdin žüzin şañdattı</u>	115 The people who had gathered and surrounded her
	žiyılğan qorşap adamı.	raised the dust from the earth.

This particular passage describes a fairly individual scene. The passage is certainly not a theme in the sense of oral formulaic theory; this explains the low “formulaic density” of these lines as compared to that of a type-scene. The formulaic density of a particular passage is not only relative to the degree it is a typical scene or part of one, but also to its length and to the size of the referent corpus. The longer an extract is and the more numerous the random passages selected for formulaic analysis are, the greater is the likelihood that the analysis will be representative; and the larger the referent corpus is, the more clearly the formulaic nature of a passage can be shown. The following formulaic analysis is based on a concordance of somewhat over 8,000 lines of Kazakh epic poetry, the epic *Qambar* in the version from which I quoted, and the epic *Qoblandı* in Šapay Qalmaganbetov’s version.⁶ Hence it must be stressed that a larger referent corpus may substantially change the percentage of formulaic lines, although it would not, I believe, give a radically different picture of the nature of Kazakh formulaic diction.

Looking at the referent, we find that parallels can be cited for only six out of the fourteen lines quoted (these lines are underlined in the quotation above). The first line in our sample having a parallel in the referent is line 105:

aq tuyğınday erikken 105	white hawk-like being-bored
aq tuğınday quntıydı 1726	white hawk-like he-hunched-up-his-shoulders

⁵ The word *maydan* (from Persian) means both “square” and “battlefield.”

⁶ The concordance comprises 1851 + 6490 lines. The text of *Qoblandı-batır* is based on the edition by N. V. Kidajš-Pokrovskaja and O. A. Nurmagambetova, eds. and trans., *Koblandy-batyr. Kazaxskij geroičeskij èpos* [The hero Qoblandı-batır. A Kazakh heroic epic] (Moscow 1975). For further details, see Reichl 1989a: 360–381.

Aq, “white,” is one of the most common epithets in Turkic epic poetry. In *Qambar* not only the hawk (*tuygïn*) is white (105, 1726), but also Nazım’s face (81) and bosom (539), the various types of yurt (416, 799, 1774), the antelope (228), the caftan (1317), and the lumps of gold given as bride-price (1819). More important for formulaic diction is the use of *aq* as an epithet for arms. The sword has the epithet *aq* (665), and five out of six occurrences of *nayza*, “spear,” are modified by *aq*, either as *aq nayza*, “white spear” (1007, 1574, 1735) or in the collocation *aq saptı bolat nayza*, “white-shafted steel spear” (836, 1680; compare 1123 *aq bolat*, “white steel”). The latter is formulaic in the strict sense that the same metrical unit is repeated with identical words, differing only in grammatical morphemes such as case endings, postpositions, or possessive suffixes.

The epithet *aq* has in these lines three ranges of meaning. In collocations like *aq tuygïn* the adjective denotes a physical quality, the actual colour of a material object. When modifying parts of the body, as in *aq žüz*, “white face,” or *aq tös*, “white bosom,” the adjective not only denotes a colour, but is also used evaluatively. “White” suggests here purity and beauty; this is brought out by line 112 *Qağazday kirsiz ažarı*, “her complexion was spotless like paper.” We might compare to this the use of the adjectival epithet λευκώλενος, “white-armed,” in the Homeric epics, the epithet of Hera and women in general. When *aq* is, however, used as an attribute of weapons, it denotes brightness and radiance. Here, too, we find parallels in other epic traditions. Beowulf’s helmet, which he dons before descending into Grendel’s underwater den, is described as *hwīt*, “white-shining” (*se hwīta helm*, l. 1448). Shining armour and weapons are, of course, a common motif of heroic poetry. Hector is described in the *Iliad* as with a shining helmet (κορυθαίολος), and the various epithets used for weapons in the Homeric poems include a fair number of adjectives denoting a bright and radiant quality.

A more detailed analysis of formulas in the passage from *Qambar* quoted above than can be given here leads to a distinction between four types of formulaic line. The first type can be termed “formula in the strict sense.” This type of formula comprises lines which are repeated in the referent corpus without changes that affect its lexical composition. An example of this type of formula is the following:

aq saptı bolat nayzamen 826	with the white-shafted steel spear
aq saptı bolat nayzandı 1672	your white-shafted steel spear

These lines only differ by their grammatical morphemes (possessive suffixes, case suffixes).

A second type of formula is more variable than the first insofar as variation within the line is not restricted to grammatical morphemes or

minor parts of speech. An example is line 115 of the passage, *žerdiň žüzin šaňdattī*, “they raised the dust from the earth.” To capture the parallels to this line, we must have recourse to the notion of a formulaic system. Parry had defined a formulaic system as “a group of phrases which have the same metrical value and which are enough alike in thought and words to leave no doubt that the poet who used them knew them not only as single formulas, but also as formulas of a certain type” (Parry 1971: 275; cf. Lord 1960: 47ff.) This somewhat loose definition has not remained unchallenged, and various competing definitions have attempted to make the notion of a formulaic system more precise. In relationship to Old English A. Riedinger has proposed a threefold distinction between system, set, and formula, which is also helpful for Turkic oral poetry (Riedinger 1985: 294–317). According to Riedinger, a particular formula belongs with other formulas to the same set, if they all share at least one constant word and if the relationship of their variable elements can be semantically specified, i.e. if the variable elements are synonyms or belong to the same semantic field.

Line 115 consists of two phrases and hence two ideas: (1) “surface of the earth” and (2) “raised the dust.” If we take the first phrase as the constant element, we get the following parallel in *Qambar*:

žerdiň žüsin šaňdattī 115	of-the-earth its-surface he-caused-to-be-dusty
žerdiň žüsin sel aldī 1359	of-the-earth its-surface the-torrent took away

If we take the second phrase as the constant element, we get the following parallels:

awıldiň üstin šaňdatip <i>Qambar</i> 1158	of-the-village its-top causing-to-be-dusty
köşeniň awzın šaňdatip <i>Qoblandī</i> 1926	of-the-street its-mouth causing-to-be-dusty

There is strict parallelism in all variants of the first phrase; furthermore, all phrases are semantically related in as far as they are all geographical terms of some kind (earth, village, street) and specify a location (surface, top, mouth). The semantic affinity between the variants of the second phrase, however, is less tight. According to the oral-formulaic theory, we have here a formulaic system:

žerdiň žüzin		šaňdattī	
awıldiň üstin		šaňdatip	
köşeniň awzın		sel aldī	

represented by the sets:

(1) žerdiň žüzin		šaňdattī	
awıldiň üstin		šaňdatip	
köşeniň awzın			

(2) žerdiň žüzin	sel aldī
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In a third type of formulaic line the semantic constraint on the variable elements of the line is dropped. It consists of a fixed phrasal unit in the first part of the line and a slot, with metrical and possibly also grammatical constraints on the lexical units filling the slot. An example of this type of formulaic line is *Qiz Nazimnıñ maydanı* (*Qambar* 109). Here the line begins with a genitive (*-nıñ*) and continues with a noun ending in a possessive affix (*ı* or *i*). The latter is caused by the preceding genitive (of-the-NOUN its-NOUN):

Qiz Nazim-nıñ maydan-ı 109	of-Qiz Nazim her-place
Qiz Nazim-nıñ zaman-ı 125	her-time
Qiz Nazim-nıñ awıl-ı-nıñ 412	(of) her-village
Qiz Nazim-nıñ iç-i-ne 445	(to) her inside

There is finally a fourth type of formulaic line, exemplified in one of the occurrences of the epithet *aq* in *Qoblandı*. In this epic the word *mata*, “cloth, material,” is qualified by *aq*. This collocation invariably occurs in the following two lines:

Bazarda bar aq mata, oynaqtaydı žas bota 485-86, 693-94, 2583-84	At the bazaar there is white material; the young camel foal is frolicking.
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Lines like these punctuate the epic at irregular intervals. They often contain nature images, but also proverbial and gnomic lore. These cliché-like lines are similar to the repeated couplets in Serbian and Croatian heroic poetry as described by A. B. Lord:

Just as formulaic lines with internal rhyme or with a striking chiasmic arrangement have a long life, so couplets with clearly marked patterns persist with little if any change. For example:

Bez eđelja nema umiranja, Od eđelja nema zavrıanja. (II, No.24: 631-632)	Without the fated hour there is no dying, From the fated hour there is no escape.
--	--

or:

A zečki je polje pregazio, A vučki se maši planinama. (II, No. 24:41-42)	Like a rabbit he crossed the plain, Like a wolf he ranged over the mountains.
--	--

It seems preferable to keep such couplets in a class by themselves and not to call them formulas, reserving that term for the components of a single verse (Lord 1960: 57).

Thematic patterning

According to Parry and Lord a theme is a “group of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song” (Lord 1960: 68).

This term corresponds basically to what German scholars call *typische Szene* (type-scene) or *Erzählsschablone* (narrative template), although the emphasis is somewhat different within different scholarly traditions.⁷ Lord begins his discussion of themes in Serbian and Croatian epic poetry with the opening scene in the *Song of Bagdad*, a council at the sultan's court in Istanbul, and draws attention to the similar council scene at the beginning of the *Chanson de Roland* (Lord 1960: 68).⁸ The Uzbek version of the heroic epic *Alpāmiš* in Fāzil Yoldāš-oḡli's variant also begins with this theme (Zhirmunsky 1960; Reichl 2001).⁹ When Bāysari is told that he has to pay an alms-tax (*zakāt*) to his brother, Bāybori, the ruler of Qoṅgirāt, he summons his tribesmen to a *madžlis* (council) to deliberate what to do. Bāysari opens the council with the following words:¹⁰

- Āh urganda kozdan āqar selāb yāš,
 maslahat ber, on miṅ uyli qarindāš,
 Barčināyim boy yetgandir qalamqāš,
 zālīm bilan hargiz bolmaṅlar yoldāš.
 5 Qoṅgirāt eldan mālga zakāt kelibdi,
 maslahat ber, on miṅ uyli qarindāš!
 Qursin Hakimbegi, mulla bolibdi,
 bezakāt māllarni harām bilibdi,
 Qoṅgirāt eldan mālga zakāt kelibdi,
 10 maslahat ber, on miṅ uyli qarindāš.
 Dardli qul dardimni kimga yāraman,
 ayrāliq otiga baḡri pāraman,
 muna elda siḡindi bop turaman,
 oz akamga qanday zakāt beraman?!
 15 Maslahat ber, on miṅ uyli qarindāš!
 Xazān bolib bāḡda gullar solibdi,
 šum falak bāšimga sawdā sālibdi,
 Bāyboridan mālga zakāt kelibdi,
 maslahat ber, on miṅ uyli qarindāš!
 Amid sighs, tears flow from (my) eyes like a stream,
 give advice, tribal companions (relations) of the ten thousand yurts!
 My Barčin-āy with black eyebrows has come of age.
 Don't ever associate with a tyrant!
 5 From Qoṅgirāt came (a demand for) tax on (our) cattle (property).

⁷ The phrase *typische Szene* is associated in particular with Arend 1933; compare Parry's review, reprinted in Parry 1971: 404–407.

⁸ The *Song of Bagdad* is No. 1 in Parry and Lord, eds. 1953–54.

⁹ On *Alpāmiš*, see Zhirmunsky 1960; for a German translation of an Uzbek version of the epic, see Reichl 2001.

¹⁰ T. Mirzaev and M. Abduraximov, eds. and trans., *Alpamyš. Uzbeckskij narodnyj geroičeskij épos* [Alpāmiš. An Uzbek heroic folk-epic] (Tashkent 1999: 72).

Give advice, tribal companions of the ten thousand yurts!
 May Hakimbeg (Alpāmiš) be cursed! He has become a mullah.¹¹
 According to his knowledge cattle without tax is against the law;
 from Qongirāt came a demand for tax on our cattle.

- 10 Give advice, tribal companions of the ten thousand yurts!
 As a sorrowful slave (of God), to whom can I tell my grief?
 My heart is burning in the fire of separation,
 among this people I have become a stranger (poor relation).
 How should I pay tax to my older brother?
- 15 Give advice, tribal companions of the ten thousand yurts!
 When autumn comes, the roses wither in the garden.
 Cruel destiny has brought woe upon my head.
 From Bāybori came a demand for tax on our cattle:
 Give advice, tribal companions of the ten thousand yurts!

The passage continues for another 34 lines in the edited text. It is in lines of 11 syllables with a fairly loose sequence of rhymes. As can be seen, the passage is punctuated by the line “Give advice, tribal companions of the ten thousand yurts!” A wise old man (*āq sāqāʾl*), called Yartibāy, replies to Bāysari (in a passage comprising 50 lines in the printed edition), repeating twice the couplet:¹²

Maslahat bermaymiz Bāysari biyga, āsilmaymiz Bāyboriniñ dāriga...	We will not give advice to Bāysari-biy, we will not hang on Bāybori's gallows...
--	---

and adding the four times repeated line:

Maslahatni, šāhim, oziñ bilasan.	You yourself, my shah, know the advice.
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Bāysari then suggests (in a passage of 64 lines) that they migrate to the land of Kalmucks, to which proposal Yartibāy (in a passage of 64 lines) agrees.

There is a second type of repeated line in this passage:

Xazān bolib bağda gullar solibdi	When autumn comes, the roses wither in the garden.
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This line is repeated in the other speeches, with slight variations such as:

Xazān bolsa bağda gullar solmaymi	When autumn comes, do not then the roses wither in the garden?
-----------------------------------	--

Such stock lines are very common in Uzbek oral epic poetry; they are of the same type as the cliché-couplets discussed above in relation to Kazakh epic poetry. These cliché-lines emphasize a certain tone and, by evoking natural phenomena, underline the mood of a passage. This particu-

¹¹ I.e. “he has become proficient in reading and writing”. Alpāmiš suggested that such a tax be levied, as this is part of Muslim tradition.

¹² Mirzaev and Abduraximov 1999: 73–74.

lar verse is often used in contexts that suggest distress, unhappiness, or grief, just as the corresponding line occurs in situations of joy and happiness:¹³

Yana bahār bolsa açılar gullar	When spring comes again, the roses open up.
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The council scene consists of four verse-passages, distributed over two speakers and connected by prose-passages. It is highly patterned, but it is not stereotyped to the same degree as the council scene in the *Song of Bagdad*. The receiving and sending of letters as in the *Song of Bagdad* is one of the most common ways of beginning a heroic song; about 30% of the songs collected by Vuk Karadžić begin with this theme (Kravcov 1985: 260ff). In Turkic epic poetry, on the other hand, council scenes like the one opening Fāzil's variant of *Alpamiš* occur with far lower frequency and are furthermore, despite their patterning, far more closely linked to the matter of deliberation. There are, however, typical scenes in Turkic oral epic poetry which show a high degree of formulaic patterning both on the level of expression and that of content.

To conclude I will give a brief example of one such theme, namely the arming of the hero before he sets out on a war-like expedition or a journey. This theme is one of the invariant elements of Turkic heroic epic poetry. A very short version of this theme, combined with the theme of the hero's ride, is found in one of the Kazakh variants of the *Alpamiš*-story:¹⁴

725 Saymandarın saylanıp, altınnan kemer baylanıp, abžilanday tolganıp, qızıl nayza qolğa alıp Şubarğa qarğıp minedi, 730 qudaydan medet tiledi qarğıp minip žas bala ašuwı kerp žönedi. Läšker tartıp keledi, awızdıqpen alıšıp, 735 ušqan quspen žarisip, key žerde bala šoqıtıp, key žerde basın tögedi. Bir küin šapsa Šubar at aylıq žer alıp beredi.	725 He prepared his gear, bound his golden belt round his waist, turned about like a water snake, took his red spear into his hand, jumped onto Šubar, 730 asked God for his help; the young man jumped up, rode along, filled with wrath. He went to war, pulling his reins tight, 735 racing with the flying birds, where the young man was galloping, where he was heading for. When the horse Šubar had galloped for one day, he had covered the distance of a monthly journey.
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In lines 725–729 (–732) the preparation of the hero for his journey is briefly described, while the journey itself is the subject of the following

¹³ Mirzaev, Abduraximov 1999: 79 and *passim*.

¹⁴ M. O. Auezov and N. S. Smirnova, eds., *Alpamiš-batır* [The hero Alpamiš] (Alma-Ata 1961: 23).

lines. Just two or three strokes suffice to paint the hero's arming: he fastens his golden belt round his waist (726), speedily swings himself round (727), and takes his red spear into his hand (728). His psychological state is no more than alluded to when his anger is mentioned in line 732. The hero asks God for his help (730), swings himself on his horse (731), rides along as fast (or faster) than a bird (735), and covers the space of a monthly journey in one day (739). All these motifs and images belong to the inventory of the theme of the hero's arming and ride. In *Qambar* the hero's preparation-and-parting is slightly more elaborate, consisting of the same basic motifs: the donning of his armor, the invocation of God's help, the hero's anger, and his ride on his horse, galloping as fast as a flying bird:¹⁵

	Badana köz berik sawit basa üstine kiyedi,		He pulled the strong coat of mail with its fine mesh over his head,
1550	żaw żaraġin asinip żürmekke dayar boladi. Qurama bolat duwliġa şekesine qoyadi. Ordasında otirip	1550	took his deadly weapons and was ready to depart. He put the helmet of wrought steel over his temples. Sitting in his <i>orda</i> (yurt),
1555	şarapqa äbden toyadi. Awmin dep qol żayip, bir qudayġa tapsirip żurtinan żawap suradi. Qoş aytisip Qambarga	1555	he had drunk a lot of wine. Saying: "Amen!" he extended his arms, commended himself to the One God and took leave of his people. Saying: "Farewell!" to Qambar,
1560	toqşan üyli tobir me alpis üyli arigi amandasip žiladi. Aristan aman kelgey dep bäri de duġa qiladi.	1560	the Tobir of the ninety yurts and the Argin of the sixty yurts cried when they said good-bye. Saying: "May the lion come back safely!" they all fell down in prayer.
1565	Bastirip qatti qadamın qara qasqa tulpardi qaharlanip uradi; qustay uşip asuwmen tezde žetip baradi.	1565	Urging on its vigorous steps, he whipped the black horse with the white markangrily. Flying like a bird, full of wrath, he arrived in no time.

The type-scene of the hero's preparation for combat and his departure is clearly one of the universals of heroic poetry. It is not only found in the different traditions of Turkic oral epic poetry, but also in a wide variety of poetic traditions. A. B. Lord compares this theme as it is represented in Serbian and Croatian heroic song to the arming of Basil in *Digenis Akritas* and that of Achilles and Patroclus in the *Iliad* (Lord 1960: 89ff). A number of medieval parallels could be cited here, in particular from the Old French

¹⁵ Auezov and Smirnova 1961: 71.

chanson de geste.¹⁶ This is not the place to embark on a comparative analysis of this theme, however attractive a task. In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that formulaic diction on the level of verse line and formulaic patterning in the composition of scenes are closely related and must be studied together. Their analysis takes us to the core of the singer's art.

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¹⁶ On the theme of the hero's putting on his armour in the *chanson de geste*, see Rychner 1955: 128 and 132 ff. For a more detailed analysis of formulaic diction in Uzbek oral epics, see Reichl 1989b: 94–120.

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Some Types of Introductory Formulas in Greek Klephtic (Heroic) Epic

Abstract: Certain types of introductory formulas typical of klephtic epic songs are synoptically demonstrated and analyzed. The introduction outlines the historical development of this category of folk songs, based on occasionally opposing views of literary historians and scholars concerned with the study of Greek folklore. The analysis, performed on a selected corpus of Greek klephtic epic songs, reveals basic structural principles that the anonymous folk singer abided by whilst composing these songs.

Keywords: formula, klephtic folk song, model, structure, Greek revolution

Introductory remarks

Greek epic folk poetry, also known under the term κλέφτικα τραγούδια (haid-uk/heroic songs) in Greek folk literature, is quite similar to the epic poetry of other Balkan peoples in scope and character. Greek heroic songs, apart from being somewhat shorter than both Serbian and Romanian songs (as noticed early on by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić), are thematically varied, whilst being conceptually highly concise and comprehensive. Regardless of the fact that there are certain points of contact between them and the Homeric verse, the historical development of Greek epic folk songs took a relatively different course from the Serbian style.¹ The reason for this might reside in the fact that the Serbian songs needed to elaborate the storyline from all angles and to supply all elements so as to provide a background of the event narrated by the singer in order to hold the attention of the audience, enhance the intensity of the action and boost the effect of the plot. In this regard it can be said that the story in Serbian folk poetry flows with utter ease, gradually leading to a culmination. Attention to every detail of the sujet, that is the effort not to leave out a single element, possibly even to repeat it for the sake of convincingness, is the main property of Serbian epic poetry. Unlike Greek and Albanian heroic folk poetries, the Serbian epic is the source of some excellent songs of a balladic character (Suvajdžić 2008: 307).

¹ According to Kapsomenos (1996: 27), “a strong lyrical charge is often felt in Greek heroic songs”.

The historical development of Serbian folk epic was continuous and strongly marked by three historical events, carved deeply in the collective memory of the Serbian people: they took place in 1371 (The Battle on the river Maritza), in 1389 (The First Battle of Kosovo) and in 1459 (the fall of Smederevo), and were denoted as the “decline” or “fall of the Serbian empire” in epic songs. Unlike the first recordings of Greek heroic poetry, published in the 1810s owing to the zeal of the French philologist, critic and historian Claude Charles Fauriel² (1772–1844), the first recording of a *bugarštica* in Serbian was made as early as the fifteenth century (cf. Pantić 1977).

The fact that Greek folk epic was at its peak in recent history, i.e. in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, is particularly emphasized by some Greek researchers and scholars of Greek folk poetry, by Alexis Politis among others. According to Alexis Politis (1973: 29–31), Greek “haiduk (klephtic) songs first emerged in Roumelia in the early and mid-eighteenth century and these are primarily of the *armatolic type*”. Unlike him, Nicholas Politis (1983: 49) is of the opinion that Greek epic poetry gained real momentum only after the Greek haiduks began a relatively well-organized fight against Ali Pasha of Yannina, the Ottoman official of Albanian origin (Alb. Ali Pashë Tepelena /Janina/, c. 1740–1822) who rebelled against the Sublime Porte in Epirus. According to the data we have been able to acquire, the true apogee of Greek folk epic may be traced only after the outbreak of the Greek uprising in 1821, when haiduk historical figures and their brave accomplishments were widely sung about in folk songs. That is the reason why Greek folk epic, which is as popular nowadays in modern Greek society³ as ever, is regarded as the living folk memory of the (not that remote) national past strongly supporting Greek national consciousness and sense of belonging to the Greek nation.

Some other students of Greek folk poetry consider the emergence of haiduk songs to be much earlier than the historical epochs mentioned above. Thus, for example, Aravantinos (1996: 32–33) suggests that the first songs of *armatoles* appeared at the very beginning, or perhaps middle, of the sixteenth century, whilst the historian Vakalopoulos (1996: 267–269) is of the opinion that the beginnings of the new Greek heroic epic go back much further, to the era of the Byzantine Empire, and relates them to the area

² This two-volume collection of modern Greek folk poetry (*Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne*) was published bilingually in Greek and French in Paris in 1824–25.

³ Many folk heroic songs are performed with instrumental accompaniment at celebrations and festivities in today's Greece. Modern Greek composers of worldwide renown, such as Mikis Theodorakis, Manos Hatzidakis etc., have composed music for folk poems.

where *armatoles* had been active, continuing their armed activities in the territories conquered by the Ottomans after the fall of Constantinople in 1453: in the former case they were common looters, whilst in the latter they became fighters against the conquerors. Historian Sarris (1999: 301–302) holds a similar view in that he considers the *armatoles* as a well-known social institution in the Byzantine Empire, as prominent defenders of crop fields and properties who became well-organized and turned to serving the people as spies of the Ottomans, and whose accomplishments and fighting were later sung about. However, whilst relying on historical facts, Alexis Politis (1973: 16) quite precisely emphasizes that “the institution of *armatoles* emerged while the society was under Turkish rule (τουρκοκρατία) and thus was not a remnant of the Byzantine military organization”.

As regards their nature, Greek epic songs are not ballads. Being very short and rhymed forms, they may rather be described as direct and authentic “accounts” from the field, into which the singer embedded objectification of both time and space, and of the main character. An overwhelming majority of these songs are devoted to a *klepht* (κλέφτης, haiduk)⁴ or *klephtopoula* (female haiduk, κλεφτοπούλα) and to *armatoloi/martoloi* (αρματολός/μαρτολός)⁵. The raids by haiduks forced the Ottomans to build military fortifications along the roads so as to defend travellers and caravans as efficiently as possible. Since not even that was always enough, they resorted to a different tactic: they gave certain privileges to the population living in the vicinity of any major road; in return for being exempted from various duties, liable to a negligible tax and granted the right to carry and use arms, these Christian soldiers in Turkish service had to ensure safe passage of people and goods, to serve *agas* and *beys* unconditionally and to positively influence the common people. In other words, Ottoman authorities hoped to prevent any mass convergence of the male population to haiduks and to coax the Christian population. Thus, *armatoles* appeared massively on the historical stage of the eighteenth-century Balkans. However, it soon became clear that this was not a good solution for the Ottomans, since *armatoles* came to control large areas from which they attacked or pursued Turks (and

⁴ The basic meaning of this word, “thief”, “stealer”, became euphemistic during the Greek struggle for national liberation against the Ottoman Empire, thus denoting a fighter for national freedom and social justice (Stojanović 1984: 34).

⁵ The meaning would be “armed men” (Vasić 1967: 19). According to Fauriel (1824 I: xliii), *armatoles* were “a kind of militia made up exclusively of Greeks for the purpose of maintaining public order and protecting people from arbitrary larceny and violence”. In all probability, unlike the Greek case, there remain among the Serbs “a small number of these [martolose] songs in older records (Erlangen Manuscript, No. 83). According to some assumptions, this epic had considerably contributed to the popularity of *Kraljević Marko*” (Pešić & Milošević-Djordjević 1984: 153).

converts to Islam later on). Historically speaking, the importance of the *armatoles* suddenly plunged in the late eighteenth century when *klephts* became the main harbingers of the spirit of freedom and when the *klepht* became an idealized symbol of fearlessness and heroic bravery in resisting Turkish rule.

For the reasons given above, students of Greek folk literature have divided the *klephtic* songs into two types:

1) those describing historical figures and important moments of their lives, and

2) those narrating their free life in the mountains.

In addition to the two aforementioned fixed terms, the Greeks have another one: *klephtarmatol* (κλεφταρμάτολος), used for a Greek *armatole* turned *klepht*. Unlike all other Balkan peoples, the Greeks do not have a generally accepted term for *haiduks*; hence solely the first one specified here – *klepht* – is considered as such. Generally speaking, both *haiduks* and *armatoles* formed scattered armed units among all the Balkan peoples. These groups had never been under centralised command and they acted independently within their respective areas, *armatoliki* (αρματολίκι).⁶ Their activities were well known to foreign travellers, reporters and their governments counting on them to spread their influence and political interest amongst the Balkan peoples. In this way and acting as something of a national army, both *haiduks* and *armatoles* played an important role in instigating the peoples in the Balkans to rise up and rebel against the Ottomans.

Unlike the Serbian heroic songs, which abound in fantastic elements, hyperbolas and allegories, the Greek ones “contain fewer elements of a romantic nature and embellishment” (Stojanović 1984: 186). Also, it was not unusual for *klephts*, particularly for *haiduk* leaders, to sing songs of their own feats after a battle, which implicitly means that any exaggeration, overstatement or attribution of more importance to oneself in comparison to other heroes would have been collectively sanctioned in various manners. It is thus possible to understand why Greek heroic songs are so concise and devoid of any additional poetic elements. They were above all poetic creations the main task of which was to depict events (i.e. the most important moments of fights) in a truthful and credible manner, or to put together sto-

⁶ *Armatolikia* could have been found only in the areas of Greece with high brigandage rates, or in Greek regions that were difficult for Ottoman authorities to govern due to the inaccessible terrain, such as the Agrafa mountains in Thessaly, where the first *armatoliki* was established in the mid-fifteenth century. An *armatoliki* was commanded by a captain (καπετάνιος), very often a former *klepht* captain hired by the governing Ottoman pasha to fight, or at least contain, local brigand groups. In most cases, the captain would have gained a level of notoriety as a *klepht* to force the Ottomans to grant him the amnesty and privilege that came with an *armatoliki*.

ries of direct participants in as objective manner as possible and to transmit them further. In a way, this contradicts the claim of the English historian of contemporary Greek literature R. Beaton (1980: 111) that “klephtic songs are not a precise manifestation of lives and regards of the klephts as they were, but as they wanted them to be”, hence they represent the collective imaginary.⁷

It is worth pointing to an important fact here: although Greek folk poetry does not involve heroic epic to the extent comparable with Serbian poetry, this most certainly does not diminish the importance of modern Greek epic, since regardless of characteristics and internal properties of a people’s epic “the subject of any epic must be represented as a comprehensively branched event pertaining to the entire life of both a nation and an era” (Hegel 1970/III: 448). While being close and having (had) mainly the same historical fate, the approaches of the Serbian and Greek peoples to developing and nurturing epic poetry, in particular haiduk poetry, are considerably different. Both peoples waged a series of wars against foreign conquerors during the middle ages, but they also fought against each other,⁸ thus impacting the nurturing and strengthening of epics. Yet, the so-called acritic songs (ακριτικά τραγούδια, “songs of the frontier warriors”) developed

⁷ It seems that Beaton is quite right. In a psychological sense, epic plays an important role with smaller peoples – to encourage the national-collective spirit and morale and to strengthen the sense of social, religious and national unity from within. It is typical of epic, if observed as a well-developed cult of ancestors, to sing about heroes and their heroic deeds with a substantial amount of hyperbola and embellishment, which was supposed to contribute to building a distinctive collective sublime character of a national warrior-hero during the intensive struggle of the Serbs and Greeks against the Ottomans. By means of epic idealization this character became a personification of the anti-Turkish fighter and is only celebrated as such. If we take a closer look at the heroes, we shall see that they are mainly haiduks-highlanders (mountaineers) already living a “free life” and being far less inclined to make compromises with the Turkish authorities than the urban population.

⁸ It is quite interesting that neither in Greek nor in Serbian heroic poetry the wars between Serbs and Byzantine Greeks are much sung about or even mentioned. In Serbian epic, however, there is a character, a certain Manojlo Grčić, whom the Serbian historian Ilarion Ruvarac (1832–1905) assumed to have been an echo of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos (r. 1143–1180), who was at war with the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja on more than one occasion. According to Maretić (1966: 166), “this idea of Ruvarac can certainly not be proved, but it is worthy of being mentioned in absence of a better one”. What may be an exception in Greek epic are two songs bearing the same title: *Son of Servogiannis* (Του Σεργουγιάννη ο γιος). One is composed of only one quatrain, and the other is a Cretan mantinada (μαντινάδα) which is somewhat more elaborate (eleven lines) in narrative terms (Digenes Akritas appears in it, whom Servogiannis’ son asks for his daughter’s hand in marriage).

to the extent quite similar to Serbian with regard to the scope of the epic itself, but they belong to a specific kind of heroic epic, although classified as historical songs (they were first recorded in the ninth/tenth century). Since they describe the actual fights of the acrites (ακρίτες)⁹ against the Saracens on the eastern borders of the Byzantine Empire,¹⁰ they had originated before klephts and armatoles appeared and before the Ottoman Turks penetrated the Balkan Peninsula.

Corpus

The following collections have been used as the corpus of the Greek haiduk (klephtic) songs:

Sofoklis Dimitrakopoulos, *Ιστορία και δημοτικό τραγούδι* (325–1945), Athens: Παρουσία, 1993.

Giorgos Ioannou, *Τα δημοτικά μας τραγούδια (εκλογή-εισαγωγή-σχόλια Γιώργου Ιωάννου)*, Athens: Ερμής, 1977.

Theodoros A. Nimas, *Δημοτικά τραγούδια της Θεσσαλίας: ακριτικά-παραλογές-ιστορικά-κλέφτικα*, Thessaloniki: Αδελφοί Κυριακίδης, 1981.

Nikolaos G. Politis, *Δημοτικά τραγούδια (εκλογαί από τα τραγούδια του ελληνικού λαού)*. Athens: Διόνυσος, 1975.

Claude Fauriel, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, Irakleio: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 1999.

Antologija novogrčkog narodnog pesništva, ed. Miodrag Stojanović, Belgrade: SKZ, 1991 (in Cyrillic).

1 Introductory formulas of klephtic songs

Particular attention has been paid here to a number of selected formulaic beginnings of Greek epic folk songs. It is considered in the literature that “by the nature of things their main function has to be to set the scene for the unfolding of future events, that is, to define the place as the starting point of an action – as the subject of the narrative” (Detelić 1996: 40). In this

⁹ In Greek heroic songs a counterpart of the figure of Marko Kraljević, the main representative of (South Slavic) epic songs, is not a historical figure: Vassilios Digenes Akritas (Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτας), described in the *Epic of Digenes Akritas* (Έπος του Διγενή Ακρίτη). So far six manuscript versions have been found – the oldest recorded ones (Escorial and Grottaferrata manuscripts) dating from the tenth-eleventh centuries – and are considered the earliest beginnings of Greek literature in the vernacular (Politis 1978: 28).

¹⁰ These are borderland areas of Asia Minor and the Middle East: Pontus, Cappadocia and Syria.

paper we subscribe to Parry and Lord's view that the formula is "a group of words regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Lord 1971: 21). It can be stated that Greek folk epic consistently abides by the use of formulas, which contributes to the relative impression of increasing schematization. Having this in mind, we are of the opinion that it is necessary to emphasize that the place (position) of the epic formula, in particular within the Greek haiduk epic, constitutes a rather important factor of the composition of the epic song since "the position in the text is not a provisional determination for the epic formula, but rather an inevitable consequence of mutual determination of two relevant moments: the form it acquires and the function it serves" (Detelić 1996: 32). As we have previously emphasized, Greek heroic epic is highly condensed and concise both in terms of its sujet and in terms of its fabula, hence the resorting to formulas as (conditionally speaking) complete formative models can be considered a common procedure of poetic creation (although there naturally are certain derogations).

If we follow Parry-Lord's perspective, forms creating formulas are determined models (patterns), recognized at several levels, primarily the syntactical and that of sound (Lord 1971: 38, 56). Grigoris Sifakis (1992: 91–92) translates Parry-Lord's term as *χνάρι* (pattern) and supports the opinion that formulas are created by means of combining models.

Although initial formulas in Greek epic are mostly varied, there are certain affinities that can be noticed when they are employed. A total of five types of the most frequent initial formulas will be presented here.

1.1 Numerical formulas

As a rule, this formula begins with the ordinal number three (*τρία*, *τρεις*) in the first line or within the first two initial lines of a song. Numerical formulas usually appear in the form of a syntagma, such as *τρία σύννεφα* (three clouds), *τρία πλάτανα* (three plane-trees) etc. For instance:

Τι είν' το κακό που γίνεται τούτο το καλοκαίρι; <u>Τρία</u> χωριά μάς κλαίονται, <u>τρία</u> κεφαλοχώρια. (Του Ζαχαριά)	What kind of evil is happening this summer? <u>Three</u> villages are crying, three vilayets. (Zakharias)
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<u>Τριών</u> μερών περπατησιά να πάμε σε μια νύχτα, να πάμε να πατήσουμε της Νικολούς τα σπίτια, πόχει τα άσπρα τα πολλά και τ' ασημένια πιάτα (Το μάθημα του Νάνου)	<u>Three</u> day's walk let's make in one night, to enter those houses of Nikolou full of silver and shiny plates. (Lesson of Nanos)
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<p>Τρία πλάτανα, τα τρία αράδα αράδα, κ' ένας πλάτανος παχύν ήσκιον οπόχει! 'Σ τα κλωνάρια του σπαθιά ναι κρεμασμένα, και `σ τη ρίζα του τουφέκια ακουμπισμένα, κι αποκάτω του ο Βαρλάμης ξαπλωμένος. (Του Βαρλάμης)</p>	<p>Three plane-trees, the three of them side by side, one of them such a huge shade does have! On each branch sharp sabres are hung against its trunk many guns are leant and beneath it Varlamis reclines. (Varlamis)</p>
<p>Τρία μεγάλα σύγνεφα 'ς το Καρπενίσι πάνε, τό να φέρνει αστραπόβροντα, τ' άλλο χαλαζοβρόχια, το τρίτο το μαυρότερο μαντάτα του Λιβίνη. (Του Λιβίνη)</p>	<p>Three huge clouds over Karpenisi are hanging, one of them brings thunder, the other one hailstorm, and the third, the blackest one, tidings of Livinis. (Livinis' last wish)</p>
<p>Τρία <u>μπαϊράκια</u> φαίνονται ποκάτω από το Σούλι. Το να ναι του Μουχτάρ πασά, τ' άλλο του Σελιχτάρη, το τρίτο το καλύτερο είναι του Μιτσομπόνου. (Σουλιωτικό)</p>	<p>Three banners raised from Souli could be seen. One is of Mouhtar Pasha, the other of Se- lihtar, the third one, the most beautiful, is of Mitsobonos. (Souliotiko)</p>

In general, the number three with the Greeks is not merely a symbol of the divine in Christian theology (the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit), but it has evidently retained its archaic numerical meaning of a trinity. A trinity was particularly emphasized in Greek mythology – three brothers ruled all the known spaces – Zeus ruled the earth, Poseidon ruled the seas, and Hades ruled the underworld. According to the Pythagoreans, the number three, represented in the form of a triangle, constitutes the utmost perfection whilst permeating the starting point of all things known, a harmonic product of action of unity as opposed to duality. In this regard the number three (or a triad) is the relation of a true spiritual synthesis. Since it is also both the first odd number and indivisible except by itself, it was primarily regarded as a “male number”,¹¹ thus being attributed a special meaning of cosmic perfection by Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, since it expresses the beginning, the middle and the end. Unlike in Greek, in Serbian folk poetry regardless of the period (olden, middle or recent times), initial numerical formulas mainly contain the number two (e.g.: *dolećeše/polećeše dva vrana gavrana* – two black ravens flew in/flew away; *prošetala carica Milica ... s njome šeću dvije mile kćeri* – empress Milica went for a walk... two sweet daughters are walking alongside her; *pojezdíše do dva pobratima preko krasna mesta Carigrada* – two blood brothers rode together through the fair city of

¹¹ However, there are examples in Greek mythology of the number three as a “female number”, such as the three sisters Fates (Moirae) or the three-bodied goddess Hecate (goddess of the world, underworld and Moon). This may be easily assumed to be an older stratum of myth (belief) subsequently suppressed by the emergence of the new, Olympian gods.

Istanbul; vino piju *dva* dobra junaka u Sibinju gradu bijelome – *two* good heroes are drinking wine in the white town of Sibiu; piju vino *dva* Jakšića mlada – Jakšić Mitar i Jakšić Bogdane – *two* young Jakšićs are drinking wine – Jakšić Mitar and Jakšić Bogdan; *dva* su bora naporeda rasla, među njima tankovrha jela – *two* pines grew side by side, between them a thin-pointed fir... etc.).

For both Greek and Serbian epics birds are particularly significant as ornithomorphic harbingers of important news. Unlike the “two black ravens” in Serbian heroic poetry, typical of Greek is the introductory formula *τρία πουλάκια* (“three birdies”). This nominal syntagma is regularly followed by the verb *κάθομαι* (“to sit /down/”, “to be placed”) in the third person plural, indicative of present or imperfect tense. There is an idiomatic expression in modern Greek taken precisely from klephtic folk poetry – *τρία πουλάκια κάθονται* – and used predominantly ironically, since its meaning is “get one’s lines/wires crossed”, “be at cross purposes”, look at someone/somebody in a sheepish manner, “fall on deaf ears”, “not care/not give a damn”. Depending on the person it is directed to, it may also have a negative (insulting) connotation, especially if we do not know well the person we are talking to.¹² However, in epics this initial formula appears in an ossified form both in semantic and linguistic respects. In this manner all the morphological elements constitute the key initial formula in the first part of the political verse¹³ the song begins with. For instance:

<p><u>Τρία πουλάκια κάθουνταν</u> ἔς της Παναγιάς τον πύργο, τα τρία αράδα νέκλαιαν, πικρά μοιριολογοῦσαν. (Του Γιώτη)</p>	<p><u>Three little birds perched</u> on the tower of the Virgin Mary, all three of them crying and bitterly la- menting. (Wounded Giotis)</p>
<p><u>Τρία πουλάκια κάθονται</u> ὁ στη ράχη ὁ στο λημέρι, το να τηράει τον Αρμυρό, τ' ἄλλο κατα το Βάλτο, το τρίτο το καλύτερο μοιριολογαί και λέει. (Του Χρήστου Μηλιόνη)</p>	<p><u>Three little birds perched</u> on the roof of our camp, one was looking towards Armyro, the other one down to Valto, the third one, the most beautiful of them, lamenting started its saying. (Christo Mylionis)</p>

¹² Influence of Serbian epic is observable in contemporary Serbian phraseology as well; e.g., the already fixed metaphorical expressions originating from epic, such as *Marko arrived too late to the Field of Kosovo* (meaning: it is too late to do something); *to fall like being mown down* or *to lie like sheaves* (meaning *fall one by one* and *lie like dead*) are, according to Djura Daničić (II, 1863), the examples best demonstrating the whole tragedy of death, a person's weakness and incapability (both physical and psychological).

¹³ The political verse (πολιτικός στίχος) is a fixed Greek term for iambic decapentasyllabic verse which is the most common metre in folk songs. It is divided into two half lines with a caesura usually at the seventh or, less frequently, eight syllable.

<p><u>Τρία πουλάκια κάθονται ψηλά</u> `στη Βουνιχώρα, το να τηράει τη Λιάκουρα, και τ' άλλο την Κωστάρτσα, το τρίτο το καλύτερο ρωτάει τους διαβάτες. (Του Βλαχοθανάση)</p>	<p>Three little birds perched high on Vouno- hora, one was looking towards Liakoura, the other one to Kostartsa, the third one, the most beautiful one, asked the passers-by. (Vlachothanasias)</p>
<p><u>Τρία πουλάκια κάθονταν</u> στις Άρτας το γιοφύρι, τό να τηράει τα Γιάννινα, τ' άλλο κατα το Σούλι, το τρίτο, το καλύτερο, μοιρολογάει και λέει. (Ο θάνατος του Κίτσου Μποτσάρη)</p>	<p><u>Three little birds perched</u> on the bridge across the Arta, the first one was looking towards Giannina, the other one to Souli, the third, the most beautiful one, lamenting started its saying. (Death of Kitsou Mpotsari)</p>
<p><u>Τρία πουλάκια κάθονταν ψηλά</u> `ς τη Χαλκουμάτα, το να τηράει τη Λιβαδιά και τ' άλλο το Ζιτούνι, το τρίτο το καλύτερο μοιρολογάει και λέει. (Του Διάκου)</p>	<p><u>Three little birds perched</u> high on Halkou- mata, the first one was looking towards Livadia, the other one to Zitouni, the third one, the best of them, lamenting started its saying. (Death of Athanasios Diakos)</p>
<p><u>Τρία πουλάκια</u> απ' την Πρέβεζα διαβήκανε `σ την Πάργα, το να κυττάει την ξενιτειά, τ' άλλο τον Αη Γιαννάκη, το τρίτο το κατάμαυρο μοιρολογάει και λέει. (Της Πάργας)</p>	<p><u>Three birds</u> flew from Preveza to Parga, the first one looked towards foreign lands, the other one St. Job Whilst the third one, the blackest of them, started its lament. (Sorrow for Parga)</p>

Typical of this initial formula is a 2+1 pattern reflected in the following:

a) unlike the two speaking ravens from Serbian songs, two of the three Greek birds are silent witnesses looking in specified directions, usually towards cities or areas;

b) the third bird is regularly portrayed in the superlative, usually as the most beautiful, the best or the saddest, and

c) only the third bird assumes the role of the narrator; that is, it is the only one that laments (cries, weeps, sobs) and mourns while spreading unfavourable news.

As the examples above demonstrate, this initial formula has a complex structure: whilst the first line functions as an exposition providing a basic introduction to the situation, the second line, on the other hand, assumes the role of a gradation, thus slowly increasing the dynamics of events by inducing identical actions, which as a rule are realized in opposite directions. Such a diametric geographic-spatial contrast constitutes a remnant of the ancient notion of the two ends of the world: the East of life (sunrise) and the West of life (sunset), and of two insurmountable opposites portrayed by

the Greek folk singer by the very dualism of the same action mirrored in the two birds gazing in opposite directions. Sufficient evidence for the fact that this actually is about the East-West relation resides in the following line taken from the aforementioned song:

το να τηράει τη <u>Λιάκουρα</u> , και τ' άλλο την <u>Κωστάρτσα</u>	One looks towards Liakoura, the other towards Kostartsa
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There is in Phocis a mount, Vardousia. One of its peaks and the settlement below is called Kostartsa (both presently called Dhikhorion, Διχώρι), whilst Liakoura is the name of the highest peak of mount Parnassus (2455 m). In geographical terms, Kostartsa is in the South-West, whilst Liakoura is in the South-East. The same is found in the following line:

το να τηράει τη <u>Λιβαδιά</u> και τ' άλλο το <u>Ζιτούνι</u>	One looks towards Livadia, the other to- wards Zitouni
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Livadia is the name of the settlement in Boeotia and Zitouni (modern-day Lamyia, Λαμία) is the name of a place in the area of Phthiotis (Φθιώτιδα): whilst the former settlement is located in the North-West, the latter one is in the South-West.

At the same time, yet another numerical characteristic relating to the occurrence of the number two can be observed within this initial formula. The second line of this introductory formula is the best indicator that this number constitutes the symbol of contrast and conflict, wherein ambivalence and contraposition are clearly detected. Carrying a particular type of symbolism, birds have since ancient times been seen as messengers and harbingers as well as the personification of the sublime and divine. In Greek mythology stories of how some oracles came to be established are associated with birds. According to Herodotus, the famous oracle of Dodona in Epirus was established when two doves flew from Egyptian Thebes so that one of them would found the oracle of Amon in Libya and the other that of Zeus in Greece. Birds are also important for Delphi: Greek myth has it that Zeus had sent an eagle from either end of the world, and the two met exactly above the mountain Parnassus, just above Delphi. So the ruler of the world concluded that Delphi was the centre of the world and the navel thereof (ομφαλός του κόσμου).¹⁴ According to the widespread belief, the double-headed eagle (δικέφαλος αετός) was adopted as a symbol of imperial power and authority during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Isaac Komnenos (r. 1057–1059). Even though this is a borrowed symbol (from Eastern culture), in the Byzantine Empire of that time and even later on,

¹⁴ The navel is depicted as an egg-shaped stone and kept as a special relic in the very adyton of the temple of Apollo.

the double-headed eagle symbolically marked the empire overlooking the East and the West.¹⁵ This very dichotomy of the “view” is observed in the klephtic songs beginning with formulas containing the number three.

In addition to birds, other symbols (such as banners, plane-trees, clouds) may appear in a series of combinations containing the number three and are treated according to the same schematic principle.

Line three of this introductory formula accounts for the climax of the introduction, resolution and therefore a transition to the essence to be told by the singer. In certain instances, such as the following:

Τρεις μέρες κάνουν πόλεμο, τρεις μέρες και τρεις νύχτες, χωρίς ψωμί, χωρίς νερό, χωρίς ύπνο στο μάτι. Χιόνι έτρωγαν, χιόνι έπιναν και τη φωτιά βαστούσαν. (Του Νικοτσάρα)	Three days a fearless fight they fought, three days and three nights without bread, without water, without sleep. Snow they ate, snow they drank, no fire kept them warm. (Nikotsaras)
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The initial formula encompasses the entire first line, since it is completely marked by the number three, which plays an important role later on as regards both the metrical structure and the semantic level.

On the other hand, both forms of the initial formula containing the number three may be looked at as a three-member form of a gradation, which in fact is an important property of the structure of Greek folk songs. This is the so-called law or rule of three.¹⁶ In addition, figuring as a recurrence of the mystical tradition, the number three is often elevated to the level of the major structural factor in folk poetry.

1.2 *Invocations*

The nature of invocation itself is twofold: it may have the form of a rhetorical question or of direct speech. As a rule, there are no invocations of God or saints, typical of Serbian epic songs (almost regularly relating to the formula

¹⁵ During the reign of Basil II, the Byzantine Empire actually spread both in the East (present-day Iran) and in the West (south Italy, part of Sicily). However, even though the Empire was reduced to the territory of present-day Greece as early as 1081, just before Alexios I Komnenos acceded to the throne, the double-headed eagle remained an imperial symbol.

¹⁶ Konstantinos Romaios and Gregory Sifakis have presented equally important reflections on the function and importance of this rule. Romaios (1963: 143) claims that this three-part figure usually consists of nouns, and that the first two constituents are of the same intensity, whilst the third and most important is followed by an adjective. According to Sifakis (1988: 143–145, 201–208), this is a figure of three-part gradation (σχήμα της τριαδικής κλιμάκωσης), formed not only of words, but of entire parts of the complex sentence. Semantic gradation is performed concurrently with the gradation of form.

of miracle, e.g.: *Bože mili, čuda velikoga* – *Dear God, what a great marvel* and the like).

When it comes to invocations containing direct speech, they clearly indicate the personal lamenting of haiduks over their “bitter” (or “unfortunate”) fate. The absence of usual epic glorification reveals a less familiar character of the hero, since he is portrayed as a mere mortal, as one who suffers, feels and endures, hence this may be construed as one of the characteristics of Greek haiduk poetry. Unlike the Serbian invocation formulas, the Greek ones demonstrate rather solid connections with the thematic contents of the song – greeting, curse, lament – which means that the invocation formula is required to mark the speech (i.e. to emphasize the confession) of the hero. Therefore, the entire song demonstrates pronouncedly individualistic properties, starting from intonation and structure up to the impression of truthfulness and persuasiveness.

The invocation formula of a rhetorical question, as a figure of speech, is of lyric origin, since it implies the introduction of sequences of dialogue. In this manner Greek klephtic songs come closer to the balladic than to the pure epic form. From the perspective of the composition of the song, the rhetorical question must be followed by an answer, which functions like a specific type of a marked connector in the text: since it most frequently appears at the beginning of a klephtic song, the rhetorical question may be considered a specific introductory formula the essential task of which is to focus attention of the listener to the problem elaborated further on.

Εχετα γεια, ψηλά βουνά και δροσερές βρυσούλες, και σεις Τσουμέρκα κι Άγραφα, παλληκαριών λημέρια. (Εχετε γεια)	Farewell to you, high mountains and cool springs, and to you, Tsoumerka and Agrafa, venues of fearless men. (Farewell)
Εγέρασα, μωρέ παιδιά, `ς τους κλέφτες καπετάνιος, τριάντα χρόνια αρματωλός, πενήντα χρόνια κλέφτης. (Του Κωσταντάρα)	I got old, my champs, among other chiefs, for thirty years an armatolos, fifty years a klepht. (Kostantaras)
Πού `σουν, περιστερούλα μου, τόσον καιρό που λείπεις; Πήγα να μάσω λάχανα με τ` άλλα κορίτσια, και οι κλέφτες μάς αγνάντευαν από ψηλά λημέρια. (Που `σουν, περιστετούλα μου)	Where have you been, my dove, for such a long time? With other maidens I went into the field and the klephts from their heights were looking down at us. (Where have you been, my dove?)

1.3 *The Slavic antithesis*

In Greek literary studies, the Slavic antithesis is known as *άσκοπα ή άστοχα ερωτήματα* (“unrelated or unfounded questions”).

The issue whether the Slavic antithesis had existed in the Greek folk tradition before or it is due to a Slavic influence as a result of centuries-long contact between Greeks and South Slavs (from the time the South Slavs inhabited the Byzantine Empire up to the formation of early South-Slavic countries¹⁷), still remains open. According to its character, this formula may be either external or internal; for instance:

Πολλά τουφέκια αντιβογούν, μιλίονια, καριοφίλια, μήνα σε γάμο πέφτουνε, μήνα σε πανηγύρι, κι ουδένσε γάμο πέφτουνε κι ουδέ σε πανηγύρι, Αλή Τσεκούρας χαίρεται και ρήχνει `ς το σημάδι. (<i>Του Χρόνη</i>)	Why are the bangs of guns echoing so loud in the hills? Is someone celebrating a wedding or is it per- haps a fair? No one is celebrating a wedding nor is it a fair, it's Tsekouras rejoicing, he who can hit the target skilfully. (A Song of Chronis)
Κλαίνε τα μαύρα τα βουνά, παρηγοριά δεν έχουν. Δεν κλαίνε για το ψήλωμα, δεν κλαίνε για τα χιόνια, η κλεφτουριά τ' αρνήθηκε και ροβολάει `ς τους κάμπους. (<i>Του Ανδρίτζου</i>)	High mountains are crying, inconsolable they are. They are neither crying for heights nor be- wailing for snows, but klephts abandoned them, off to the fields they went. (Klephts of Androutsos)
Τι έχουν της Ζίχνας τα βουνά και στέκουν μαραμμένα; Μήνα χαλάζι τα βαρεί, μήνα βαρύς χειμώνας; Ουδέ χαλάζι τα βαρεί ουδέ βαρύς χειμώνας, ο Νικοτσάρας πολεμάει με τρία βιλαέτια. (<i>Του Νικοτσάρα</i>)	What's bothering the hills of Zihna that they are so withered? Is it hailing bitterly or a heavy winter falling? It is not hailing nor is a heavy winter falling, it's Nikotsaras fighting many a vilayet. (Nikotsaras)

Being a figure of speech of a negative parallelism, the Slavic antithesis introduces into the song a particular kind of trinity the structure of which might be graphically represented as 2+1. In order to increase suspense in the fabula, attention is drawn to two possibilities (action-related dualism) none of which as a rule constitutes the solution to the problem; the solution is to be found in a third, usually unexpected and, from the semantic perspective, the most relevant one. According to Alexis Politis (1973: 297): “The Slavic antithesis is aimed at bringing to the crucial point in the song without prolongation and complicating its basis.” Mirjana Detelić (1992: 261) also points out that this figure “associates two or more diversified oc-

¹⁷ We have in mind here the tenth and eleventh centuries.

currences, hence types of these associations are predetermined due to which any impediment with regard to the use would be perceived as erroneous”.

1.4 The epithet *black* (μαύρος) in different nominal syntagmas

The epithet “black” is fixed both in Greek and in Serbian heroic epics probably because its semantics is easily available and undisputed; hence it can be considered one of the easiest manners of achieving a relationship between the singer and his audience. Its sometimes rhythmical repetition in folk songs enables associations with and/or allusions to well-known occurrences and events. For this reason, black, as a chthonic colour, has a metaphorical meaning in heroic songs – in the initial part of the formula its symbolism points to anguish and painfulness, hopeless situation and lurking doom. Almost all songs beginning with this formula belong to the group of historical songs (the period of the Greek uprising, or more precisely: 1821–1828), and they describe either the death of a hero or some kind of misfortune. In (not only) Greek folklore black is understood as a kind of a negation of all things existing, hence it is a symbol of dark and evil forces. This chromatic epithet is quite often attached to the noun bird (πouλι). And whilst in Serbian epic the raven is as a rule emphasized as the most obvious representative of “the black bird”, the appellation of the “black bird” is typically avoided in Greek heroic epics, thus adding to the importance and weight of the syntagma itself.

Μαύρο πουλάκι, πόρχεσαι από τ' αντίκρυ μέρη, πες μου τι κλάψες θλιβερές, τι μαύρα μοιρολόγια, από την Πάργα βγαίνουνε, που τα βουνά ραγίζουν; (Της Πάργας)	Oh, you, black bird, that are flying from the other side, tell me what kind of deep sorrow and crying I'm listening to which from Parga are coming out crack- ing the high hills? (Parga)
Αυτού του πας μαύρο πουλί, μαύρο μου χελιδόνι, να χαιρετάς την κλεφτουγιά κι αυτόν τον Κατσαντώνη. (Του Κατσαντώνη)	There where you are heading to, black bird, my black lark, say hello to all my klephts, to Katsanto- nis most of all. (Katsantonis)
Μαύρη μωρέ πικρή είν' η ζωή που κάνουμε, Εμείς οι μαύροι κλέφτες, εμείς οι μαύροι κλέφτες (Κλέφτικη ζωή)	Gloomy and bitter is the life we are leading We, miserable klephts, we unfortunate [black] klephts. (Klepht's life)

Κλαίνε τα <u>μαύρα</u> τα βουνά, παρηγοριά δεν έχουν.	Black forests are crying, inconsolable they are.
Δεν κλαίνε για το ψήλωμα, δεν κλαίνε για τα χιόνια, -η κλεφτουριά τ' αρνήθηκε και ροβολάει 'ς τους κάμπους. (<i>Του Ανδρίτζου</i>)	They are not crying for the heights or for snows, the klephts abandoned them, they went down to valleys. (Andritsos)
<u>Μαύρο</u> καράβ' αρμένιζ' 'ς τα μερη της Κασάντρας.	Black ship was sailing to the Holy Moun- tain of Athos.
Μαύρα παννιά το σκέπαζαν και τ' ουρανού σημαία. (<i>Του Γιάννη του Σταθά</i>) ¹⁸	Black sails veiled her and in the skies a flag appeared. (Giannis Stathas)

1.5 Temporal formulas

This type of initial formulas most frequently appears in correlation pairs such as *νύχτα-φεγγάρι*, *αυγή-χαραυγή* (night-Moon, dawn-daybreak), and sometimes in the antonymic pair *νύχτα-αυγή* (night-dawn).

Such initial formulas may be looked at as an antithesis (or a kind of parallelism) appearing in two consecutive half lines. In this manner the so-called isometrics principle (*αρχή της ισομετρίας*), that is the stability of the structure, is confirmed in Greek folk songs. Since there is no other determination therein, these formulas might be considered major structural elements providing a direct induction to the situation itself, for instance:

Με γέλασε νη χαραυγή, τ' άστρι και το φεγγάρι, και βγήκα νύχτα `στα βουνά, ψηλά στα καρφοβούνια.	I thought it was dawning, but I was fooled by the stars and the Moon That night I went to the mountain and climbed to its peak
Ακω τον άνεμο και ηγά, με τα βουνά μαλώνει. (<i>Των Κολοκοτρωναίων</i>)	to listen to the mighty wind howling in the hills. (The Kolokotronoi)
Της νύχτας οι αρματολοί και της αυγής οι κλέφτες Ολονυχτίς κουρσέυανε και τις αυγές κοιμώνται. (<i>Κλεφταρματολοί</i>)	At night they are armatoles, at dawn they are klephts. The whole night they preyed upon, the dawn they slept away. (Klephtarmatoloi)

¹⁸ The song describes an actual event: Giannis Stathas (Γιάννης Σταθάς), who took part in the naval battle of Mount Athos (19–29 June 1807) on the Russian side under the command of Admiral Dmitrii Seniavin in the Russian-Turkish war (1806–1807), disembarked with his group of elite armatoles on the island of Skiathos during a short truce, where they made seventy vessels in record time and purposefully painted them black. One of these vessels was named Black Ship (Μαύρο Καράβι).

Αρματολοί της νύχτας και της αυγής οι κλέφτες, ολονυχτίς κουρσεύανε και την αυγή κοιμούνται. (Ατυχη κλέφτικη αγάπη)	At night they are armatoles, at dawn they are klephts. All night long they looted so they fell asleep at dawn (Unrequited klepht love)
Κοιμάται αστρί, κοιμάται αυγή, κοιμάται νιό φεγγάρι, κοιμάται η καπετάνισσα, νύφη του Κοντογιάννη μες στα χρυσά παπλώματα, μες στα χρυσά σεντόνια. (Του Κοντογιάννη)	The Morning Star is still sleeping and so is the young Moon together with them the fearless bride of Kontogiannis in her golden eiderdown and in golden sheets. (The Bride of Kontogiannis)

The previously specified examples lead to the conclusion that the very space (location) where an action takes place implies the following: either it is in the open, outdoors, which is a lot more common, or less frequently, in a closed area. A thus demonstrated open space in initial formulas does not contain a negative connotation and, quite contrary to the opinion of Ivanov and Toporov (1965: 187–188; 190–191), it does not stretch between “strong epic places” – houses and forests, i.e. between the so-called positive and negative spatial positions (Detelić 1992: 128). Furthermore, as a rule, there is also an absence of the name and description of the place where the action takes place, but the concretization of the space (or an attempt at the exact localization thereof) is specified in the largest number of instances. This is always a forest or mountain, which is quite sufficient for the structure of the song, whilst being a rather wide determination in both abstract and geographical terms. In other words, the space remains largely undefined although being strictly defined by clearly set temporal opposites (such as night–dawn). In this manner the singer of tales has succeeded in effectively establishing a synthesis of the place, time and action in the song and in providing an illusion of a unified structure.

In lieu of a conclusion

In an effort to provide certain conclusive remarks on the introductory formulas presented herein, we would primarily point to the variety of patterns available to the singer whilst composing folk songs. Although using the already confirmed and verified models which often are epic patterns or the so-called epic rules of folk narration, whether there are one, two, three or more verses, their functionality concurrently proves the inventiveness of the folk singer of tales to change the rhythmicity of the verse by altering merely one constitutive element, as well as to enrich the image by means of a twist or parallelism and create the atmosphere of animism typical of klephtic

songs. In all probability, it seems on the basis of the selected examples presented herein that the number three actually plays a particularly important role in this category of Greek folk songs. The trinity of the structure itself is revealed in almost all examples whether through a progressive gradation, exception to the rules, repetition or antithesis, whilst the aforementioned introductory formulas constitute an indispensable part thereof.

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Specific Initial (Introductory) Formulas in Albanian (Decasyllabic) Songs of the Frontier Warriors

Abstract: This paper primarily seeks to demonstrate the position and importance of specific initial (introductory) formulas in the Albanian songs of the frontier warriors (Alb. *këngë kreshnikësh*, *këngë të kreshnikëve*), proposing their classification into several categories. The analysis performed on the corpus consisting of 102 songs has resulted in a typology similar to the one in Detelić 1996. Such a classification serves as a starting point for further research and future mandatory study of structural and other concordances between the corresponding formulas in South Slavic epic, which could be useful in shedding light on the issue of originality of the Albanian songs.

Keywords: specific initial (introductory) formulas, formulaity, Albanian songs of the Frontier Warriors, classification, typology

Introductory remarks

Whilst developing on the model of the neighbouring South Slavic Christian and Muslim epics, Albanian decasyllabic songs, known as *këngë kreshnikësh*¹ (Eng. songs of the frontier warriors/songs of *kreshniks*²) were first recorded as late as the end of the nineteenth century. Although written in decasyllables, atypical of Albanian epics, these songs have taken primacy over the octosyllabic songs. In spite of the fact that they were traditionally sung in the far north of Albania (and in the adjacent areas), they are nowadays regarded as referential pan-Albanian folk creations and are accepted as national instead of regional in all Albanian-speaking territories.

In addition to being of a somewhat limited scope compared to South Slavic epic poetry, the Albanian songs of the frontier warriors differ from it in several other respects. Firstly, the fact that they do not describe historical events denotes them as heroic instead of historic. The very existence of a

¹ Some of the recorded terms are also *këngë* (*kāngë/kājke/kātke*) *lahute/të moçme/trimash/kershish/të Mujit e Halilit/agajsh të Jutbinës* (Eng. *lahuta/ancient/heroic/kreshnik songs/songs of Muji and Halil/of agas of Udbina*). However, we disagree with the term *heroic songs* due to the existence of a specific type of Albanian octosyllabic songs called *këngë trimnije* or, literally, *heroic songs*.

² According to Stanišić 1995, *kreshnik*, Eng. “knight, hero”, comes from the Serb. *krajišnik* via the transitional form *кѣишник*.

separate type of Albanian octosyllabic songs called *këngë trimnije* (Eng. *heroic songs*) in which historical figures and events are described points to the conclusion that these are actually two typologically different kinds of songs. Furthermore, the next property which largely separates them from South Slavic decasyllabic songs is reflected in the absence of temporal determination. Whilst in the songs collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić there is a clear reference to certain historical events (e.g. the Battle of Kosovo, the First Serbian Uprising etc.), such a reference lacks in the Albanian songs, which makes them temporally indifferent. It has been concluded, on the basis of numerous analyses of this type of Albanian songs aimed at determining the temporal context and framework in which they originated, that they certainly did not emerge later than the seventeenth or eighteenth century, i.e. the period when, according to an overwhelming majority of authors, they doubtlessly crystallized as an individual kind of oral tradition with the Albanians (Elsie 2011, 2).

The disagreement about their origin, originality, date etc. has divided authors into two main opposing groups: the one supporting the theory of their indigenoussness,³ and the other suggesting that they essentially do not differ from Vuk's songs of the Hrnjica Brothers cycle. However, regardless of the degree of concordance of topics (*sujets*) between these two oral traditions (which, in a wider context, may certainly be denoted as Balkan traditions), Kolsti (1990, 60) concluded, using the example of Salih Ugljanin, that via language each culture transfers specific tradition attributed to it, thus incorporating a series of specific (for a certain people typical) sub-themes. Consequently, each (even the smallest) additional element has the capacity to completely change the course of narrative, thereby modifying its final shape. However, since the issue of the strata that undoubtedly resemble Serbian decasyllabic songs remains open, it is necessary to pay them full attention in the context of determining the date of Albanian songs. Even if such information remains unrevealed, the very process of studying the exchange of formulas, motifs, characters and other elements is invaluable since it should eventually provide answers to the question what happens when oral poetry is transferred from one group of languages to the adjacent (Parry 1971, 477), in this case an unrelated one.

³ These are mainly Albanian authors and supporters of the so-called *Illyrian hypothesis of the origin of Albanians*, which is nowadays the most widely spread one (despite a lot of evidence to the contrary). Their primary intention is to prove the Illyrian origin of Albanians, which would clearly demonstrate that Albanians had lived in the territory (of all contentious areas) of the Balkans before the Slavs settled there.

Objectives and methodology

The primary objective of the paper is to perform a synoptic semantic-structural analysis of specific introductory formulas in North Albanian decasyllabic songs, whereas the contrasting is carried out by means of corresponding formulas in South Slavic (both Christian and Muslim) oral decasyllabic songs. A thus defined objective of research also implies examining the degree of concordance between the aforementioned formulas, expressed in terms of absolute, partial or zero equivalence categories.

Based on the analysis performed on the corpus consisting of 102 Albanian songs, a classification is carried out according to which the formulas are divided into several basic types: **situational**, **temporal**, and **numerical** in addition to a specific type denoted as **fairytale-like formulas**, which are not found in the corresponding South Slavic songs. Certain attention has been paid to the types and subtypes of Albanian formulas where partial or zero equivalence with the Serbian ones has been determined.

Corpus

The corpus used for performing a contrastive analysis of specific introductory formulas in Albanian decasyllabic songs has been excerpted from the following:

- a) resources in Albanian:
 - EL: *Epika legjendare (cikli i kreshnikëve)*, Tirana: Instituti i folklorit, 1966
 - EKL: *Eposi i kreshnikëve dhe legjenda*, Visaret e kombit, vëllimi II, Tirana: Plejad, 2005
- b) resources in Serbian:
 - Vuk II–IX: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* I–IV, Belgrade: Prosveta, 1976, 1988; I–IX, Belgrade: Državno izdanje, 1897–1902
 - SANU II–IV: *Srpske narodne pjesme iz neobjavljenih rukopisa Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića*, II–IV, Belgrade: SANU, 1973–1974
 - KN I–II: *Narodne pjesme muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini, sabrao Kosta Herman 1898–1899*, 2 vols., Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1976

The titles and quoted parts of both Albanian and Serbian songs are given herein in their original form and in English translation/adaptation. In some instances translations/adaptations of Albanian songs by Robert Elsie and Janice Mathie-Heck (Elsie & Mathie-Heck 2004) are used and these are marked with an asterisk (*), whilst all other unmarked translations are ours.

Specific introductory (initial) formulas in the Albanian songs of the frontier warriors

If their role in the preservation of oral heritage is taken into account, formulas may also be regarded as keepers of specific codes of tradition. In times of limited literacy (that is, widespread illiteracy), the structure of orally transmitted songs had to be such as to enable the singer to memorize them as easily as possible and to pass them to the next generation (Fan 2011, 53). In this way formulas became a valuable means of preserving tradition, culture, collective memory etc., whilst their function became multifaceted. Specific introductory formulas in the Albanian songs of the frontier warriors are analyzed herein based on such an approach to formulas, as well as on Parry's definition of the formula⁴ as *a group of words regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea* (Parry 1971, 272).

Specific introductory formulas encompassed herein cover any formula formally and semantically linked to the text, closed at the beginning and closed/open at the end, the use of which might be determined as standardized. Unlike general introductory formulas, their link to the song is distinctive, whilst in order for a formula to be classified into this category it needs to have three important properties: variability of form, vividness and cumulativity (Detelić 1992, 282). Since one of their essential functions is to introduce the listener to narrative, they are consequentially conveyors of information on the event sung about, which, in addition to the main character, includes the spatial and temporal determination.

The excerpted specific initial formulas in Albanian songs are here classified in accordance with the typology of the corresponding South Slavic formulas proposed by Detelić (1996, 127–129), whilst the analysis has arrived at four basic types and several subtypes. Their statistical analysis, aimed at obtaining as representative results as possible, has also been performed in addition to the contrastive and comparative analyses, the purpose of which is twofold: to demonstrate their differentiation and distribution by types, as well as to point out the portion of those formulas that have not been recorded in the corresponding South Slavic songs.

1 Situational formulas

In terms of percentage, the number of situational introductory formulas in the Albanian songs of the frontier warriors is much lower than in the Serbian songs. Out of a total of 102 Albanian songs considered here, situational initial formulas occur in only nine instances, which accounts for approxi-

⁴ The definition which, as is well known, was also adopted by Albert Lord, who further defined formulaic expression as *a line or half line constructed on the pattern of the formulas* (Lord 1960, 4) to be used herein for the purpose of analysis.

mately nine percent of the analyzed corpus. Nevertheless, if we know that as many as 55 Albanian songs begin with an invocation (unlike the Serbian songs, where only 64 of the corpus of 1184 songs begin with a general introductory formula according to Detelić 1996), it is necessary to direct attention to specific formulas subsequent thereto, that is to the entire so-called introductory block composed of a general and specific formula. However, there are only five instances in which a situational formula is preceded by an invocation, which does not have a substantial effect on their portion in the total number of introductory formulas. As to their semantic structure and type, “venë po pine” (Eng. “they are drinking wine”) and “janë mbledhë” (Eng. “they (have) gathered together”) occur in a majority of instances:

<p>Janë mbledhë tridhetë kapidana. kanë fillue pijen e po pijnë, venë të kuqe e raki të bardhë; vena e kuqe në faqe u ka dalë e rakija n'kuvend i ka qitë. (EL, 12: 1-5)</p> <p>Up to thirty captains gathered together, Started drinking in copious amounts, Drinking red wine and white plum brandy; Red wine struck them into their cheeks, And the brandy made them gather together.</p>	<p>Vino piju trides' kapetana U primorje na bijeloj kuli, A na kuli silna Bokčevića, Medju njima Bokčević Šćepane. (Vuk VII, 19: 1-4)</p> <p>Thirty captains are drinking wine, In a white tower near the sea, In the tower of the mighty Bokčevići, Amongst them is Bokčević Šćepan.</p>
<p>Venë po pinë krentë e Senjës, në kudhë të bardhë të Senjanin Ivanit. (EL, 52: 1-2)</p> <p>Leaders from Senj are drinking wine, in the white tower of Senjanin Ivan.</p>	<p>Vino pije Senjanin Ivo Nasred Senja grada bijeloga Su dobrije šezdeset Senjana: (Vuk VI, 72:1-3).</p> <p>Senjanjin Ivo is drinking wine In the white city of Senj with sixty good men from Senj.</p>
<p>Kur ka kjenë Dizdar Osman Aga, në kudhë të vet, tuj pi venë të kuqe, Hajkuna, e bija, i ban hysmet, po i ep venë me tas të praruem, po ja shtren ajo me dorë të bardhë; po pin venë edhe kjenka gie, për uj të kritë mendja i kish ra, atherë vajzës aj i kishte thanë: (EL, 51: 1-8)</p> <p>There was once Disdar Osman Aga, He is drinking red wine in the tower His daughter Ajkuna serving him, He is drinking wine from the finest glass, His daughter serving him with her white hand, He is drinking wine and is well-fed, Cold water cleared his thoughts, So he spoke to his daughter:</p>	<p>Vino pije Kupinović Vuče U malenu selu Kupinovu, Služi vino vijernica ljuba. (Vuk VI, 6: 1-3)</p> <p>Kupinović Vuk is drinking wine In a small village of Kupinovo, Wine is served by his faithful wife.</p>

The examples given above lead to the conclusion that the formulas of the “they are/he is drinking wine” type may also be conveyors of rather complex information instead of only that of characters, space or time of an action to be further developed in the narrative part of the song. In the song *Vuk Harambashi e Hajkuna e Dezdar Osman Agës* (EL, 51; *Vuk Harambasha and Dezdar Osman Aga’s Hajkuna*), for instance, information we obtain from the formula does not merely contain references to the space, but also to the psychological/physical condition of the main character: “he is drinking wine and is well-fed, / cold water cleared his thoughts.” Furthermore, the use of the attribute *white* is almost equally frequent in these songs as it is in the Serbian ones, as already discussed in Sivački 2013. Numerous other examples testify to the fact that this is one of the most frequent epithets in Albanian songs, amongst which are some of those we have already given above: “red [lit. black] wine and **white** plum brandy”⁵; “in the **white** tower of Senjanin Ivan” etc.

Toponyms and anthroponyms of undisputed Slavic origin occur within the *kreshnik* epic space – whether being of an attested Slavic etymology, or directly taken from one of the Slavic languages surrounding the Albanian language territory. These toponyms generally appear in two forms: one, which is phonetically adjusted to the Albanian language, and another, which has preserved its original appearance. Since there are a lot of these examples, we will focus our attention only on those toponyms and anthroponyms that occur in specific introductory formulas.

Even the first examples given above contain Slavic toponyms, such as *Senj*, Alb. *Senjë* (*Sejë*) and the anthroponym *Senjanin Ivan*, Alb. *Senjanin Ivani* in the song *Martesa e Halilit të ri me Rushën e Galan Kapetanit* (EL, 52; Eng. *Wedding of the young Halil with Galan Captain’s Rusha*). The oiconym *Senjë* has retained its original form from Serbian, which is rather interesting from the dialectological perspective, especially if we take into account the tendency of the Northern Albanian (Gegë) dialect to phonetically simplify final consonants or consonant clusters, especially the sonant *nj>j*. In other analyzed examples this toponym occurs in the form *Sejë* (e.g. in the songs *Muja merr çikën e Kralit të Sejës* (EL, 96) Eng. *Muja captures the daughter of the King of Senj*; *Agë Jabanxhija*,⁶ *Muji dhe Kralji i Sejës* (EL, 87) Eng. *Aga Jabanxhija, Muji and the King of Senj*; and *Kotuzi* (EL, 57). What we have here is unequivocally the same toponym in two different phonetic forms, since we know that the sonant *-nj* is reduced in the Gegë dialect, particu-

⁵ It is worth mentioning that the position of the adjective *i, e bardhë* (Eng. “white”) is fixed unlike in Serbian; it always comes after a noun and is accompanied by a prepositive article, which cannot be seen in the translation.

⁶ *Jabanxhija* (Serb. vern. *jabandžija*) means “a foreigner”.

larly between two vowels or at the end of a word (Gjinari 2003) – e.g. Tosk. *ftonj* > Geg. *ftoj*; Tosk. *lanj* > Geg. *laj* etc. In all songs in which it appears, this toponym occurs without any attribute and is usually both semantically and structurally attached to the noun *krajl* (*kral*)/*krajli*, Eng. *king/kingdom*, except when it occurs independently or within a prepositional-case structure: “e në Sejë për me më çue” (Eng. “and to set off for Senj”); “ka një çikë të bukur **Krali i Sejës**” (Eng. “The King of Senj has a beautiful daughter”) etc.

The introductory formula from the song *Bejlegu ndërmjet dy vllazënve të panjoftun* (EKL, 12; Eng. *Rivalry between two unknown brothers*) is characterized by a common epic feature also found in Serbian examples, and that is the chaining of formulas – known also as concatenation. In this instance the chaining is carried out by combining two typologically equal formulas “they (have) gathered” and “he is drinking wine”. A nominal or verbal phrase, i.e. a verb itself is here employed for the purpose of marking action in both Albanian and Serbian songs:

<i>Janë mbledhë</i> tridhetë kapidana.	Up to thirty captains gathered together,
<i>kanë fillue pijen</i> e po <i>pijnë</i> ,	Started drinking in copious amounts
<i>venë të kuqe</i> e <i>raki të bardhë</i> ;	Drinking red wine and white plum brandy;
<i>vena e kuqe</i> në faqe u ka dalë	Red wine struck them into their cheeks,
e <i>rakija</i> n'kuvend i ka qitë.	And the brandy made them gather together.
(EL, 12: 1–5)	

A formal-structural inconsistency may be observed in this case: “janë mbledhë” is a vernacular form occurring under the Slavic influence, whereby the verb *jam* (Eng. *be*) is used for forming the perfect tense, unlike standard Albanian where the verb *kam* (Eng. *have*) is used. The aforementioned inconsistency is manifested in the subsequent line, whereas the so-called Gegë participle is retained – Alb. *fillue* (Eng. *began*), which most likely suggests erroneous recording of this part of the song.

Assuming that the songs of the frontier warriors incorporated to a certain extent the formulas from the South Slavic songs, in addition to subjects, motifs, characters and other elements, the question arises as to why situational formulas are not as frequent in the Albanian songs. Their relatively limited percentage of the total number of specific introductory formulas, in addition to their poor stratification⁷ compared to the corresponding formulas in Serbian songs, may be explained by formal-structural differences between the two languages. One of the restrictions of a morphological nature

⁷ Situational formulas are amongst the most frequent ones in Serbian songs (in addition to the formulas of communication and movement) and this type comprises as many as 13 subtypes (Detelić 1996), which shows how numerous they actually are by comparison to the corresponding Albanian formulas.

pertains to *figurae etymologicae*,⁸ which in this case do not have absolutely equivalent translations in Albanian; therefore, no direct borrowing could have occurred without disturbing their grammatical structure in the target language.

2 *Fairytale-like formulas*

The typological classification of specific introductory formulas has revealed a rather large number of songs (as many as 50, i.e. 49 percent) containing the initial formula “so there was/there once was”/“there was a”/“when there was” or some of its possible variants. In an overwhelming majority of instances (as in the previous case) they occur within the introductory block, i.e. they are preceded by a general formula, but it is worth emphasizing that the largest number of songs that do not contain an invocation begins with this very type of formula. Its most frequent form in Albanian is “kur ish/janë kânë/kenë” etc., the literal translation equivalents of which are “when there was/were”, which at first may lead to the conclusion that this is a formula of a temporal kind. However, since the time-related dimension of the plot is in no manner determined therein, there is no difference whatsoever between such a beginning and the most common introductory formula in fairytales: “Once upon a time [there was]...”

Another important property of this type of formulas is that they easily combine with other formulas into a structure which is closed at the beginning and open at its other end. If their structure, that is the quantity of information they convey, is looked at, the conclusion seems inevitable that their single function is to provide an answer to the question *who*: “When there was an old man with motherless children” (EL, 36: 1); “So there was Aga Hasan Aga” (EL, 46: 1); “There was Hysen Gradenica” (EL, 63: 1); “When there was Gjuri Harambasha” (EL, 78: 1), etc. Only when supplemented or chained, i.e. combined with other formulas, do they become direct conveyors of information on the space, time, situation, other characters etc.:

Ishin kanë Muji e Halili,	There were once Mujo and Halili,
shum trimni bashkë kin pa' ba,	Many braveries together they made,
të gjitha Mujit i kin pa mbetë.	But Mujo took credit for all of them.
(EL, 101: 1-3)	

⁸ Out of the thirteen subtypes of situational formulas mentioned above, *figurae etymologicae* have been found in four.

the relationship between Albanian and South Slavic epics, but also between these two Balkan cultural traditions.

The following example is from the song *Gjuri Harambash* (EL, 87; Eng. *Gjuri Harambash*), in which an epic repetition assumes the role of describing the title character, a notorious *Shkija*,¹¹ which is accomplished by a semantically appealing construction “nuk ka lanë” (Eng. “left no/did not leave”). Such a repetitive series is then interrupted by a semantically identical, yet structurally discordant construction “s’ka lanë” (Eng. “left no/did not leave”), employed for metrical reasons, i.e. so that the decasyllable remains undisturbed:

Kur ish kanë ai Gjuri Harambash,	There was once Gjuri Harambash,
zollumtar zoti si e ka falë,	Tyrant he was, God did make him that way,
nuk ka lanë drum per pa thye,	No road did he leave uncrossed,
s’ka lanë nanë per me u gzue,	No mother did he leave in joy,
nuk ka lanë çikë m’u fejue,	No maiden did he let engaged,
nuk ka lanë pazar me u çilë,	No market did he let open,
nuk ka lanë djet të ri me u rritë.	No lad did he let grow up.
(EL, 78: 1–7)	

The frequency of this version of a fairytale-like formula in Albanian songs reveals, inter alia, its plausible originality, since its elements do not occur in such an arrangement in formulas of the surrounding Slavic peoples. Besides, its metrical suitability to the Albanian decasyllabic verse, as well as its capacity to fit into any context owing to its simple semantic structure, must have largely contributed to its popularity with local singers. If compared to any other specific formula, e.g. “he is drinking wine”, it appears that regardless of how fixed or petrified it is due to being widespread and able to adjust to a large number of different situations, it still has a tendency of restricting and pointing to the action of “wine drinking”, which is usually done *somewhere* or *with somebody*, whilst the formula “there was a...” mainly imposes no constraints. Hence in this case its neutral connotation contributes to its greater universality.

The temporal indifference is particularly distinctive in these formulas (merely one out of 50 songs contains temporal markers), which is compensated in two manners: by further describing the character(s) or by describing the spatial context:

¹¹ The Albanian forms *shkau*, *shkina*, *shkie*, Eng. *Serb* (m.), *Serb* (f.), *Serbs* are derived from the Latin appellative *sclavus* (Stanišić 1995, 37), and in the songs of the frontier warriors they semantically encompass all other Slavic peoples, considering that therein *the consistent opposing party... are the Slavs... without any individualization. The land of the opponent: Kingdom* (Medenica 1974).

Ishin kanë Muji e Halili,
kin pa' dalë ne bjeshkë te nelta.
(EL, 100: 1–2)

There once were Mujo and Halili,
They went out to highland mountains.

Kur ish kenë një plakë me jetima,
i kish pasë nandë djelm e 'i çikë,
me gazep e mjera i ki' rritë,
me lesh ferrash i veshë e i bathë,
me lypë dyerësh u ep me granëIsh'
kenë ardhë një vjetë fort e keqe,
in lidhë jetimat me dekë.
(EL, 36: 1–7)

There once was an old man with motherless
children,
Nine sons and one daughter had he,
In poverty and woes did he bring them up,
He dressed them in rough cloths only,
Door to door begging for food for them,
A terrible year fell upon them,
His poor children almost died on him.

The contrasting with Serbian songs has demonstrated that fairytale-like formulas do not exist or at least have not been recorded there; however, judging by the type of formulas attached to their free end, they may be partially replaced by the formula “mother/emperor is feeding...” (cf. Vuk II, 15; SANU II, 24). Being unique itself, the introductory formula Serb. “net-ko bješe (Strahiniću bane)” (Eng. “[Strahinić Ban] a noble man he was”)¹² might be compared to this type to a certain extent. Its parallel in Albanian songs is “a hero of all heroes that [name]” Alb. “trim mbi trima ay”/“ky trim trimit”, as in the song *Gjergj Elez Alija* (EL, 5), the sujet of which treats the *Bolani Dojčin* motif (Eng. *Ailing Doichin*). We have noticed a certain similarity also in the category of formulas of *appellation* (Suvajdzic 2008, 159), the function of which is realized by a declarative introduction of the hero; however, we may not denote them as fairytale-like. It is our opinion that both the Albanian and Serbian formulas intertwine only on the level of function, whilst completely diverging both semantically and structurally; therefore we cannot speak of their typological concordance.

According to many of their properties,¹³ such as the motif, lack of a more specific spatial determination of the sujet etc., the aforementioned Albanian song *Gjergj Elez Alija* differs from the other songs of the frontier warriors and is therefore worthy of being paid greater attention. The first dissimilarity compared to the Serbian version *Bolani Dojčin* (Vuk II, 78)¹⁴ pertains to different types of correlation between the introductory and final formulas.

¹² Trans. by Geoffrey N. W. Locke (1997, 115).

¹³ See Medenica 1974.

¹⁴ Since the motif of a sick hero (known as the *ailing Doichin motif*) exists not only in the South Slavic but also in the epics of other Balkan peoples (which most likely makes the number of songs with this motif a three-digit one; e.g. in his analysis Fochi (1956, cit. in Medenica 1974) analyzed as many as 85 songs with this sujet (44 Romanian, 26 Bulgarian, 13 Serbo-Croatian and 2 Albanian), we shall focus here on contrasting it with the mentioned Serbian version exclusively in order to draw attention to possible derogations of the Albanian song, which should later be analyzed more thoroughly to determine

The mentioned correlation is in the Albanian song achieved by reference to the same personality¹⁵ (similar to the Serbian song *Banović Strahinja*: “Strahinyh Ban, a noble man was he; Of all the heroes that have ever been, / One nobler than the Ban was never seen”),¹⁶ whilst in the analyzed Serbian version it is achieved by emphasizing the cause in the initial, and the consequence in the final formula. Establishing such a connection between the initial and final formulas serves the purpose of expressing the finiteness of a told tale, which (unlike some other instances)¹⁷ is impossible to continue:

Albanian introductory formula:

Trim mbi trima ay Gjergj Elez Alija!
 Qe nand' vjet nand' varra në shtat m'i ka!
 Veç një motër nat' e ditë te kryet,
 ja lan varrat me ujt e gurrës nandvjeçe,
 ja lan varrat me ata lott e syve,
 ja terë gjakun me ata flokët e ballit,
 shtatin vllaut ja shtërngon m'ruba të
 nanës,
 n'petka t'babës trupin ja hijeshon,
 armët e brezit ja rendon mbi krye!
 (EL, 5:1-9)

Gjergj Elez Alia, the greatest of heroes,
 For nine years now on his bed has he
 languished,

Albanian final formula:

Amanet, more shtegtari i malit!
 N'kofsh tuj kndue ksajt, kajkën me e
 pushue.
 N'kofsh tu kajtë ksajt, gjamën për me e
 xanë!
 Kah kërkova gjithkund bjeshkë e
 m'bjeshkë,
 kah verova gjithkund vrri e n'vrri,
 kah mjerova gjithkund shpi e n'shpi,
 kërkund s'ndesha m'Gjergj Elez Ali!
 (EL, 5:183-190)

Oh, wanderer passing by into the
 mountains,

whether such innovations are under the influence of Albanian, or their origin can be traced to another (either adjacent or non-adjacent) cultural tradition.

¹⁵ The difference that may be noticed between the forms *Gjergj Elez Alija* and *Gjergj Elez Ali* is of a formal-grammatical nature and it pertains to the aspect of the personal noun affecting the flexion in Albanian: the former form is definite whilst the latter is indefinite. It is necessary to emphasize that there is a derogation from standard Albanian in the case of the initial formula and the form *Gjergj Elez Alija*, which is reflected in the following: (1) employing the phonetically modified personal pronoun *ay* (3rd pers. sing., m.), the standard form of which is *ai*, which assumes the role of the demonstrative pronoun *ky* (also 3rd pers. sing., m.); and (2) employing the noun in the definite form with the aforementioned demonstrative pronoun (which is a vernacular form, since in standard Albanian the demonstrative pronoun *ky* requires nouns in the indefinite form). The use of the definite aspect results in both concretization and individualization of the noun, thus simultaneously causing change on the semantic level. If an absolute separation and emphatic use of the definite aspect occurred in the initial formula, then the final formula contains a sort of a statement, leading to a conclusion that the formal-grammatical aspect follows the weakening of the signal from the initial to the final formula, which is the most probable reason why the singer chose to “sacrifice” the decasyllable in the first case.

¹⁶ Trans. Locke 1997, 115 and 165.

¹⁷ See Detelić 1996.

Night and day one sister stays at his bed- side,	Should you be singing, cease here for a moment,
Cleansing his wounds for nine years with spring water,	Should you be crying, then mourn and lament here,
Cleansing his wounds all the time with her teardrops,	For I have searched o'er the high moun- tain pastures,
And wiping the blood with the locks of her long hair,	For I have flown o'er the low winter meadows,
She bound his wounds in the shawl of their mother,	For I have wandered from house to house weeping,
Their father's old garments protected his body,	I nowhere could find him, Gjergj Elez Alia!*
Down at the foot of the bed hung his weapons.*	

Serbian introductory formula:

Razbolje se vojvoda Dojčine
U Solunu gradu bijelome,
Bolovao za devet godina;
(Vuk II, 78: 1-3)

Doichin, that noble Voivoda, fell ill
Within the [white] city of Salonika.
Nine years he lay in pain upon his bed;¹⁸

Serbian final formula:

To izusti, a dušu ispusti.
(Vuk II, 78: 295)

Those were his words. He spoke them,
and he died.¹⁹

The phraseology of the introductory half-line “hero of all heroes” in the Albanian song additionally reinforces the impression made on the listener; hence its function is twofold: to convey the information on actors, whilst simultaneously marking the language code shift (considering the fact there is no general introductory formula). This formula is spatially undetermined, unlike the formula in the Serbian version which contains more pieces of information despite its conciseness. On the other hand, the Albanian singer had at his disposal the option of substituting the opening line either with one of the previously discussed versions of the fairytale formula (“there was”, “once there was”, “when there was”, etc.) or with one of the situational formulas, in order to describe the scene and condition of the main character. However, by selecting a semantically more effective and concise option he connected it to the subsequent line by formal-grammatical means, which therefore should not be regarded separately: “qe nand’ vjet nand’ varra në shtat m’i ka!” (lit. “that for nine years has [to me]²⁰ nine wounds on his

¹⁸ Trans. Locke 1997, 323.

¹⁹ Ibid., 341.

²⁰ The dative case employed in such a manner (i.e. a short form of the personal pronoun *unë* (Eng. *I*) in the dative) has an emphatic character and additionally confirms the assumption made in the previous reference.

body"). In this manner a rounded image of a great hero ailing for nine years is depicted, whilst spatial coordinates are omitted.

Later in the song *Gjergj Elez Alija* different tools are used to introduce the sister tending to Gjergj – contrast: “veç nji motër nat’ e ditë te kryet” (Eng. “Night and day one sister stays at his bedside”^{*}); repetition: “ja lan varrat me ujë e gurrës nandvjeçe, / ja lan varrat me ata lott e syve” (Eng. “here she is cleansing his wounds with spring water, / here she is cleansing his wounds and shedding tears”), etc. In the entire course of the narrative the listener is informed that Gjergj is nearly dead by internal formulas in the form of frequent references to his difficult condition and by other means:

P’a prej vorrit, Gjergj, ti konke çue...?	“From the grave, Gjergj, have you risen?” [*]
***	***
Të lumët goja, baloz, mirë po thue!	“I well understand, haughty words have you
Qe nandë vjet qi kam marrë rrugn e	spoken,
vorrit	Nine years have gone by that I’ve been on
	death’s door” [*]

Therefore, the cuckoo speaking to the wanderer passing by in the final part of the song should not be construed as an act of introducing a harbinger of death, but a guardian of the memory of the extraordinary hero, thus leaving the legacy of keeping the story of Gjergj Elez Alija and his sister alive. The very legacy (Alb. *amanet*) is the original Albanian addition to this sujet,²¹ which is referred to in as many as 28 songs from our corpus. However, the occurrence of this lexeme in initial and final formulas is negligible, since it is found in the initial position only in one other formula (in the song *Martesa e Ali Bajraktarit* (KE, 14) Eng. *Wedding of Ali Bajraktari*): “Kur ish kenë Ali Bajraktari, / amanet baba ja kish lane” (Eng. “Once there was Ali Bajraktari, / and his father left him a legacy”). In all other instances it appears in the medial position whilst functioning within an internal formula.

If the final formulas in both songs are taken into consideration, a striking difference can be noticed primarily with regard to their length: a concise and effective Serbian formula consisting of only one verse as opposed to the Albanian formula containing a developed lamenting ending. The Serbian final formula abides by the narrative structure of epic songs within which the death of the hero usually represents the end of the sujet (Ajdačić 2007), although there are instances in which a song continues even afterwards (e.g. Vuk II, 16 etc.). On the other hand, brother and sister die together in the Albanian song, whilst the phraseology of the formula used to describe their death is rather similar to the Serbian — “Those were his words. He spoke them, and he died”:

²¹ E.g. see Medenica 1974; Skendi 1954, etc.

Vlla e motër dekun paskan ramun, Kurkuj shpirti ma mirë s'i ka dalun! (EL, 5: 166–167)	Dead to the ground fell both brother and sister, No better spirits have ever been rendered!*
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Such an arrangement of the Albanian song suggests the conclusion that it could easily end with line 167. However, it continues with a lamenting formula followed by the final formula of funeral assuming the role of an internal one:

Gjamë të madhe shokët qi m'i kanë ba!	His friends began mourning in great lamenta- tion,
Po ja çilin një vorr bukur të gjanë, vlla e motër ngrykas për me i xanë	And for the two siblings a wide grave dug open, For brother and sister, their arms round each other,
e'i muranë të bukur e kanë mba- rue,	And over the grave did they make a fair tomb- stone,
vlla e motër kurr mos me u harrue.	That brother and sister would not be forgotten.*

It is quite interesting to take a look at the Albanian adjective *i, e bukur* (Eng. *nice, beautiful*; m./f.), which in this case is attached to the nouns *vorr*²² (Eng. *grave*) and *muranë* (Eng. *tomb*). On the level of semantics this attribution approaches the final formula “she buried him nicely” in Serbian songs, wherefrom it had probably been taken since the singer was certainly able to choose another epithet (e.g. *large, wide* etc.). This leads to a conclusion that the epithet *nice* is not related to the aforementioned lexemes in order to describe their external (physical) appearance, but its semantics (just as it is in the Serbian formula) is directed towards demonstrating that the hero and his sister had been buried honourably and properly. As a result, there is no need to describe the very act of their burial any further, which opens the possibility of ending the song even with a formula such as this one.

Other versions of this song demonstrate²³ that it is absolutely possible to add other types of formulas after the final formula in *Ailing Doychin* and not only the previously mentioned final formula of funeral, hence prolonging it in this manner. Alternatively, any other general final formula would also be suitable, as well as animal speech (as it is the case in the Albanian song), or a personal comment of the singer. However, it is questionable as to what would be gained in this case for the following two reasons:

1) if a general final formula or a personal comment is added, its dispersed signal will largely “suffocate” both the intensity and effectiveness of

²² The standard form of this lexeme is *varr*, the Northern Gegë form of which contains a nasalized vocal *-a*, thus entailing one of the most distinctive differences between the Northern and Southern Albanian dialects.

²³ E.g. Miladinovci 88, 154, 155 etc.

the formula “Those were his words. He spoke them, and he died”, as well as the ending of the song;

2) if a specific formula (be it an introductory formula in the position of an internal or a final one) or an animal speech is added, the sujet itself will be somewhat altered, which means new elements will be adjoined thereto in a similar manner as in the Albanian version: e.g. leaving a legacy, lament (by mother/sister), burial etc. All of the specified above, as well as numerous potential elements that could be supplied, account for an alteration in the sujet and the narrative itself; hence the song will become completely different if different formulas are added.

In addition to the aforementioned options, there is also the possibility of their mutual combining (e.g. specific final + general final formula), but in this case the existing final formula would particularly lose its strength, whilst its function would be reduced to informing of the death of the main character.

If we go back to the final formula in the Albanian song: “*kërkund s’ndesha m’Gjergj Elez Ali!*”²⁴ which can literally be translated as: “Nowhere have I found/stumbled upon Gjergj Elez Ali”, we may draw the conclusion that for semantic reasons it requires chaining with at least one more formula, since it has one flexible end. The function of the adverb *kërkund*²⁵ (Eng. nowhere) is here subordinate to achieving a contrast with regard to a series of previous formulas in which the effect of the final line is enhanced through repetition and chaining of similar formulas. In addition, lines 183–184 (“should you be singing, cease here for a moment, / should you be crying, stop lamenting”) ensure a certain kind of tension and somewhat amplify the rather weakened signal at the very end of the song (particularly after the death of the hero). Upon it, the narrative circle between the final and introductory formulas is closed and a correlation between them established through chaining concordant formulas semantically and structurally.

²⁴ The aforementioned indefinite aspect of the proper noun Gjergj Elez Ali is by no means a coincidence, since the context suggests that in terms of semantics not only does it denote a concrete person, but it also takes on the meaning “someone/somebody like Gjergj Elez Alija” or simply “a/one Gjergj Elez Alija” (which is achieved by the use of articles in the languages that have them). This is why despite the fact that one would expect the use of the definite aspect in this case, the formal-grammatical aspect is subordinated to the needs of the context and metrics (since, inter alia, rhyme is achieved by means of the indefinite form).

²⁵ *Kërkund* is a vernacular form of the standard *kërrkund*.

3 Temporal (time-relating) formulas

Temporal or time-relating formulas are a distinctive type of initial formulas occurring in twenty songs either at the very beginning or within the introductory block, i.e. after a general initial formula. The most frequent are those relating to nature in one way or another, or those determined by a natural occurrence. Instances of formulas of this type containing a specific date (or at least a year) are rare, whilst those in which the time of action is specified through the Sun/Moon, light/darkness or day/night are by far the most frequent, as it is the case in the song *Gjogu i Mujit* (EL, 9; Eng. *Mujo's Courser*):

Nata a shkue, hana s'ka dalë,	Night was passing, moon not risen,
Muji 'i anderr e ki' andrue,	Mujo was dreaming a dream,
andërr paka hargelen tuj pjellë:	Dreaming about his mare foaling:
(EL, 9:1-3)	

The prophetic dream formula expressed by means of the *figura etymologica* "he was dreaming a dream" achieves its function through chaining with the initial temporal formula the semantics of which has the role of emphasizing secrecy (accentuating darkness) in order to create an ambience of conspiracy and mystical occurrence. There are two important reasons why this formula requires particular attention: (1) since a dream formula in Serbian epics rarely predicts a joyous event (Suvajdzić 2000), further contrasting might reveal information on how it was transferred to *kreshnik* epic and what changes it underwent along the way; (2) the fact that we have not found a prophetic dream formula in any other introductory block in the Albanian songs, its very presence in a limited corpus such as this one suggests that this is a direct influence of another genre and/or tradition.

In addition to the combination of two typologically different introductory formulas ("the night has come" and "he was dreaming a dream"), the half-line "Moon not risen"²⁶ serves the purpose of preparing for the contrast that follows in the next line:

ki'ba mazin bardhë si bora	And this foal was as white as snow
(EL, 9:4)	

as well as later on in the narrative complex, when Ajkuna goes to check if Mujo's dream came true:

ndriti qymja si bora e malit,	The foal shone like the mountain snowflakes,
hyllin bardh shkruet n'shtek të ballit.	A star was shining on its forehead!*
(EL, 9: 21-22)	

²⁶ The phrasing "the Moon did not come out" is used in the actual original version in Albanian.

Another version of this initial formula is found in the song *Muji e Jevrenija* (EL, 23; Eng. *Mujo and Jevrenija*):

Drita dalë, hana prarue,	The light has appeared, the Moon is of gold,
ç'kin ba çikat e Kralisë?	What is it the maidens of the Kingdom are
(EL: 23: 2–3)	doing?

The second line already contains the *interrogative* formula: “what are they doing”, which also appears independently as an internal formula in a fairly large number of songs. The singer most commonly embeds this formula between two internal formulas, of which one is closed at the end and the other one is open at the beginning, which is most likely done for two particular reasons: either to boost the effect of the previous event and of the introduction to what ensues in the narrative; or to change the course of action, particularly in the songs of the “Muslim type”,²⁷ one of the basic properties of which is an excessively ornamental style accompanied by frequent introductions or shifts in action, plot, characters, scene etc. Since no standardized beginning in the form of the Slavic antithesis has been observed in any of the Albanian songs analyzed here, it seems that introductory formulas of this type might be a kind of substitute, although the Slavic antithesis occurs in the narrative of several songs. Interrogative formulas of the “what are they doing” type in the initial position have been observed in only four instances, which we found to be insufficient for classifying them as a separate formula type.

With regard to the temporal aspect (i.e. temporal definiteness/indefiniteness), a parallel between the Albanian and Serbian songs may be drawn according to several criteria. Firstly, the hero/maiden/antagonist *are* always *early*; an action is more closely temporally determined by an adverb or adverbial phrase, while the most common one in both languages is *when*,²⁸ etc. However, the analyzed corpus of Albanian songs contains no temporal formula referencing a historical event, contrary to, for example, the Serbian songs with the initial formula of the “in + year” type.

On the other hand, although seemingly far less complex, Albanian temporal formulas abound in beautiful descriptions of the scene where an event takes place, as well as in contrasts aimed at emphasizing not only characters, but also the background against which they are placed.

²⁷ See Medenica 1974.

²⁸ Formal-structural requirements, on the one hand, and metrical, on the other, compel the Albanian singer (and the Serbian as well) to use several basic (semantically equal, yet formally different) versions of this formula beginning with *when* in each of the examples specified above, the function of which here is not temporal marking as it is in the Serbian language.

For instance, the introductory formula from the song *Omeri prej Mujit* (EL, 27; Eng. *Omer, son of Mujo*) demonstrates emotional engagement to a rather large degree, as opposed to the similar formula from the Serbian song *Ropstvo i ženidba Jakšića Šćepana* (Vuk II, 95; Eng. *Captivity and Marriage of Jakšić Šćepan*), which remains relatively “stiff” and frugal in this regard:

Još zorica nije zab'jelila, Ni danica lica pomolila, Bijela je vila pokliknula Sa Avale zelene planine, Vila zove u Bijograd Stojni Po imenu dva brata Jakšića, Jakšić-Mitra i Jakšić-Šćepana: (Vuk II, 95: 1–7)	Dritë ka dalë e drit-o nuk ka ba, ka ra dielli e me xe nuk po xe! Kish nevojë drita mos me dalë, kish nevojë dielli mos me ra: Janë xanë rob dy agët ma t'mirët, janë xanë rob Muji me Halilin! (EL 27: 2–7)
The dayspring has yet not appeared, Nor has the daystar shown her face, The white fairy has loudly cried From Avala, mountain of green, The fairy calls up to Belgrade the Capital She calls by name two Jakšić brothers, Jakšić Mitar and Jakšić Šćepan:	The day dawned, but little light shone, The sun came up, no warmth provided, Better had the light not come out, Better had the sun not risen, The two best agas were made prisoner, Caught were Mujo and Halili!*

Although the formula provides no indication of the actual place of the event, unlike the one in the Serbian song, the delayed character introduction (only in lines six and seven), contrasts and repetitions sufficiently compensate for the poor spatial definition. In this respect, it is interesting to note that temporal and spatial coordinates in Albanian songs are marked in an inverse proportionality.

The subsequent type of temporal introductory formulas may be denoted as *preceding* (Suvajdžić 2002) or as a form of preparation for the forthcoming main action as the narrative continues. In addition, they frequently appear together with the formula Serb. “poranio” (Eng. “be early”)²⁹ or with the movement formula “(he) rose to his feet”. In the examples given below almost identical introductory formulas appear, whereas the main characters³⁰ are firstly introduced in a fairytale beginning and placed in a temporal context (“early in the morning”), followed by a concretization of

²⁹ There is no absolute translation equivalent for the Serbian verb *poraniti*, since it means “do something early in the morning”, which can refer to any action. It is commonly translated as either “rise/be early” or “go somewhere early”.

³⁰ In both cases these are Mujo and Halil corresponding to Muja and Alija from Vuk's songs.

the ambience and a preparation of the listener for the introduction to the main action by means of an interrogative formula:

Kur ish kanë Muji me Halilin, nadje heret trimat kenkan çue, ma kanë ndezë zjarmin n'oxhak, m'i kanë pi kafet sheqerli e po e pijnë duhanin stambollëli. Ça ka qitë Muji e Halilit i ka thanë? (EL 26: 3–8)	When Mujo was with Halili, They jumped to their feet early in the morning, Lit the fire on the hearthstone, Drank coffee with a lot of sugar, And lit the pipes with Istanbul tobacco. What did Mujo say to Halili?
Kanka kanë Qetobash Muja, ³¹ heret nadjet Muja kanka çue e po pin kafë me sheqer. Shka kanë ba orët e bjeshkëve? (EL 61: 2–5)	There once was Chetobasha Mujo, He jumped to his feet early in the morning To drink coffee with sugar. What did mountain fairies do?
Kur m'ish kenë Muji e Halili, m'ishin çua natje heret, m'ishin veshë e m'ishin mbathë, m'i kanë pjekë kafet me sheqerr.	When there was Mujo with Halili, They got up early in the morning, Got dressed and put on their shoes, They made coffee with a lot of sugar.

E Muja ç'ka qitë e i ka thanë? (EL 77: 1–4; 12)	What did Mujo say?

Our examples demonstrate the chaining of three different introductory formulas according to the principle³² that can schematically be represented as: fairytale-like + temporal formula + situational formula. Their being clichéd is undisputable, but their mutual relationship is obviously firm, thus making them an appealing introductory block fulfilling the requirements as regards metrics, character introduction, spatial and temporal coordinates, etc. This type of a block may be joined by the previously mentioned interrogative formula (these usually are of the “what did he do” or “what did he say” type), although its link to the rest of the formulas is not so strong, as confirmed by our last example in which the interrogative formula only appears in verse 12.

³¹ Qetobash (Serb. četobaša) meaning: “the leader of a company”. It is not a personal name but a rank, but being associated with some of the famous anti-Ottoman rebels time and again, it eventually became their nickname, or an element of the name itself.

³² Observed in six more cases (EL 6, 44, 69, 70, 75, 85 and 86), thus amounting to a total of ten examples of formulas combined in this manner, which accounts for almost ten percent of the corpus.

4 Numerical formulas

Numerical formulas are also quite frequent in Albanian songs. Our corpus contains 14 instances (14%), in which five ordinal numbers appear: three, seven, twelve, thirty and three hundred. Typical of all of the analyzed examples is that they appear as a phrase composed of a number and a noun, as well as that they are mostly supplemented with another formula, the most common of which is “they gathered”:

In mbledhë treqind agët e Jutbinës. Gjumi i randë Halilin ma ka marrë edhe Muji shokve m'u ka thanë: (EL, 32:1)	Të shtatë krajlat mendim po bajnë, si me çartë Mujon me Halilin. (EL, 39:1–2)
Three hundred agas of Udbina came, But Halili was sound asleep, Mujo spoke to his companions: Tridhetë agë ishin bashkue, n'ulicë të Judbinës ishin dalë, po e qortojnë Gjeto Basha Mujën edhe agët Mujs po i thonë: (EL, 62: 1)	Seven kings started thinking How to set Mujo against Halili. Tridhetë agë bashkë ishin mbledhë e po qortojnë Gjeto Basho Mujën. (EL, 96:1)
Thirty agas gathered together, They took to the streets of Udbina, Qetobasha Mujo rebuked all the agas, And the agas retorted this:	Thirty agas gathered together, Qetobasha Mujo rebuked all the agas. Tridhetë agë ishin bashkue e kishin marrë llafen tue llafue. (EL, 97:1)
	Thirty agas gathered together, They were talking with one another.

Both the initial formula of the song *Smililiq Alia* (EL 62) and the very title contain lexemes of Slavic origin: the toponym *Judbinë* (Serb. *Udbina*) and the patronym *Smililiq* (Serb. *Smiljanić*). Since there is no place called Udbina (*Jutbinë*, *Udbinjë* and *Jutbi*) in Northern Albania, this oikonym (in addition to a certain number of others) was directly taken from Muslim decasyllabic songs. Similarly to the previously mentioned town of Senj, the toponym in question does not occur with an attribution either, but within a prepositional-case structure, mainly in the accusative case combined with the preposition *në* (Eng. in, on, at). Such a prepositional-case structure metrically fits into the first half-line of the decasyllable since it contains four syllables,³³ which is the simplest solution for the singer who is therefore not obliged to attach any attribution thereto. Another form in which this toponym frequently occurs is “*në fushë të Jutbinës*” (Eng. “on the field of Udbina”). Considering that such a hexasyllabic half-line enables easy incorporation into the decasyllable, the singer uses it quite often as a spatial

³³ The epic decasyllable is also referred to as *asymmetric* because of its 4 + 6 structure, whereas the lyric decasyllable with its 5 + 5 structure is referred to as *symmetric*.

determinant of an action (usually a battle or a duel). On the other hand, *Smililiq Alia* is a phonetically altered form of Serb. *Smiljanić Ilija*, and also occurs as *Smilaliq Ali*, *Sminanić Serdar* and *Smi Nanice Serdar* in our corpus. According to Skendi (1964), the form *Smililiq* was derived through progressive assimilation, encompassing also the intermediate stage *Smilaliq* in which *-n>-l*, occurring in certain other songs, as we have previously pointed out.

Numerical formulas can be found in Serbian songs as well, but in a somewhat smaller percentage (according to Detelić 1996, only in 2% of the songs) and they usually contain ordinal numbers *two/nine/thirty* as predominant within the initial numerical-noun structure:

Putem idu <i>dva</i> mlada putnika, Putem idu, a putem beesedu: (SANU II, 6: 1–2)	<i>Two</i> young wayfarers are walking down the road, Walking down the road, saying:
Vino pije <i>trideset</i> ajduka U gorici pod jelom zelenom I medj' njima Mitar arambaša, Vino služi Stojko Mitrović. (Vuk VII, 41)	<i>Thirty</i> haiduks are drinking wine In the forest, under a green fir Among them, Mitar the Chieftain, Wine is served by Stojko Mitrović.
Rodi majka <i>devet</i> posobaca, U zlo doba, u godine gladne, Sve je devet majka odranila, Sve preslicom i desnicom rukom, I osam je majka oženila. (SANU II, 24: 1–5)	Mother gave birth to <i>nine</i> sons in a row, In evil times, in the years of famine, All of the nine were raised by the mother, With her distaff and her right hand, Eight of them the mother married off.

These examples from Serbian songs show a similar tendency of combining with other types of formulas, as is the case in Albanian songs. The formulas “they’re walking down the road”, “mother gave birth”, etc. in this context are close to the Albanian “ishin bashkue” (“they gathered”) or “mendim po bajnë” (“they started thinking”). This is not surprising since numerical-noun structures (or more accurately, phrases) themselves may not denote any action whatsoever, but merely provide information on the character(s) introduced at the beginning, and therefore need to be supplemented with at least a verb in order to function as formulas.

Discussion and conclusion

In accordance with our primary goal – to establish the degree of concordance between specific initial formulas in the Albanian decasyllabic and corresponding South Slavic songs, as well as their typology – the analysis has resulted in four clearly differentiated types of formulas: situational,

temporal, numerical and fairytale-like. We have found that interrogative formulas may be classified as a separate type, but have chosen not to define them as a subtype of initial formulas due to the fact that they occur in the song-initial position in very few instances.

Contrary to the initial assumption based on the share of situational formulas in the corpus of South Slavic songs, these formulas actualize their frequency to a larger extent through chaining with other specific, primarily fairytale-like and numerical formulas. Their perceptibly smaller number compared to the South Slavic ones is reflected in both formal-structural and anthropological-cultural differences, ultimately resulting in the development of formulas of other types, primarily the fairytale-like one. The latter is at the same time the only type of formulas demonstrating zero equivalence with specific introductory formulas in South Slavic songs, which may be characterized to some extent as a certain kind of innovation brought into the decasyllable verse by the Albanian songs. Although this is an international formula taken from another epic genre, its neutral connotation and its function of conveying exclusively one piece of information (i.e. introduction of the [main] character[s] in the narrative) make it productive and favourite with Albanian singers. Therefore, it also has an accentuated tendency of chaining with other specific formulas, whilst assuming the role of a general formula rather often, as concluded based on these two crucial facts:

(1) a relatively high percentage of the songs of the frontier warriors begin with a general formula (62 songs, i.e. 60%); hence their absence in the initial part is a derogation rather than a rule (which is particularly noticeable in comparison with South Slavic songs). Out of the remaining 50 songs within the corpus, as many as 22 begin with this type of formula, thus making them by far the most productive;

(2) since one of the basic functions of general formulas is to mark a code shift, and each piece of information of importance for narrative is redundant in this case, fairytale-like formulas are probably the most appropriate substitute since they are connected to narrative only by information on the character that is being introduced, which is not the case with other specific formulas usually carrying spatial-temporal markers.

Given the antiquity of this type of formulas in epics, their frequency in our corpus points to the degree of development of the epic expression of Albanian songs insofar as we have not encountered highly developed formulas in terms of phraseology and style compared to the Serbian decasyllable. There are two possible interpretations of such an occurrence: syntactical-metrical restrictions (emphasized on several occasions herein) of Albanian as a language unrelated to Slavic languages; and a limited period of time during which these songs were developing, which supports the theory that they do not date farther back than the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Temporal initial formulas have revealed several other innovations of the Albanian songs, such as chaining with a specific type of so-called interrogative (usually internal) formulas. Since the corpus has revealed that the Albanian songs do not begin with the rudimentary form of the Slavic anathesis otherwise existing therein, a conclusion may be drawn that a more thorough research is necessary in order to determine whether this is an indigenous and intrinsic Albanian property and what its function is.

The formal-structural analysis has drawn attention to another instrument in the hands of the Albanian singer, which does not exist in Serbian songs in the same form for rather obvious reasons: the definite/indefinite aspect as a grammatical category having a direct influence on semantics. Our example has demonstrated in which manner it is possible to carry out a concretization and separation with regard to generalization, hence altering the phraseology of an expression, i.e. of a personal noun in this instance. This is by no means an unusual occurrence in the languages in which there are clearly expressed categories of definite and indefinite aspects, but it is most certainly interesting in the context of epics since it offers a possibility to gain an insight into the tools unavailable to the Slavic singer. We believe that a detailed analysis may lead to an answer to the question as to how much the Albanian decasyllable has evolved after it was taken from the South Slavic tradition and to what extent it has introduced innovations not only in terms of motifs and other elements (amongst which e.g. legacy, word of honour etc.), but also in terms of style.

The corpus itself has imposed the need for determining the degree of concordance between the Albanian and South Slavic epic space. Although observed on a limited material, it turned out that attachment of an attribution (most commonly of the attribute *white*) to oiconyms is not a common occurrence in Albanian songs (despite the fact that it is one of the most frequent ones in general), regardless of its presence in both Christian and Muslim South Slavic decasyllabic songs (Detelić & Ilić 2006, 18–19). In this case contrasting might shed light on certain aspects of the relationship between these two epics, as well as on the idea of the town/city and the manner in which transferred elements behave within an unrelated epic tradition etc.

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The Return of Epic Formulas in Various Italian Translations of *Kosovka djevojka* (The Kosovo Maiden)

Abstract: This paper makes a comparative analysis of the various Italian translations of the famous Serbian popular poem *Kosovka djevojka* [The Kosovo Maiden] and illustrates the different interpretations and consequent translations of epic formulas in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italy. The Parry-Lord oral formulaic theory, together with other important contributions in the field of oral studies, is a starting point for this analysis, which also takes into consideration the socio-cultural context in which these translations were produced. Translation solutions are therefore brought into relation with the poetics of individual translators and especially with the socio-cultural context of their time. Particular attention is devoted to the centuries-old Italian rhetorical tradition, which influenced even the greatest experts in popular poetry in their interpretation of the figures and clichés typical of oral production.

Keywords: *Kosovka djevojka*, translation, formulaic diction, Tommaseo, Nikolić, Cronia

In the study presented here, we will try to find correlations between three different Italian translations of the Serbian epic poem *Kosovka djevojka* (Vuk II, 51) and the socio-cultural context in which they appeared by devoting particular attention to the way in which the original epic formulas were conveyed. The studies of Dominique Kirchner Reill and others (Todorova 1997; Wolff 2001) will serve as a socio-cultural background for the analysis of these three translations, which were the fruit or, in the case of Cronia, the consequence of the cultural climate indicated by Reill.

The importance of Italian culture for the diffusion of Serbo-Croatian popular poetry has been widely recognised and a number of studies have been conducted on the subject.¹ In this respect, the year 1774, when the Paduan abbot and naturalist Alberto Fortis published his *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, is to be considered a key date. The chapter devoted to the customs of the inhabitants of the Dalmatian hinterland,

¹ Maria Rita Leto's notable and detailed research on the fortune of Serbo-Croatian popular poetry in Italy from Fortis to Kasandrić was published in two articles in the Italian journal for Slavic Studies, *Europa orientalis* (1992 and 1995). See also Stipčević 1975, as well as a recent contribution to this field by the Italian Homerist Mario Cantilena (2012), who gives an overview of the reception of Serbo-Croatian popular poetry in Italy and analyses its further influence on Homeric studies.

known as Morlaks,² aroused lively interest, which manifested itself in the prompt translation of the book into the main European languages. *Canzone dolente della nobile sposa d'Asan-aga*, Fortis's translation of the famous ballad *Hasanaginica*, reported in this chapter, sparked off interest and admiration among some of the greatest literary names of the time. It was Italy that discovered the Serbo-Croatian oral production for the world and not Germany, as Arturo Cronia (1958) proudly states, and it was Fortis on the one hand and Vico on the other who preceded Herder, and not vice versa.³ Nonetheless, and contrary to Cronia's suggestions,⁴ Italy did not maintain the same level of interest in South Slavic folk poetry as did the rest of Europe in the following decades; at least, this subject did not involve the major cultural and literary figures of the time, as happened in Germany for instance. Fortis's publication, and the stir it caused, is one of the two moments that Nikša Stipčević (1975) defines as *organic* to the Italian reception of Serbo-Croatian oral production. The second moment was the publication of *Canti popolari illirici* (1842), a highly regarded translation of Serbian epic poetry into the Italian language, produced by Niccolò Tommaseo, an Italian writer, linguist, politician and journalist, from which our first example for the analysis is taken. Surprisingly enough, between these two moments, there were no important translations, while the best German translations appeared precisely in these years.⁵ Nikola Giaxich's *Carmi slavi* (1829), the only Italian collection of translations that preceded *Canti illirici*, went almost unnoticed (Leto 1992, 142–146). It was Tommaseo's anthology that was to mark

² The stir that this subject caused in Romantic Europe was described by Cronia (1958, 307–308) as “morlacomania”. For detailed research on the subject, see Wolff 2001. For the vast bibliography concerning probably the most famous text of South Slavic folk poetry, we refer to Isaković 1975.

³ “Qui, prima di Herder, sorgeva dall'estetica del Vico e alla scuola del Cesarotti, colui che può essere il primo e fortunato scopritore e rivelatore della poesia popolare serbo-croata: il Fortis.” [Here, before Herder, influenced by Vico's aesthetics and forming part of the school of Cesarotti, was born the discoverer of Serbo-Croatian folk poetry: Fortis.] (Cronia 1958, 303). It is interesting to observe that Italian culture gave yet another important contribution to this field, still not acknowledged at the time of Cronia: the first recording of a Serbo-Croatian popular poem comes from the Italian Renaissance epic poem *Lo Balzino*, written in 1497 by Rogeri de Pacienza, but published only in 1977 by Mario Marti (see Pantić 1977).

⁴ In this regard see Leto 1992, 117, whose opinion we share.

⁵ We shall limit ourselves to referring only to the early but still very reliable monograph by Čurčić 1905, which offers a detailed analysis of the major German translations of this period.

a much more prolific epoch in this area of study: he was not only an inspiration, but also a mentor for almost all the translators that came after him (Leto 1995).

In fact, Tommaseo had a remarkable influence on the Trieste literary journal *La Favilla*, the main instrument of mediation between the Italian and Illyrian⁶ cultures at the time hosting a number of studies devoted to the folklore of the South Slavs and publishing translations of their popular poetry. Its editors, Francesco Dall'Ongaro and Pacifico Valussi, were both Tommaseo's correspondents and friends, and in terms of political and social positions, his epigones. These three figures were among the main protagonists of the movement which Reill (2012) calls "Adriatic multi-nationalism",⁷ and whose "unofficial leader" she considers to have been Tommaseo.

Since Niccolò Tommaseo is also the author of the first translation that is analysed here, it will be interesting to look at how his socio-cultural and political engagement influenced his style. *Kosovka djevojka* became in his version *Cadaveri di Cossovo* [Cadavers of Kosovo]⁸ and was included in the great collection of *Canti popolari illirici*, which brought together thirty-four poems, mostly from the second book of *Srpske narodne pjesme* [Serbian popular poems] (1823–1833) collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. With his knowledge of the differences between the Italian and Serbo-Croatian metrical systems, Tommaseo was determined to maintain the authentic meaning even to the detriment of the formal aspect of the text. His translation is thus in prose,⁹ which reproduces accurately, line by line, the structure and meaning of the original and maintains the

⁶ Tommaseo himself, in the first footnote of his Illyrian collection (1842, 2), explains that Illyrians live in the Habsburg Empire and comprise "Serbi, Bossinesi, Dalmati, Bulgari" [Serbians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, Bulgarians]. Moreover, the definition of *il-lirico* in his *Dizionario* suggests that: "della lingua, dicevasi fino ad ora, comunem. Il-lirico lo slavo meridionale" [as regards language, the South Slavic language has been commonly called Illyrian]. Illyrian may thus be considered synonymous with South Slavic in a wider sense and with Serbo-Croatian in a narrower sense.

⁷ In her inspiring work, Reill studies how the idea of "supra-national Adriatic regionalism affected local nationhood" through the work of Tommaseo and other prominent Adriatic writers of the time. Unfortunately, this idea did not last very long, as the 1848 revolutions inspired diametrically opposite movements.

⁸ On the translation of the titles see Drndarski 1989.

⁹ Various scholars have analysed the prose of Tommaseo's Illyrian and Greek translations, trying to explain its characteristics and to define it. Giovanni Pascoli, for instance, in his treatise on the neoclassical metre (1900), analyses one of Tommaseo's Illyrian poems in order to show that it is not an ordinary prose text, but a borderline case between verse and prose. Modern studies on metre would interpret these lines as verse lines, as

original line division. The myriad of theoretical works concerning South Slavic popular poetry and its verse that Tommaseo produced (especially the treatise *Sul numero* [On metre and rhythm]) demonstrates his profound knowledge of the subject, which is easily discernible both in the translation and in his editing practice (comments, introductions to every poem, notes, and so on).

The second translation that we shall deal with is a work by Giovanni Nikolić, a Dalmatian tribunal secretary, a native of the island of Hvar. Although his collection *Canti popolari serbi* [Serbian popular poems], published in 1894 in Zadar, was initially well received and republished in an amplified edition the following year,¹⁰ it had never played an important role in the history of the reception of Serbo-Croatian popular poetry in Italy.

Our third translator, Arturo Cronia,¹¹ a Dalmatian-born Italian Slavist, judged Nikolić's translation in a very sharp and wholesale manner as a "parafrasi di montiana memoria" [a paraphrase emulating Vincenzo Monti's style] (Cronia 1958, 549) without giving it any further space in his already mentioned encyclopaedic handbook *La conoscenza del mondo slavo in Italia* [Knowledge of the Slavic world in Italy].¹² On the other hand, Tommaseo was given greater attention¹³ and was certainly the greatest influence in Cronia's own translation work. Cronia's collection, *La poesia popolare serbo-croata* [Serbo-Croatian popular poetry] (1949), was meant to be a handbook and was divided into two parts: the first was devoted to theory and the second to the translations given together with the originals, and both enriched with very competent and helpful notes.

These three collections vary in composition, structure and above all in the stylistic and metrical solutions offered. They all are without any

the only parameter in distinguishing prose from verse is precisely the line division that is present in Tommaseo (and also in Cronia).

¹⁰ Leto quotes the review given by the Italian orientalist Angelo De Gubernatis (1995, 269, n.108). On De Gubernatis and Illyrian (and more widely, Slavic) culture, see Aloe 2000.

¹¹ There does not seem to have been any study on Cronia's translation work. The recently published monograph by Delbianco (2004) gives much useful information on a myriad of Cronia's studies on Croatian literature and language, but makes only passing mention of his translation, judging it (p. 198) as "almost literal (at some points also very gauche)". For a detailed bibliography of more than 400 works that Cronia produced during his prolific academic life, see Đurica 1978.

¹² Nikolić's translations of authors such as P. P. Njegoš, P. Preradović and I. Mažuranić are often judged negatively; see Stipčević 2000, 100.

¹³ See also Cronia's article (1942) on Tommaseo's *Canti illirici*, the first important review of this work.

doubt products of their time and the main reason for any differences lies in the temporal distance between them (the first was published in 1842, the second in 1894 and the third in 1949), but we should not underestimate the poetics of their authors as a valid influential factor either. More than one century intervenes between Tommaseo's translations and Cronia's collection, but even so they are much closer to each other than Tommaseo's and those of Nikolić, although Tommaseo and Nikolić were near contemporaries. The scholarly profile that distinguished both Tommaseo and Cronia from their fellow translators was certainly decisive in the elaboration of their source-oriented translations. On the contrary, Nikolić elaborates a kind of translation which is target-oriented on every level and, moreover, attempts to emulate Italian translations of Homer, in the first place that of Vincenzo Monti (Cronia 1958; Leto 1995). Since this markedly neoclassical translation was produced at the end of the nineteenth century, it may appear somewhat out-of-date, and the reason for this is not only the peripheral position of Nikolić's cultural environment, but also the fondness of the archaic that had characterised the Italian literary tradition for centuries. Therefore, Nikolić's translation, being a product of these tendencies, fails to convey the original formulaic style and repetitions by creating a completely new and independent version, which might appear cumbersome at some points, but should not be considered only in relation to the source text.¹⁴

Kosovka djevojka, a poem which describes scenes taking place in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Kosovo, forms part of the centuries-old Kosovo mythology which, as Nenad Ljubinković (1990) clearly states, finds its roots in the fusion of two battles of Kosovo into a single battle, according to the oral tradition and popular imagination.¹⁵ *Kosovka djevojka* represents the shift from the heroic and male perspective to the individual and female, which may be observed through the lyrical element present in the text, a cause of much discussion about the genre of the poem.

Tommaseo (1842, 131) acutely notices these lyrical elements, discerning very well the identification of the individual (*i tre guerrieri*) with the collective (*Servia morente*): "I tre ch'ella cerca sono tre come fratelli, due de' quali avevan promesso darle il terzo in isposo, ed esserle compari alle nozze. E avevano alla fanciulla dato in passando l'addio, e lasciatole memoria di

¹⁴ Since we are studying the return of epic formulas and other epic repetitions in this translation, ignoring the source text seems hardly possible. Nevertheless, we hope to have another occasion to analyse and re-evaluate Nikolić's translation as an independent literary work.

¹⁵ Both battles were fought in the same Kosovo plain but at different times (one in 1389 and the other in 1448) and in different conditions (Ljubinković 1990).

se. Presaghi della misera fine, nelle poche parole che fanno, versano tutta la mestizia dell'anima; che paion come parole della Servia morente."¹⁶

One century later, Cronia (1949, 111) has almost the same remarks, when he states: "Qui però il dolore non è più represso e si traduce in lamento che sembra il grido disperato della nazione morente. Al canto marziale fa riscontro l'elegia, alla madre eroica, la fanciulla piangente. Resta l'emergenza del sesso femminile in questo eroico e fiero ciclo di Kosovo."¹⁷

In order better to illustrate the differences in the return of epic formulas, and the figures of parallelism that distinguish them, we have divided the poem *Kosovka djevojka* into three parts: the introduction, the speech opening with the description of the three warriors, and the final, short but powerful, exchange of words between the wounded warrior and the maiden. It was not difficult to draw a line between the different structural segments in the text, as the narrative skeleton of this poem is balanced by the inner formulas and other stylistic means. The poem opens with an initial formula, which informs us of the action and of the main character. The scene is set in the battlefield after the battle, where a young girl assists the wounded with "white bread, fresh water and red wine" (symbolism of Holy Communion) until "by chance she chances upon"¹⁸ Pavle Orlović, the standard-bearer. This formulaic verse acts as a shifter in the building of narration and, as Mirjana Detelić (1996, 224) notes, it is "a means of smooth connection between the successive segments of a poem" whose "dependence on the direct semantic environment is twofold". Therefore, it will be interesting to see how and to what extent the translators detect this shifter. Its formulaic diction is underlined not only by the usual repetitions of words, but in this case also of sounds, which "aid in the choice of words even as the syntactic patterns assist in deterring their structure. The words that are symbols of key ideas elicit a pattern of sound which clusters around them" (Lord 1956, 304). The narrative then continues in dialogue, much of which is given in a very loose form of the Slavic antithesis (the question, the negation and the delayed answer, given only after a long epic description of heroes). The final lines are characterised by the *brevitas* of dialogue from which the Maiden

¹⁶ [The three that she is looking for are like brothers, two of whom promised to give her in marriage to the third and to be his groomsmen. And, as a sign of farewell they gave the maiden gifts as a memento. In the few words they say, premonitions of a sad end, they pour out all the sadness of their souls; they seem the words of a dying Serbia.]

¹⁷ [But here, the pain is no longer repressed and becomes the lament of a desperate dying nation. War songs give way to an elegy, the heroic mother to a crying maiden. What remains is the emergence of the female sex in this heroic and proud cycle of Kosovo.]

¹⁸ The literal translation is given in order to convey the meaning and formula of the original: *Namera je namerila bila*.

of Kosovo learns her destiny, which is also the destiny of the whole people, as was acutely understood by both Tommaseo and Cronia.

Let us now consider the initial lines of the poem in all three translations, preceded by the source text and followed by the English translation.¹⁹ The elements of the formulaic diction are italicised.

<i>Uranila Kosovka djevojka,</i>	<i>S'alzò per tempo in dì di domenica,</i>
<i>Uranila rano u nedelju,</i>	<i>Domenica, prima del chiaro sole,</i>
<i>U nedelju prije jarka sunca,</i>	<i>Raccolse le maniche bianche,</i>
<i>Zasukala bijele rukave,</i>	<i>Le raccolse fino alle bianche gomita:</i>
<i>Zasukala do beli lakata,</i>	<i>In ispalla reca pan bianco,</i>
<i>Na plećima nosi leba bela,</i>	<i>Nelle mani due calici d'oro;</i>
<i>U rukama dva kondira zlatna,</i>	<i>In uno fresc'acqua,</i>
<i>U jednome lađane vodice,</i>	<i>Nell'altro vermiglio vino:</i>
<i>U drugome rumenoga vina;</i>	<i>Ella va di Cossovo sul piano,</i>
<i>Ona ide na Kosovo ravno,</i>	<i>E scende sul campo la giovane donna,</i>
<i>Pa se šeće po razboju mlada,</i>	<i>Sul campo dell'inclito conte;</i>
<i>Po razboju čestitoga kneza,</i>	<i>E rivolta nel sangue i guerrieri.</i>
<i>Te prevrće po krvi junake;</i>	<i>Qual guerriero in vita ella trova,</i>
<i>Kog junaka u životu nađe,</i>	<i>Lavalo con fresc'acqua,</i>
<i>Umiva ga lađanom vodicom,</i>	<i>Conforta con vino vermiglio</i>
<i>Pričešćuje vinom crvenijem</i>	<i>E ristora con pane bianco.</i>
<i>I zalaže lebom bijelijem.</i>	<i>Per ventura s'avvenne</i>
<i>Namera je namerila bila</i>	<i>Nel prode Orlovic Paolo</i>
<i>Na junaka Orlovića Pavla,</i>	<i>(Tommaseo)</i>
(Vuk)	

¹⁹ On a Sunday early in the morning/ The Maid of Kosovo awoke to brilliant sun / And rolled her sleeves above her snow-white elbows;/ On her back she carries warm, white bread,/ And in her hands she bears two golden goblets, /one of water, one of dark red wine./ Seeking out the plain of Kosovo, / She walks upon the field of slaughter there/ Where noble Lazarus, the Tsar, was slain,/ And turns the warriors over in their blood;/ Should one still breathe she bathes him with the water/ And offers him, as if in sacrament,/ The dark red wine to drink, the bread to eat./ At length she comes to Pavle Orlovich,/ Standard-bearer of his lord the Tsar (this and other quotations that will be provided are taken from the translation by John Matthias and Vladeta Vučković, *The Battle of Kosovo*, Swallow Press, 1987).

Non albeggiava ancora, e già pel
 campo
 Di Cossovo fatal sola movea
 La giovinetta. Nella manca mano
 Un'anfora di vin, nella diritta
 Una d'acqua teneva, ed un canestro
 Di *bianco* pane alle *robuste* spalle.
 Per la strage si aggira, e se taluno
 Vivo ancor vede, con attenta cura
 Pria coll'acqua lo lava, indi di pane
 Lo ristora e di vin. Così le morte
 Salme la mesta, rivolgendo, il caso
 La condusse dappresso al valoroso
 Orlovich Polo, [...]
 (Nikolić)

S'alzò di Cossovo una fanciulla,
s'alzò per tempo *di domenica*,
di domenica prima del cocente sole.
 Rimboccò le *bianche* maniche,
 rimboccò fin ai *bianchi* gomiti;
 in ispalla porta *bianco* pane,
 nelle mani due *dorate* anfore,
 nell'una acqua *fresca*,
 nell'altra vin *vermiglio*.
 Ell'andò al piano di Cossovo
 e, giovane, si aggira per il campo.
 per il campo dell'*onorato* principe,
 e rovista nel sangue i guerrieri.
 Qual guerriero in vita trova,
 lo pulisce con *fresca* acqua,
 gl'amministra il vin *vermiglio*,
 gli imbecca il pane *bianco*
 Per ventura s'imbattè
 nel prode Paolo Orlovich,
 (Cronia)

In this cluster of descriptive elements that can be understood as a theme,²⁰ we immediately notice that Nikolić's translation is shorter and that it does not conform to the original line division. Being a proper paraphrase, it respects neither word order nor repetitions, and it introduces stylistic nuances that are completely alien to oral production. Regular enjambment, to be found in almost every line, is typical of classical Italian authors, whom Nikolić strives to emulate, in this way mangling the beauty of the simplicity of oral expression. None of the original figures of repetition is reproduced (such as anadiplosis, anaphora, epistrophe), thus leaving the two initial formulas without a proper form. However, it should be pointed out that the absence of formulaic phraseology from Nikolić's translation is caused mainly by his choice of register: the traditional Italian poetic language recommends variation, as one of the main prescriptions.

By contrast, Tommaseo and Cronia employ the line-by-line method in translation in order to convey both the structure and the formulaic style of the original. Tommaseo's prose is, in his opinion, a response to the impossibility of conveying the rhythm of the Serbian decasyllabic verse into the Italian language. Inspired by his predecessor,²¹ Cronia employs a similar strategy, and with very similar results, but without any poetic

²⁰ According to Lord's definition (1960, 68), themes are "the groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song".

²¹ "È così bello procedere sulla sua [di Tommaseo] luminosa scia!" [It's so fine to follow his bright path!] (Cronia 1949, 2).

pretensions. Namely, Tommaseo's translation is strongly determined by its poetic language, which very often reflects the centuries-old Italian rhetorical tradition. This translation can actually be considered a conjunction between Italian literary tradition and oral style,²² while the other two translations seem to be more univocal. Cronia simply transmits the oral style following Tommaseo (sometimes literally word for word), whereas Nikolić favours traditional rhetoric. This is why only Nikolić's translation is produced in verse; more precisely, in unrhymed hendecasyllables, the Italian verse of epic expression par excellence and, what is even more significant, the typical verse of the Italian translation style: a choice that carries clear connotations. As it is the only one of the three to have a metrical component, it may also be the only one to have preserved all the aspects of the epic formula as it is defined by Milman Parry: "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea";²³ while the other two might maintain only the syntactical part of the formula. Nonetheless, Nikolić does not take the formulaic expression of the source text into account and so in his version all the formulaic lines are lost. Moreover, he completely omits four and a half lines, mostly those that give repetitions (on the whole, his version omits as many as forty-one lines). Unlike him, Tommaseo and Cronia render all the formulas and figures of parallelism that mark the oral style. The first three lines of the original text give three of the four main formulas, according to Parry-Lord's classification.²⁴ In the first line we find the formulas of action and character presentation, while the second verse contains anaphora in the first hemistich (that is, a repeated formula of action) and the formula of time in the second hemistich. The third line repeats the formula of time in the length of the whole verse. Within these three lines, we find figures such as anaphora, anadiplosis, figura etymologica, periphrasis, thus all figures of parallelism, which Tommaseo and Cronia successfully convey in their versions. Nevertheless, they both fail to convey the pleonastic figura etymologica (*uranila rano*), as Italian does

²² We have already studied this union of *sublime* and *popolare* in Tommaseo's translation of Serbian epic poetry (see Bradaš 2013). For Tommaseo, only the major poetical expressions, such as Dante's *Comedy* or Homer's epics, can make these two poetical expressions flow together in the same literary work.

²³ We follow Parry's definition despite the vagueness of its third part ("given essential idea"), as it still remains the only functional definition in oral studies. In this regard, see Detelić 1996, who offers some valuable elucidations. See also Ljubinković 1991 for an interesting critique of Parry-Lord's method.

²⁴ "The most stable formulas will be those for the most common ideas of the poetry. They will express the names of the actors, the main actions, time, and place" (Lord 1960, 34).

not have a single word to say “to rise early” (and neither does English); so they simply use “to rise” (*s'alzò*) and add “early” only as a modifier, thus failing to convey the pleonastic meaning of the original. The only difference between the two authors lies in the fact that Tommaseo succeeds in conveying the alliteration of the original verb phrase. Not being able to render it within the same phrase, he uses the expression *dì di domenica* [a Sunday day] and in this way achieves the *d* alliteration within the formula of time. In translation of the shifter-line, known also as “boundary line” (Foley 1990), *Namera je namerila bila* [By chance she chanced upon], only Tommaseo succeeds in rendering the figura etymologica and alliteration of the source text. By translating *Per ventura s'avvenne*, Tommaseo once again employs the stylistic nuance of the old Italian tradition, to which the verb *avvenirsi* belongs, in order to convey a typical oral expression, but also to maintain the alliteration. This verb in the meaning employed here [run into, chance upon] occurs in Dante and Boccaccio,²⁵ but not so often in the authors of Tommaseo's epoch, and is completely absent in this form from contemporary Italian.

Some of the most frequent epithets in Serbo-Croatian epic poetry, such as *bijeli* [white], are regularly reproduced in Cronia's and Tommaseo's translations, and almost completely omitted in that of Nikolić. Tommaseo reproduces the same word order as the source text, in which epithets can be placed before or after a noun, while in Cronia an adjective is almost always followed by a noun. This procedure makes Cronia's style even more formulaic than that of the bard. An interesting example is found in the translation of *dva kondira zlatna* [two gold goblets]. In the original, the adjective follows the noun, and this order is maintained in Tommaseo's translation, which also appears to conform more to the original meaning (*due calici d'oro*). Unlike this, Cronia places the adjective with a synonymic meaning (*dorate anfore*) before the noun.

Another epithet translation that is a good illustration of the difference between the translators is *čestitoga kneza* [honourable prince]: the translations *inclito* (Tommaseo), *almo* (Nikolić) and *onorato* (Cronia), with different lexical connotations, indicate the translators' different approaches and poetics. Tommaseo's *inclito* is a literary term, commonly used in poetic language. By translating *inclito conte* Tommaseo is probably paying homage to Annibal Caro's translation of *Eneide*, where this epithet appears, forming the noun phrase *inclito Sire*, which Tommaseo uses regularly in other Illyrian

²⁵ The Tommaseo-Bellini Italian *Dictionary* gives examples from these two authors; *GDLI*, e.g., marks it as no longer in use.

translations of the same collection.²⁶ Nikolić's choice has a similar literary connotation, but with a slightly different meaning (*almo* derives from the Latin verb *altēre*, meaning "to feed", and the adjective has also maintained the same meaning of "feeding", "giving life"). This epithet combined with the noun "Sire" has had a certain literary fortune in the Italian language, especially in translations of Greek epics and tragedies.²⁷ Both adjectives have a classical background, unlike Cronia's solution, which is less literary and thus more suitable for the translation of popular poetry.

More examples of this kind can be found in the second part of the poem, where the Maiden of Kosovo describes three heroes whom she met before the battle, one of whom was to marry her if he returned from the battle (Milan Toplica), while the other two would be his groomsmen (Miloš vojvoda) and best man (Kosančić Ivan) respectively. The conversation is introduced by the speech-opening formula and starts, according to the rules, with an apostrophe, and continues with questions and negative answers (the two first parts of the Slavic antithesis, as we have already mentioned). Here follows the entire portion of the original text, but only the translations of the formulas:²⁸

Progovara Orloviću Pavle:
"Sestro draga, Kosovko djevojko!
 Koja ti je golema nevolja,
 Te prevrćeš po krvi junake?
 Koga tražiš po razboju mlada?
 Ili brata, ili bratučeda?
 Al' po greku stara roditelja?"
Progovara Kosovka djevojka:
"Dragi brato, delijo neznana!
 Ja od roda nikoga ne tražim:
 Niti brata niti bratučeda,
 Ni po greku stara roditelja;"
 (Vuk)

²⁶ Under the entry *inclito* in his *Dictionary*, Tommaseo quotes the lines from Caro's *Eneide*. For other examples of this noun phrase in Tommaseo's translation, see Tommaseo 1842, 129–130.

²⁷ E.g., Felice Bellotti's translations of Aeschylus' tragedies.

²⁸ Pavle Orlovich revives and speaks: "Maid of Kosovo, my dearest sister, / What misfortune leads you to this plain / To turn the warriors over in their blood? / Whom can you be looking for out here? / Have you lost a brother or a nephew? / Have you lost perhaps an aging father?" / And the Maid of Kosovo replies: "O my brother, O my unknown hero! / It is not for someone of my blood / I'm searching: not an aging father / Neither is it for a brother or a nephew."

<i>Dice Orlovic Paolo:</i>	E alla vergine pia, che lo	<i>Prende a dire Paolo Orlovich:</i>
<i>Sorella cara, fanciulla di</i>	soccorre:	<i>“Sorella cara, di Cossovo fan-</i>
<i>Cossovo</i>	- Quale, <i>esclama</i> , sciagura il	<i>ciulla,</i>
[...]	cuor ti preme,	[...]
<i>Parla di Cossovo la fan-</i>	<i>O giovinetta</i> , che a vagar ti	<i>Parla di Cossovo la fanciulla:</i>
<i>ciulla:</i>	spinge	<i>“Fratello caro, ignoto cava-</i>
Caro fratello, incog-	[...]	<i>liero.</i>
nito guerriero.	La vergine commossa in	(Cronia)
(Tommaseo)	<i>questi accenti:</i>	
	- Né un mio germano, o buon	
	<i>guerriero,</i>	
	ricerco [...].	
	(Nikolić)	

As the examples show, Nikolić does not convey any of the formulaic expressions, but it is surprising that neither Tommaseo nor Cronia maintain the parallelism of the same *verbum dicendi* (*progovara*) at the beginning of the speech-opening formula, since they both use different verbs. It is also curious that Tommaseo does not regularly employ the inversion *di Cossovo fanciulla*, formed without doubt intentionally to convey the original word order. This is understandable, however, if we bear in mind the traditional inclination of Italian poetic language towards variation. We only give the description of the first hero, due to the limited space and because the other two are almost identical in the original (the lines that are repeated in all three descriptions are italicised).²⁹

Kad se šeta vojvoda Milošu,	Quando passa il voivoda Milosio
<i>Krasan junak na ovome svetu,</i>	<i>De' più be' prodi del mondo:</i>
<i>Sablja mu se po kaldrmi vuče,</i>	<i>La spada per la strada gli strascica:</i>
<i>Svilen kalpak, okovano perje,</i>	<i>Serico berrettone, metallica piuma;</i>
<i>Na junaku kolasta azdija,</i>	<i>Indossogli screziato mantello,</i>
<i>Oko vrata svilena marama,</i>	<i>Al collo pezzuola di seta.</i>
<i>Obazre se i pogleda na me</i>	<i>Volgesi e guarda in me;</i>

²⁹ As Milosh Obilich passed grandly by/ There is no fairer warrior in this world/ He trailed his saber there upon the stones/ And on his head he wore a helmet made/ Of wound white silk with feathers intertwined/ A brightly colored cloak hung down his back/ And round his neck he wore a silken scarf./ As he passed he turned and looked at me/ And offered me his brightly colored cloak,/ Took it off and gave it to me, saying:/ ‘Maiden, take this brightly colored cloak/ By which I hope you will remember me/ This cloak by which you can recall my name:/ Dear soul, I’m going out to risk my life/ In battle for the great Tsar Lazarus;/ Pray God, my love, that I return alive,/ And that good fortune shortly shall be yours.

S' sebe skide kolastu azdiju,
 S' sebe skide, *pa je meni dade*
Na, devojko, kolastu azdiju,
Po čemu ćeš mene spomenuti,
 Po azdiji *po imenu mome:*
Evo t' idem poginuti, dušo,
U taboru čestitoga kneza;
Moli Boga, draga dušo moja,
Da ti s' zdravo iz tabora vratim
A i tebe dobra sreća nađe
 (Vuk)

Del tempio al limitar meravigliata
 Riguardava Milosse. Oh, quanto bello,
 Quanto fiero l'eroe unico al mondo!
 Al mutar de'suoi passi acuto un suono
 Sbattendo al suolo, il brando suo mettea;
 Sul berretto di seta alto di struzzo
 Ondeggiava una penna, e intono al collo
 Un aureo velo; agli òmeri un mantello
 Avea di fregi ricamente adorno,
 Aurati fregi. Egli mi vide, il prode,
 E dal dorso togliendo il ricco manto,
 Con questi accenti me lo porse: - tieni,
 O mia bella fanciulla, e questo dono
 Di me ti faccia ricordar: io vado,
 Vado in guerra a morir; ma tu gentile
 Prega intanto il Signor che salvo io rieda
 (Nikolić)

Si leva lo screziato mantello,
 Sel leva e a me lo dà:
 Ecco fanciulla, lo screziato mantello,
 Al qual di me ricordati,
 Al mantello, ed al nome mio.
Ecco ti vo' a perire, o diletta,
Nel campo dell'inclito conte.
Prega Iddio, dolce anima mia,
Che salvo dal campo i' ti torni:
E anco a te buona fortuna tocchi.
 (Tommaseo)

Quando passa il capitano Milosse,
 magnifico guerriero a questo mondo:
 la spada sul selciato gli si strascia,
 di seta il berretto, adorno il pennacchio,
 indosso a lui un variopinto manto,
 intorno al collo uno scialle di seta.
 Volse lo sguardo e a me guardò,
 tolse da sè il variopinto manto,
 se lo tolse e lo diede a me:
 «Ecco, fanciulla, il variopinto manto,
 al quale ti ricorderai di me,
 al mantello e al nome mio.
 Ecco, io ti vo', o cara, a perire
 sul campo dell'onorato principe.
 Prega Iddio, anima mia cara,
 che salvo dal campo io ti torni
 ed anche a te buona ventura tocchi.
 (Cronia)

Expectedly, Nikolić is the only translator who does not give literal repetitions from the original. Moreover, he abridges the description of the second hero and completely omits the third one, violating in this way the very nature of the oral style. Repetitions from this part of the song are fundamental not only as a means of *ritardatio* of action, but also because they actually contribute to the force of the *brevitas* that the final lines carry (see below). Without them, the effect of the Maiden's and thus of Serbia's tragedy would not be the same. Hence, the translator not only transgresses the laws of the oral style, but also, by arriving to the concluding exchange of words too quickly, alters the meaning of the poem. Moreover, by repeating the very same description for all the three warriors the bard intends to underline the same fate that will befall them all. The three of them, but also all the other warriors in the Field of Kosovo, are destined to die in the battle, and through this repetition the bard actually forecasts their shared fate. Translating in the way he does, Nikolić loses all the nuances present in the original text, whereas Tommaseo and Cronia reproduce, almost with devo-

tion, all the repetitive lines and nearly in the same way. The extraordinary similarity between these two translators is also shown by the initial group of lines. Cronia follows Tommaseo's version probably because they both seem to share the same poetic theory regarding the translation of the oral style. But this confirms the modernity of Tommaseo's version, whose decision to render the original verse in prose is to be seen as almost revolutionary if we consider the trends in the Italian literature of the time, and especially in translation practice, which was dominated by the neoclassical ideas of Melchiorre Cesarotti, Vincenzo Monti and Ugo Foscolo. Another common characteristic of Tommaseo's translation, which confirms its source-orientation, is the presence of loanwords. The first line of the hero's description contains an epithetic noun, *voivoda* [captain], taken from the original and only slightly altered to fit into the Italian phonetic system. Similar examples, such as *vila* [fairy], *busdovano* [mace], and *svati* [wedding guests] can be found frequently in other poems in Tommaseo's anthology.

The only difference in the description of the heroes is influenced by different roles they were supposed to play in the Maiden's life after the battle. This is the reason for the three different gifts they give the Maiden as a symbol of their solemn promise: a many-coloured mantle, a gold ring, and a veil. This part of the description has caused much discussion among the scholars of Serbian oral epic, ever since Vuk Karadžić received it from Lukijan Mušicki, a Serbian neoclassical poet.³⁰ The song was recorded from a female singer from Srem, who was unable to explain the meaning of two words which confused Vuk himself: *koprena* [veil], which is a gift that the groom presents to his bride, and *stremen* [literally stirrup] from the final lines. Vuk immediately asked Mušicki for an explanation, but was not really satisfied with it, as he found it unacceptable that the groom should present a veil and not a ring. So he defined this word as a ring in the first edition of his *Dictionary*, and thus Tommaseo, confused by Vuk's definition, translated it erroneously.³¹ It is interesting to observe that Nikolić goes so far as to invert the gifts, as he must also have found it strange for the groom to present the bride with a veil, and not with a ring. Probably considering it a mistake, he offers a translation that is a "correction" of the original:

D'aurati fregi. A me donando *il velo*
 Così parlomi il bel Cosanci: - il dono
 [...]
 Io stesso all'ara vò guidarti sposa
 Del mio prode Toplizza. A questo dire,

³⁰ For this, see Banašević 1960, and Matić 1964.

³¹ Tommaseo received a copy of Vuk's *Srpski rječnik* (*Serbian Dictionary*) as a gift from his friend and Illyrian teacher, Špiro Popović; see Zorić 1989.

Tratto da ditto un ricco *anel* Milano:
 [...]

E l'*anello* mi diede.

Unlike Nikolić, Tommaseo and Cronia offer more regularity, but different lexical solutions:

In ditogli <i>corniola nell'oro</i> .	dalla man si tolse <i>il dorato anello</i> ,
Volgesi e guarda in me:	se lo tolse e lo diede a me:
Di man si leva la <i>corniola nell'oro</i> ,	"Ecco, fanciulla, l' <i>anello dorato</i> ,
[...]	[...]
In ditogli <i>anello d'oro</i> .	dalla man si tolse <i>il velo</i> ,
Volgesi e guarda in me,	se lo tolse e lo diede a me:
Di man si leva l' <i>anello dell'oro</i>	"Ecco, fanciulla, <i>il vel trapuntato d'oro</i>
(Tommaseo)	(Cronia)

As these examples show, Cronia is the only one to give an accurate translation of the original noun phrases. Tommaseo was confused by Vuk's misinterpretation, and Nikolić intervened on the text by inverting the gifts. The bardess of Srem, who recited this song, might have made a mistake. It is highly likely that she did, as she probably did not memorise the song properly, or she actually received it in that form without asking herself about the meaning of all the words. Cronia corrected Tommaseo's mistake as he had at his disposal the instruments that Tommaseo had not. Besides the differences in the translation of particular words, there is also in Tommaseo's translation an interesting syntactic structure: *in dittogli* meaning literally "on the finger to him" that was meant to render the possessive use of the dative of the original *na ruci mu*, "on his hand" (or literally "on the hand to him"). This union of a noun and an enclitic pronoun into one word is a completely alien syntactic pattern in contemporary Italian, but was occasionally used in the Italian literary language until the middle of the nineteenth century (Migliorini 1975; Serjanni 1989).

The third and final part of the song, according to our division, contains a higher level of formulaic phraseology compared to the other two. Here we find the speech-opening formula, the subject of one of the first comparative studies on formulas in Greek and South Slavic poetry (Parry 1971), usually followed by an apostrophe, as in this case:

<i>Al' besedi Orloviću Pavle:</i>	<i>Or dice Orlovic Paolo:</i>
" <i>Sestro draga, Kosovko devojko!</i>	<i>Sorella cara, fanciulla di Cossovo,</i>
Vidiš, dušo, ona koplja bojna	Vedi, diletta, quelle aste guerriere
Ponajviša a i ponajgušća,	Vie più alte e più fitte.
Onde j' pala krvca od junaka	Lì corse il sangue de' prodi,
Ta dobrome konju <i>do stremena</i> ,	Al buon destriero infino <i>alla staffa</i> ,
<i>Do stremena i do uzendiže,</i>	<i>Alla staffa e allo sprone;</i>
A junaku do svilena pasa,	E al guerriero, al serico cinto.

Onde su ti sva tri poginula,
 Već ti idi dvoru *bijelome*,
 Ne krvavi skuta ni rukava."
 Kad devojka saslušala reči
 Proli suze niz *bijelo* lice,
 Ona ode svom *bijelu* dvoru
 Kukajući iz *bijela* grla:
 "Jao jadna! ude ti sam sreće!
 Da se, jadna, za *zelen* bor vatim,
 I on bi se *zelen* osušio."³²
 (Vuk)

[...] Vedi là, proruppe,
 Il ferito guerrier quell'alto ingombro
 Di cadaveri monchi e di spezzate
 Spade e di lancie? O giovinetta il sangue
 A torrenti là corse, e sì che l'onda
 Allo sprone giungea dei cavalieri.
 Ivi caddero i forti. Alla paterna
 Casa adunque ritorna, e non volere
 Buttar più a lungo la tua *bianca* veste.
 A que'detti la pia dirottamente
 Lagrimando lasciò l'infrausto campo.
 (Nikolić)

Li tutti e tre ti perirono.
 Ma tu vanne alla *candida* casa;
 Non insanguinare i lembi e le maniche.
 Quando la fanciulla udi le parole,
 Versa lagrime dal *bianco* viso.
 Ella va alla *bianca* sua casa
 Lamentando dal *bianco* petto:
 Ahi misera! mala sorte la mia!
 Se, misera, a un *verde* pino m'apprendo,
 Anch'esso, verde com'è, seccherebbe.
 (Tommaseo)

Or favella Paolo Orlovich:
 "Sorella cara, di *Cossovo* fanciulla,
 vedi, diletta, quelle guerresche lancie,
 le più alte e le più dense,
 lì è corso il sangue degli eroi
 del buon cavallo *infino alla staffa*,
infino alla staffa e alla coreggia
 ed al guerriero fino al serico (suo) cinto.
 Li tutti e tre ti son periti,
 Ma tu vanne alla *bianca* casa,
 non insanguinare lembi e maniche!"
 Quando la fanciulla i detti intese,
 lagrime versò pel *bianco* volto.
 Ella se ne va alla sua *bianca* casa
 lamentando dalla *bianca* gola:
 "Ahi, misera! Ben amara è la mia sorte!
 Se, misera, m'appiglio a un *verde* pino,
 anch'esso verde, (mi) si seccherebbe."
 (Cronia)

We immediately notice the difference in the length of the translations: Nikolić's is shorter, while the other two are the same in length and sense and almost even in the choice of words. The initial formula is conveyed in practically the same way, apart from the inversion *di Cossovo fanciulla* [of Kosovo the Maiden] employed by the two translators in order to render the original word order. It is also a construction typical of the Latin style, which probably was an equally important motivation for Tommaseo. Cronia tends

³² Pavle Orlovich then spoke and said: "O my dearest sister, Maid of Kosovo! Do you see, dear soul, those battle-lances / Where they're piled the highest over there? That is where the blood of heroes flowed/ In pools higher than the flanks of horses,/ Higher even than the horses' saddles-/ right up to the riders' silken waistbands./ Those you came to find have fallen there;/ Go back, maiden, to your white-walled dwelling./ Do not stain your skirt and sleeves with blood."/ When she has heard the wounded hero's words/ She weeps, and tears flow down her pale face;/ She leaves the plain of Kosovo and walks/ To her white village wailing, crying out:-/ "O pity, pity! I am cursed so utterly/ That if I touched a greenly leafing tree/ it would dry and wither, blighted and defiled."

to always maintain the same constructions, even when the bard himself employs variation, while Tommaseo sometimes opts for variation, translating even the omnipresent epithet in South Slavic epic poetry *bijeli* [white] (see Detelić 2008) as *bianco*, *candido*, *biancheggianti* without any perceptible regularity. In fact, this may be observed in the poem analysed here. Tommaseo maintains the formulaic value of the epithet in its sequence of three, by always repeating the same adjective and in the same position. The only exception is the inversion of two adjectives *svom bijelu dvoru*: Tommaseo, instead of translating it as *sua bianca casa*, offers the inversion that is much more similar to the Italian literary style than to the Serbian epic expression, *bianca sua casa*. However, only three lines above, he offers *candida casa* for the same noun phrase. It is difficult to find a reason for this variation, as we cannot call upon the metrical laws, of which Tommaseo's translation, as we have already mentioned, is intentionally stripped. The only possible explanation that we can offer has to do with Tommaseo's literary formation and interests, which were both classical and popular. He could find the same literary values and strength in Dante and in the Illyrian epics (Tommaseo 1968, 1062), both of which represented an encounter of the popular and the sublime.

Within these final lines, it is also interesting to observe various returns of anadiplosis and tautology, both of which are italicised. Tommaseo offers a perfect transposition of both; Nikolić's fondness of the neoclassical style and traditional *variatio* leads to his decision not to convey either of the two; while Cronia even amplifies the parallelistic value of anadiplosis by repeating two prepositions instead of only one. Once again we can notice that Nikolić is not only altering the style, but also the meaning, since he does not insist on the omnipresent white colour in the poem, nor does he mention the green pine, an important symbol of life and hope. It is interesting to find these two colours at the end of a poem that began with the symbolism of the Holy Communion:³³ the white as a symbol of chastity and holiness and the green as a symbol of life that triumphs over death. The complete absence of hope expressed by the picture of a withering green pine is not to be found in Nikolić's translation and this omission does affect the meaning.

Despite the differences, and the entirely different approach in the case of Nikolić, we can hardly say that the discourse that Maria Todorova named "Balkanism" can be applied to any of these three translators, as they all came from Dalmatia and were in direct contact with Illyrian culture and the language from which they were translating. Quite the contrary: their transla-

³³ Along with the third colour in this poem (red), they symbolise the three theological virtues. In this way, the circle of religious *motifs*, present in the initial lines as well, is closed.

tions had a mediating character in approaching one culture to another. In the case of Tommaseo, we may say that the same union of the Italian and Illyrian worlds that we can find in his commitment to the “multi-Adriatic movement”, as ably portrayed by Reill, is also discernible in *Canti popolari illirici*. Moreover, it is interesting that Tommaseo even had the opportunity to criticise others for their prejudices and different expressions of “Balkanism”. M. R. Leto reports Tommaseo’s ironical criticism of Fortis’s understanding of Illyrian folklore (1992), and similar examples may be found in Reill’s work (2012), especially with regard to Tommaseo’s relationship to his protégé Francesco Dall’Ongaro. Dall’Ongaro’s play *I Dalmati* (1845) was, according to Tommaseo, “a story that reinforced age-old stereotypes belittling Slavic speakers, their language and their culture” (Reill 2012, 103). The influence that Tommaseo exerted on his contemporaries and on the generations that came afterward has not yet been duly evaluated, but we hope that Dominique Reill’s book will influence our new perception of the writer from Šibenik, and that his struggle for the “brotherhood of nations” will be linked to his literary works and vice versa. This analysis has highlighted the modern relevance of the solutions adopted by Tommaseo in his Illyrian collection of translations. For the time in which he lived and worked, translating verse into prose was quite unimaginable, and Tommaseo paved the way for others to follow. Unfortunately, not many of them come close to the modernity of his approach.

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Temporal Formulas in Serbian Oral Epic Songs

Abstract: This paper seeks to present time as one of the most important parameters in epic songs, shown in the example of temporal formulas. Time also represents the principle of organising section sequences in the song (linear, successive and chronological, or discontinuous and retrospective). The paper further examines the temporal formulas in a broad and a narrow sense, with regard to whether the temporal markers refer to the narrative shifts in the development of the story, or to some archaic meanings related to expressions which mark the determinants of real time (year and its parts, days of the week, time of the day, etc.).

Keywords: formula, time, epic song, narration, time of day, days of the week, parts of the year

It is impossible to present the poetics of any artifact of oral tradition without an insight into its fund – folk tradition, and the model of magical and mythical thinking as its base.¹ Part of the tradition is the belief in the magical power of words, which in people's everyday life resulted in a collection of taboo words (people avoided to name demonic animals and beings directly so as not to call forth evil). On the other hand, there was a belief that words can have a magic influence on certain events in life, i.e. on the course of destiny (spell casting, charm, curse/blessing), on the outcome of illness (incantation), and the like. The archaic root of this complex belief lies in the conviction of traditional man that the word has a great (even demiurgic) power.²

The creation of the world was usually the subject of archaic religious epics (cf. the *Enuma Elish*), and it was reactualized by the ritual performance of a poem (at the beginning of the cycle, every new year). Therefore, in their search for the origins of oral epic songs, some scholars (Braun, Schein, Lord, etc.) have found that at first they had magical and ritual purpose “before they became heroic” (Lord 1990 1, 124). Leaving aside these more or less

¹ In a way, the formula is a mediator between “text” and tradition, thus becoming a kind of hermeneutic key: “традиция в тексте ставит своего рода индексы (формулы), которые не требуют дальнейшего словесного распространения, они устремлены ‘за текст’ к ‘преданию’” (Mal'tsev 1989, 153). Of course, the formula per se functions as a separate text, i.e. a text within the text (see Mal'tsev 1989, 65–67).

² An example, if somewhat poetic, of this belief can be found in the famous biblical verse (John 1:1): “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.”

plausible speculations, one can notice, above all, that they place the emphasis on the creative function of words (just as traditional man tried to recreate the world with words). Therefore, the most promising direction of this research is to look at how the songs were created. The structuring of the literary world inspired by the so-called objective reality is primarily based on certain similarities in terms of shaping space and time.³ These similarities led, in the mythical magical way of thinking, to replication of certain analogies from the act of cosmogony to the act of oral verse-making.⁴ Thus, the very singing of sacred texts was sacred in character. As far as the oral epic song is concerned, faint traces of these connections can be found in the actualization of the magical function of words when addressing gods, giving blessings to the living and praying for the dead in the initial and final position in the song.⁵ For this purpose, the singer's repertoire contained some of the traditionally established "stereotyped beginnings and endings", "patterns", or formulas.⁶

³ This refers to the space-time continuum and, in a song, to space and time as "basic parameters of situationality" (Detelić 1996, 40).

⁴ The analogy between myth and song is not only genetic but also generic – a mythical content assumes its solid form, and the form, diachronically, assumes a different sense and "breeds" new senses (cf. Mal'tsev 1989, 19–20). Or, according to N. Petković (2006, 20), it becomes sense-making form.

⁵ Although too cautiously, M. Kleut (1991, 269–270) expressed a similar clue: "There predominate expressions of good wishes in the form of a blessing, praise, or prayer; there is a high frequency of such words as hale/ health, merry/mirth, brother/brothers/sworn brother, group/company, glory/honour, integrity, poem, glass, and God – all of which signify positive life principles. Stating that the poem is being recited in someone's honour, or as a blessing to the living and the dead, or as a praise, has particular implications for the poem and its performance: the poem is recited with honourable intentions. The highly formulaic nature of this poetic device indicates that it too, like others, is traditional, even in the absence of a traditional plot." She perceives the traditionalism of the poetic means even if it is a part of a non-traditional creation. But also, it seems reasonable to argue that the frequent invocation of God, blessings to those who are present and prayers for the dead, based on the magical function of words, have very archaic origins, before these formulas ossified into routine beginnings/ends of the songs.

⁶ In this paper, the term formula is used in its broadest conceptual meaning – as "a kind of creative dynamic pattern used for oral improvisation" (NK 1984, s.v. "formula"). It represents a concrete realization of formulaity – oral improvisation of inherent quality to create formulas (NK 1984, s.v. "formulativnost"; Detelić 1996, 9), and dynamic "metrical syntactic pattern", i.e. "firm linguistic fixations [...] which present the situations or details previously repeated in many songs" (Schmaus 1971, 155). This property is also expressed both at micro (permanent epithet, figure of speech, type character, description, action, etc.) and at macro level (plot, composition, "theme pattern" or action schema ...), or "covers the situations from the permanent epithets to stable plots" (Mal'tsev 1989,

The beginnings and the endings of songs, as meeting points of “text” and context, are under greatest pressure, so oral improvisation assigned special meanings to their formulation. Commencement and completion of singing, as an act of creating a verbal world out of communication noise (analogue to chaos), and concluding/finishing of that act, had to overcome the tension involved in crossing the border between different realities, by “separation from the noise, and moving in and out of the fictional world and vice versa” (Detelić 1996, 11, c; Petković 2006, 24–25). Hence the need for “strong” boundaries between the literary world and the empirical reality of the singer and the audience.⁷ One of the proven ways of crossing the boundary was dislocation, or a time jump from the performer’s time to narrative time through general initial and final formulas.⁸ Because these (marginal) positions endure “higher pressure than normal”, over time they “tend to become ossified, to assume a fixed, unchangeable and therefore easily recognizable and highly communicative form” (Detelić 1996, 11).

Regarding the character and meaning of these formulas, M. Detelić classified them as “*general formulas*, which actually form part of the oral communicative act, and so their relationship with the song is weak and formal; and as *particular ones*, which are so strongly connected to the song that they must be considered as parts of it and as elements of its internal structure” (ibid. 23, emphasis mine). This differentiation is understandable regarding the context of performance. On the one hand, general formulas compass the performance (i.e. the beginning and the end of singing) and, on the other hand, they demarcate two times and two worlds “striving for

11 – translation mine). In other words, the formulas from the micro level (lower level of hierarchy) are included in the formulas of higher level (see Mal'tsev 1989, 129–131).

⁷ Then again, this does not mean that the boundary is completely rigid. Moreover, one of the most common ways of establishing relations with the past is contrasting – forming temporal binary oppositions *then : now* (see Kleut 1991, 268; Detelić 1996, 170–173; Samardžija 2000, 20–21), by measuring time from a given event until the time of performance (SANU IV, 48), by dating events – *Na iljadu i osme stotine/ Četrdeset i treće godine* [In eighteen hundred / And forty-three] (Vuk VIII, 60), and the like.

⁸ The definition of this type of formulas is derived on the basis of their position in the text. In addition to this criterion, the given formulas can be further distinguished on the basis of their function. Thus, M. Detelić proposed a division into two groups. *General (external)* have a metatextual function (Detelić 1996, 30). If the meaning of “code signal” is predominant (ibid., 13), for example: *Stan'te, braćo, da vi čudo kažem* [I will tell you a marvel, brethren] (Vuk II, 12); *Đe sjedimo da se veselimo/ Da malene pjesne popjevamo...* [To sit down and be merry/ To sing our small songs] (SANU II, 101), or the focus on the contact established between the performer (sender) and the audience (recipients), this function could be marked with Jacobson's term *phatic function* (see Jacobson 1966, 289–296).

fabula completeness” while “setting an inner time entirely subordinated to the story” (Lešić 2010, 361).⁹

By contrasting the assumed “epic” past and the present performance (*then : now*), the oral tradition found a suitable means, through general temporal formulas,¹⁰ to cross the boundary between the time of performance and the narrative time of the “text”.¹¹ This correlation formula, therefore, is used both in older cycles (in bugarštica songs): *Ovo mi je tada bilo, a sada se spominuje[m]* [It happened to me then, now it is just being told] (Bogišić, 7, 24; see also 11, 64), and in decasyllabic epic poetry (*Tada bilo, sad se [s] pominjalo* [That was then, now it is just being told]), with minor or major modifications within *the variational fields* (see Mal'tsev 1989, 53) of the formula (cf. Pantić 2002, 200; Bogišić, 93; Vuk II, 27; Vuk III, 12; Vuk IV, 6, 25, 53; Vuk VI, 36, 55, 75; Vuk VII, 30, 55; Vuk VIII, 26, 40, 44, 70; Vuk IX, 13; SANU III, 35 SANU III, 47; SANU IV, 5 etc.). To denote the action whose consequences are still present, the final formula of temporal dislocation is used: *Kako tade tako i danaske* [As it was then, so it is today] (see Vuk II, 1, 89; Vuk III, 12; Vuk IV, 42 etc.), and it can be found at the beginning and at the end of the final block of formulas.

The general formula also often includes the confrontation between the first and the third person – I (Bogišić, 7, 11, 50, 77; Vuk III, 49; Vuk VI, 11, 49, 80; Vuk VII, 1, 15, 21, 35; Vuk VIII, 8, 25, 36; Vuk IX, 23; SANU II, 44, 52, 59, 62, 63, 102, 103, 105; SANU III, 19, 27, 35, 50, 59; SANU IV, 26, 37, 38) or *we* (Pantić 2002, 55, 58; Vuk II, 12, 95; Vuk III, 66, 71, 72; Vuk VI, 11, 36, 49, 70, 76, 80; Vuk VII, 1, 15, 57; Vuk VIII, 8, 25, 26, 44, 51; Vuk IX, 32; SANU II, 101, 104; SANU III, 9, 12, 16, 22, 24, 35, 47; SANU IV, 33, 40) and *he* or *they*: e.g. *Zdravo ošli, vesela im majka, / Njima majka, a mene družina* [In health they left, may their mother be merry, their mother for them, and my company for me] (Vuk III, 49).¹² Obviously, the

⁹ “As if the epic singer thus confronts the constant and unstoppable flow of historical time: he seizes the events worth remembering and gives them importance by completing them into a single story.” (Lešić 2010, 361).

¹⁰ The term used by M. Detelić (see Detelić 1996). This type of formulas where “the circumstances (the context of an event) are more important than the event itself (the text)”, is defined by S. Samardžija (2000, 24) as an *external comment*.

¹¹ As noted by N. Petković (2006, 24), “the role of the shifter at the beginning of a narrative text will be to move us to another level of description”. In correlation to that “when the end of a literary text should be marked, the shifter appears again. But its role is reversed: to take us back to the regular level of description” (ibid. 25). According to N. Petković, the “moments that are usually used in shifting include: *time, space, character and extraneous speech*” (ibid. 24). In this study *time* will have the main importance.

¹² Both actions in these formulas include “intersection of two narrative levels”, where “one refers to the fictitious world (then and there, a fictional event being narrated),

first person belongs to the community in which the given variant is derived from the present, and the third person refers to the time of the narrative, to the time perspective of the participants in the event described in the song.¹³ This time confrontation between the present and the past is used also in the final general formula *the dead : the living*, e.g. *Bog mu dao u raju naselje,/ Nama, braćo, zdravlje i veselje* [May God give him paradise,/ to us, brothers, health and mirth] (Vuk III, 15).¹⁴

The special initial temporal formula *otkako/otkada je svijet postanuo/nastanuo (nije ljepši cvijet procvatio)* [since the world was created, (a more beautiful flower has never bloomed)] (cf. Vuk II, 40; Vuk III, 22, 71, 72, 82; Vuk IV, 5, 25, 40, 43, 64; Vuk VI, 4, 40, 43, 64; Vuk VII, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22; SANU III, 16, 67) had a similar demarcation function, by marking (only) the temporal dimension of the story.¹⁵ This formula, which can be found especially in plots dealing with a hero's marriage, usually at the beginning, accentuates the excellence of the bride's beauty. By describing and not showing it, the beauty is introduced into the fictitious world – in the “present” of the characters, and it also becomes temporally closer to the audience, as if it were there, in front of them – *što je danas, na ovu godinu* [as it is today, in this year] (Vuk III, 71, 72).¹⁶

General final formula has the opposite course, with a function dissociated from the presented events – *to je bilo kada se činilo* [it was then that it happened]¹⁷ (Vuk II, 27, 95; Vuk III, 81; Vuk IV, 76; Vuk VI, 76; Vuk VII, 2, 48, 50; Vuk VIII, 54; SANU II, 8, 16, 19, 23, 41, 45, 47, 69, 91, 102;

while the second arises from the nature of verbal communication and involves the act of verse-making (here and now, the moment when the text is created-accepted)” (Samardžija 2000, 20–21).

¹³ “Indeed, the events in the story that make the plot stand *against* the person who talks about them because they already belong to the past. Even when they are clearly presented, the fabled events reflect the spatial and temporal distance from the narrator's time and place. The fabled events enter the story with their logical connections that the narrator cannot ignore. They have their own timeline which differentiate them from the time of storytelling. They, after all, not only stand *against* the narrator, but also against his listeners, like another world worth talking about and listening about” (Lešić 2010, 353).

¹⁴ For a list of variations of this formula, see Detelić 1996, 173–174.

¹⁵ Cf. Detelić 1996, 147.

¹⁶ Such present tense used in the (relative) sense becomes the so-called tabular present, which makes that “things long gone and therefore with temporal and spatial distance, stand before the listeners' eyes as a different, wonderful and larger world. No matter how miraculous and unusual, the event in the epic song becomes possible, because the magic of storytelling brings it before the admiring eyes of the listeners.” (Lešić 2010, 363).

¹⁷ The given list includes variant forms of this formula.

SANU III, 2, 4, 8, 9, 15, 23, 28, 29, 36, 38, 39, 47, 48, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65; SANU IV, 4, 5, 14, 15, 18, 21, 23, 33, 41; Milutinović 1990, 8, 9, 30, 101, 155, 166, 170).¹⁸ Used at the end of the text, this temporal formula serves as its constituent boundary – it closes the narration and moves the listeners out of the text, returning them to the time of performance.¹⁹

These formulaic beginnings/endings actually represent “canonized frameworks” which “extract a literary text from the initial fluctuality and make it a separate textual entity” (Petković 2006, 26). However, the making of clichés and expression of formulaity does not stop there. Descriptions of characters, their actions, and plots may also become clichés, but “the imaginable constructive text boundaries at various levels are becoming clichés most easily” (ibid.). In the narrative structure of the plot, shifts in the development of the story are, according to the habits of performing, most easily denoted by time shifts – i.e. time clauses.

Used at the beginning of the song – the temporal formula (*Kad se ženi* [+ character’s name] [When (character’s name) married],²⁰ *Kad je bila na Kosovu vojska* [When the army was in Kosovo] – Vuk VI, 15;²¹ *Sinoć paša pade na Grahovo* [Last night pasha appeared in Grahovo] – Pantić 2002, 203) occurs, as already noted, as a shifter²² (to the fictitious world) “with separate signal when moving from the ordinary to the additionally organized text” (Petković 2006, 23).²³ Some of these formulas have more

¹⁸ A more complete list of variants of this formula, including collections that have not been taken into consideration here, is given by M. Detelić (see Detelić 1996, 167–168).

¹⁹ Variants of the formula involving meanings other than temporal, such as the relation to the truth of the narrative, etc. will not be considered on this occasion (for more about this, see Detelić 1996, 28).

²⁰ See Detelić 1996, 149.

²¹ Ibid. 148–149.

²² See Petković 2006, 23–26.

²³ Special initial temporal formulas behave differently with regard to time determination. They may be based on the historical chronology of the events described in the song – *Na hiljadu i osme stotine, / I trideset i osme godine* [In the year eighteen hundred, / and thirty-eight] (Vuk VIII, 61), or they accept the time dimension of the described event as a (default) convention – *Kad Lazaru odsekoše glavu* [When they cut off Prince Lazar’s head] (Vuk II, 53 – it is assumed that it took place at the Battle of Kosovo, in 1389). Time information can also be presumed – *Prošetala Đurđeva Jerina* [Jerina, the wife of George, took a walk] (Vuk II, 80); *Kad su mi se d’jelila dva Jakšića mila brata* [When the two loving Jakšić brothers were dividing their inheritance] (Bogišić, 44) – and from the used verb form of (truncated) perfect it can be concluded that it was an event that happened in the past, and a recognizable character’s name also carries a certain chronological connotation becoming one of situationality parameters and fixing

complex meanings and functions. In special cases, the opening (temporal) formula becomes part of the formula of a higher order (see Mal'tsev 1989, 73–84). The formula *Rano rani* [+ ime junaka] [(character's name) *rose early*], *Uranio* [*Early rose* (character's name)],²⁴ carries in its archaic semantics a rich circle of traditional concepts associated with fate, so it anticipates subsequent events, starting with the fateful encounter, as a series of cause and effect related actions (see Detelić 1996, 66–70). In the recorded long verse songs, the formula of dawning (*Jutrom rano išetala sestra kralja budimskoga* [Early in the morning the sister of the king of Buda walked out] – Bogišić, 21), according to the traditional semantics, “invokes a mythological content to the plot” (Suvajdžić 2010, 55). From her window in the town of Buda she sees three fairy silhouettes on deer, which appear to have been, in fact, three horsemen, so in a way she predetermines their fate with her vision.²⁵

Formulas of liminal time (related to the moment before dawn), such as: *Još ni zore ni bijela dan(k)a*, or *Još zorica nije zabjelila*,/ *Ni Danica lice pomolila* [Neither dawn nor white day has broken yet, or Dawn has not broken yet,/ Nor has the daystar shown her face] not only serve to mark out the text (which is obvious), but become functional tools indicating the beginning of narrative time, conjunction of day and night, i.e. the most critical time of the day (see Mal'tsev 1989, 79, 80). In the poetic semantics key, it is a moment that denotes “the shifting of a character across the *border of a semantic field*” (Lotman 1976, 304) – *Od Senja se otvoriše vrata*,/ *I iziđe jedna četa mala*/ *Sa trideset i četiri druga*,/ *Pred njima je Senjanin Tadija*,/ *barjak nosi Komnen barjaktaru* [The town gate of Senj opens,/ And there goes out a small unit /Of thirty-four men;/ In front of them is Senjanin Tadija,/ The standard is carried by Komnen the standard-bearer] (Vuk III, 39).²⁶ Possible semantic layering and potential activation of trans-layered mythical semantics can best be followed if the formula is observed in the context of

the action (see Detelić 1996, 40–42). No matter which particular variant it is, what these formulas have in common is “that the opening block of an epic song can never end with a time formula: it can occur at the beginning of it; it may be inserted between a general and a specific formula of some other type; it can be found between two different special formulas, but never at the end of the opening block and never in direct contact with the narrative complex” (ibid. 42).

²⁴ This formula can also appear as the second in the opening block, as the second in a line that also begins with temporal formula: *Još ni zore ni bijela dana* [Neither has dawn nor white day broken yet] (Vuk VIII, 9, 32; SANU II, 62; SANU III, 63).

²⁵ A maiden by the window, according to the findings of O. M. Freidenberg and G. I. Mal'tsev (cf. Mal'tsev 1989, 123), belongs to ancient motifs.

²⁶ The tradition sees this moment as an incident (and only “incident” is an event – see Lotman 1976, 304). Any activity of the characters at a bad time of the day entails certain consequences or it is the intent which initiates a subsequent chain of events.

songs in which it occurs (see ER, 81, 88, 89, 90, 91, 133; Vuk II, 95; Vuk III, 10, 21, 39, 47; Vuk IV, 16, 34, 38, 43, 46; Vuk VI, 50, 53, 82; Vuk VII, 82; Vuk VIII, 9, 25, 30, 32, 39, 42, 69; Vuk IX, 25; SANU II, 62; SANU III, 7, 46, 63; Milutinović, 1990: 111, 134).²⁷ In each of these songs, the formula is at the very beginning.²⁸ It serves as a point from which the narrative time is measured (it releases the momentum of time that cannot be stopped any more). It sets an initial borderline of the text, anticipates an event (unusual action) and connects with its free end to the next one in a cluster of formulas (see Lord 1990 1, 112–113) usually referring to the spatial positioning of the story.

It is up to the context of the entire plot whether the mythical semantics will be activated or not. One might expect that the appearance of a fairy will “unclose” the song towards the archaic and enable the breakthrough of mythical semantics. However, the demonic time only allows the fairy to appear, although the activity of the fairy is completely consumed within the messenger’s domain (see Samardžija 2008, 247–251). The formula of fairy’s acclamation (see ER, 90, 91; Vuk IV, 38, 43, 46; Vuk VIII, 25, 39, 42),²⁹ after the introductory formula, indicates change in the existing state (see Samardžija 2008, 247) and becomes an exposition in the narrative which is further modulated according to the scheme of the fairy’s call (see Gesemann 2002, 133–137). Nothing changes significantly even if after this introductory formula appears a human being as the messenger (ER, 81, 133), or the transfer of information is done by means of books (ER, 88; Vuk VIII, 30, 69). One of the most frequent formulas replacing the discussed formula is formula for opening the door (see Vuk II, 21, 39, 47; IV, 16; Vuk VI, 53). It also lacks explicit mythical connotations. The spatial dimension is introduced (*dok s’u Skadru vrata otvoriše* [when the town gate of Skadar opens] – Vuk IV, 6), and functional value is limited to the introduction of the character(s) or the troops in the epic scene (*Iz grada je junak izlazio ...*

²⁷ This type of introductory formulas occurs even in early records of long verse songs: *I još ne bješe dan zora bjelo lice otvorila* [Neither dawn nor day has shown its white face yet], associated with the plot formula: *Kada mi ti kleti Turci okoliše bjele mire od Budima* [When the damned Turks besieged my town of Buda] (Bogišić, 28).

²⁸ It is not possible to know now if it was preceded by general introductory formulas in the original performance.

²⁹ Only in one example the fairy’s acclamation appears as an exposure of the ritual initiation scenario (see Vuk II, no. 95). However, even in this poem, it is nothing but an announcement of the arrival of the Turkish army, which is the moment when the previous situation changes (i.e. the beginning of the process of the young hero’s initiation).

Za njim ide do tridest Turaka [A hero walks out of the town ... Followed by about thirty Turks] – *ibid.*)³⁰

Liminal time of the day, introduced with the initial formula *Ni zorice ni bijela dan(k)a* [Neither dawn nor white day has broken yet], overlaps with social liminality of characters in the plots about the wounded/dying hero (see ER, 89; Vuk VII, 82; Vuk VIII, 9; SANU II, 62) and activates certain mythical-ritual semantic layers, associated with the cult of the dead. At that time something³¹ announces impending death to Prince Marko (SANU II, 62), after which the hero destroys his epic regalia (horse and weapons).³² He also performs a magic act with his mace with the meaning of irreversibility – he throws his heavy mace into the sea, saying: *Kad na suho topuz izljugnuo/ Ovakvi se junak izrodio* [When that mace comes out of the sea/ Then there will be such a hero upon the earth again] (*ibid.*). After that, he finishes the preparations for the burial, and he charges whoever should find him with the duty to bury him. In another song (a variant of the song *Smrt Majke Jugovića* [The Death of the Mother of the Jugovitch]), before dawn a voice brings the mother the news of the death of her nine sons (SANU III, 46).³³ And in a third song, a wounded hero, shortly before his death, earned himself with behest a memorial service after his death (ER, 89). This brief overview indicates that the time liminality of the discussed initial formula is not sufficient to activate the (expected) mythical semantics – it will be revived only at the point of intersection between this and some “stronger” liminality mark, like the one of status.³⁴

³⁰ The shaping of the liminal chronotope is achieved by merging the liminal time (*dawn*) and the liminal place (the rampart/the door).

³¹ In Serbian language the grammatical form of the non-personal nominal pronoun which stands for things – *something* denotes a non-living entity, while at the same time it is brought into the circle of sacred or tabooed beings (demons) that can predict the future.

³² By destroying his epic attributes, the hero symbolically cancels his status – “un-armed and epically unprotected, in a state identical to that prior to his epic initiation” (Suvajdžić 2005, 173); he leaves this world in an ambiguous status, the same as when he entered it.

³³ The mother immediately goes to the bloody battlefield and collects the helmets and horses of the heroes. One of her sons posthumously charges her with passing on to his wife to take care of his horse the way he cared about it (*ibid.*). The “speech” of the hero’s horse reveals surprise that mother does not even for a moment express any grief, and suggests her potentially non-human nature.

³⁴ It seems that it makes no difference when spatial liminality is added to time liminality. Following this formula, there usually is the formula for opening the door, but it does not activate mythical meanings. All this confirms once again that the epic song

Initial temporal formulas are most similar to the *medial temporal formulas* that appear at the beginning of a digressive episode with the retrospection of a framed narrative segment, foreplot, and the like.³⁵ Since they are located at the beginning of a “story within the story”, they are closest to special introductory formulas (and sometimes alternate with them).³⁶ What all medial temporal formulas have in common is that they function as “constructive text boundaries” (Petković 2006, 21) and they “break through the boundaries between narrative segments of a song” (Detelić 1996, 14). If they are placed at the beginning of an inserted episode or retrospection, their role of marking its beginning is even more significant. As a rule, they have a recognizable structure (the order of these elements, however, can vary): **when + character + action + locus**: *Kad knez Lazar pričešćiva vojsku/ kraj prekrasne Samodreže crkve* [When Prince Lazar went with his army to take the sacrament/ By the fair church in Samodrezha] (Vuk II, 51) or slightly revised: *Kad izgibe vojska na Kosovu* [When the army perished in Kosovo] (Vuk II, 55), *Kad je srpsko poginulo carstvo/ i dva cara pala u Kosovu* [When the Serbian empire perished/ and two emperors died in Kosovo] (Vuk II, 58), *Kad Jerina Smederevo gradi* [When Jerina built Smederevo] (Vuk III, 1). Nothing significantly changes if the retrospection is given in the form of homodialogic narration – i.e. if it is delivered by a story character/witness in the first person: *Kad sam bio u gorici čarnoj/ Na studencu vodi na plandištu* [When I was in the dark forest/ at the cold spring near the resting place...] (Vuk VI, 22), *Kadno bjesmo na Kosovu bojnomo (teški bojak mi s Turci trpljesmo)* [When we were on the battlefield of Kosovo (and fiercely fought with the Turks)] (Vuk II, 54).

In all these cases, as in many others, there is a tendency to integrate spatial and temporal sequences and to form a **chronotope**³⁷ (in the sense of a unified space-time continuum of the narrative). This formula arrangement is the result of “parameters setting for the story – i.e. for the space, time and character³⁸ as minimum requirements for the definition of an event” (Detelić 1996, 40), presented in retrospect. In this way, the time component, unlike the introductory formulas, is no longer optional – on the contrary: it is very important *when* the events in the story happened in relation to the

is not created through analogy with myth, but according to the inherent formative principles.

³⁵ Like all other formulas, they are substantially determined by three parameters: location, form and function (see Detelić 1996, 17 and 77).

³⁶ Cf. special initial formula: *Kad se sleže na Kosovo vojska* [When the army gathered at Kosovo] (Vuk II, 48) and the abovementioned medial formulas.

³⁷ See Bahtin 1989, 193.

³⁸ The character itself bears certain chronotopic characteristics – cf. Bahtin 1989, 194.

moment of narration, since the time of the primary action has motivational effects on the central action (otherwise it would not be evoked in the narrative and reactualized in memory).

Special medial formulas in non-digressive narratives have somewhat looser distribution than the formulas mentioned before. They usually have a syntactic form of temporal sentences:

<i>Kad ujutru jutro osvanulo</i> (Pantić 2002, p. 256; Bogišić, 71, 72; Vuk II, 43, 53, 92, 99; Vuk III, 2, 28, 49, 61, 69; Vuk VI, 62 etc.)	When the morning has broken
<i>Kad to čuo/začu</i> (+ character's name) (Bogišić, 89; ER, 120; Vuk II, 5, 49; Vuk III, 26, 47, 48, 57 etc)	When (character's name) heard it
<i>Kad to vide</i> (+ character's name) (Vuk II, 29)	When (character's name) saw it
<i>Čim ga vide</i> (<i>tim ga i poznade</i>) (Vuk II, 47)	When he saw him (he recognized him at once)
<i>Pošto su se napojili vina</i> (Vuk II, 17)	When they drank enough wine
<i>Tek što</i> [+ character's name] <i>sjede piti vina</i> (Vuk II, 29)	When (character's name) set to drinking wine

They can carry the semantics of the measure of time (*Ode haber od usta do usta / Dok se začu u Prilepa grada*) [The news went from mouth to mouth,/ until it was heard of in Prilep town] (Vuk II, 54), *Malo vreme za tim postojalo* [Not much time passed] (Vuk II, 5, 43, etc.), *Malo stalo za dugo ne bilo,/ Dok eto ti* [+ list of characters] [And within a while, behold (list of characters)] (Vuk II, 55)... They are double marked – first, they serve to demarcate isolated events, to circumscribe compositional entities or smaller narrative sequences, and then to connect them (causally), i.e. to concatenate them (Schmaus 1971).

Appearing in the middle of the “text”, *open at both ends* (see Detelić 1996, 32–33), i.e. bivalent, these formulas connect two neighbouring compositional entities, two events or two narrative sequences in a line (what had been before with what was to come), so they act as a borderline of an entity, and at the same time have the role of a shifter (see Petković 2006, 23)³⁹

³⁹ Thus, they are somewhat similar to the commentary which “divides, separates, and at the same time connects the sequences of the plot” (Samardžija 2000, 27). Moving temporarily to the time of performance – in the place of the singer who intervenes in the expected sequence of events – we can get the economy of the narrative (*A da ti je, druže, poslušati/ kad hajdučke puške zapuče,/ po odajah biju pašajlije!/ Svaki svoga pos'ječe Turčina,/ I uze mu blago i oružje* [Listen here, my friend/when hajduks' rifles fire,/killing the pasha's men all over the rooms!/Every man kills one Turk,/And takes his wealth and

relating to the next segment of time. Since an epic song is a highly schematized creation (see Braun 1971, Gesemann 2002), and “what keeps these parts from dispersing is a structural grid of singing, its matrix” (Detelić 1996, 34), the formula is that cohesive force which at the same time connects the narrative segments belonging to different hierarchical levels, and demarcates them. A. B. Lord divides these cohesive elements into: formulas of names, formulas of the story, formulas of place and formulas of time (see Lord 1960, 74–76).⁴⁰ With their free ends, all these elements can link the narrative segments, and put the hierarchically lower elements – “phrases, subordinate clauses and sentences” in their positions in the model of “specialized poetic grammar” (ibid. 77) of the oral “text”. In addition, Lord considers temporal formulas as those that contain lexicalized means for expressing temporality, i.e. words that refer to the parts of the day.⁴¹

Nevertheless, the logic of sequencing events in a song creates a certain temporal order. Therefore, the component parts of a song, narrative segments or formulas whose interaction creates the structure of the epic “text”, have their temporal extensibility (as well as melodic, rhythmic, etc.). In this

weapons] – Vuk III, 66), focus of attention, and/or the knowledge about the outcome of the event described in the song (*[P]a šta ću ti/vam duljit' lakrdiju [Tu Ilija odvede devojkju]*) [I will speak no longer (And then Ilija takes away the girl)] (Vuk III, 33, 72; Vuk VI, 49). Additionally, the commentary is usually used: in expressions of wonder – *Ko će ovo perom opisati / Al' u pjesmu, pobre, spomenuti* [Who will write about this/ Or put it in a song, my friend] (Vuk IX, 14); when compressing and speeding up the narration – *To vam samo starješine kažem* [I mention only the chieftains] (Vuk III, 35), *Ne mogu t' ih redom kaživati, / Jer bi pjesma podugačka bila* [I cannot mention them all, / Because the song would be too long] (Vuk IX, 16); when shifting the focus from the bloody battlefield to the appearance of the hero – *A bre bliže, da vidimo ko je* [Let us look closer, to see who it is] (Vuk VII, 19); using the cut-up technique – *A kad bilo u subotu, braco* [And when Saturday came, my brother] (Vuk VIII, 40), and the like. Unlike them, the final commentaries appear as a kind of value judgments of the events in the song or the “moral” – *Tako svakom onome junaku/ koj' ne sluša svoga starijega* [It serves him right, / If a hero does not obey his elder] (Vuk III, 65). Although they do not represent a temporal formula, since they shift the listener from the time of the story (narrative time) to the time of narration (performance time), the commentaries appear as shifting formulas, since performance time is inherent in them.

⁴⁰ A. Schmaus (1971, 143) notes that a formula is used to imply “the situations or particular details, repeated in many songs”. In addition to the already defined formula of the story, it seems justified to talk about *situational* formulas, which, as their name suggests, cover the whole situation, such as fights (formula), receptions, greetings, watching, etc. (ibid. 144–148). G. I. Mal'tsev (1989, 3, 11, and 112), however, considers a formula as various elements of the text, or different levels of the narrative – from permanent epithets and formulaic themes to stable plots.

⁴¹ As an example of temporal formulas, Lord (1960, 76) cites formulas of dawn (morning).

uniform sequence of the same or similar metrical intonation units that form the “text” of a song and in accordance with the principles of syllabic versification of an asymmetric decasyllabic verse, a separate system of markers is established over time which indicate a shift in narrative time and demarcate and(or) connect narrative segments, on the principle of separate segments of time. Therefore, they can be considered as *temporal formulas in the broad sense*. They are most often successively lined up (according to the “adding style” as M. Parry called it – cf. Lord 1960, 107), so succession is one of the most common principles of action presentation. Usually, one action follows immediately after another, which is demonstrated with formulas of immediate succession (for fast succession of narrative sequences), such as:

formulas of perception	
<i>Kad to čuo/začu</i> [+ character's name] (Bogišić, 89; ER, 120; Vuk II, 5, 49; Vuk III, 22; Vuk IV, 53)	When (character's name) heard it
<i>To začula</i> [+ female character's name] (SANU IV, 11)	(Name of a female character) heard it
<i>Kad to vide</i> [+ character's name] (Vuk II, 8)	When (character's name) perceived it
<i>Kad videše</i> [+ names of actors/actants] (Vuk II, 21) ⁴²	When (names of actors/actants) perceived it
formulas of motion	
<i>Kada dođe dvoru</i> [+ possessive dative of a noun] (Vuk II, 21; Vuk III, 22)	When he came to (+ possessive dative of a noun) dwelling place
<i>Kad s' u sinje more uvezoše</i> (Vuk III, 16)	When they sailed off to the deep grey sea
<i>Tek što</i> [+ character's name] <i>poljem izmaknuo</i> (Vuk IV, 67)	No sooner had (character's name) run away from the field
formulas of fast successive sequences (close to simultaneity)	
[<i>Tek što Vuče u riječi bješe</i>], <i>Al' eto ti</i> [+ character's name] (Vuk II, 92)	(Thus Vuk was discoursing), When (character's name) came
<i>Jošte</i> [+ character's name] <i>u riječi bješe</i> (ER, 90)	(character's name) was still speaking
<i>U riječi u koje bijahu</i> [<i>Ali treća sila ispanula</i>] (Vuk IV, 41)	They were talking, (but a third force appeared)
<i>U riječi što su govorili</i> [<i>No ga sitna knjiga dopanula</i>] (Vuk VIII, 11)	They were talking, (when a letter came to him)
<i>Taman oni u riječi b'jahu</i> , [<i>Dok eto ti + character's name</i>] (Vuk VI, 6)	Thus they were discoursing, When (character's name) came
<i>U tu riječ koju besjedaše</i> [<i>Dokle puče trideset pušaka</i>] (Vuk VII, 44)	He was in the middle of a speech, (when thirty rifles fired)

⁴² Cf. Bogišić, 33, 45; ER, 139; Vuk II, 78. Schmaus (1971, 154) calls this type of formulas *emulation formulas* and notes that, in bugarštica songs, they also bind to themselves a reaction to the seen, followed by an *introduction to the speech*.

<i>Taman oni malo posjediše</i> (Vuk VII, 43); <i>Taman sio, malo počinuo</i> [<i>Dok mu sitna knjiga dopanula</i>] (Vuk VIII, 13)	<i>He has just sat to rest a bit (when the letter came to him)</i>
<i>Istom oci u besedi bili</i> [<i>/al' eto ti silni janičara</i>] (SANU III, 26)	<i>The elders were discoursing,/ when scores of janissaries appeared</i>
formula for measuring short time	
<i>Malo vreme zatim postojalo</i> (Vuk II, 5, 43)	<i>Not much time passed</i>
<i>Malo bilo, ništa ne trajalo</i> (Vuk IV, 41)	<i>Little time passed, almost no time at all</i>
<i>Malo potrg za dugo ne bilo,</i> [<i>Dok evo ti (+ character's name)</i>] (Vuk VII, 19)	<i>Little time passed,/ When (character's name) came</i>
<i>Malo bilo, ništa ne stanulo,</i> [<i>Puče puška + location determinant</i>] (Vuk VIII, 18)	<i>Short time passed, almost no time at all,/ (when a rifle fires in + location determinant)</i>
<i>I to vr'jeme zadugo ne bilo,</i> [<i>Dok poleće siv zelen sokole</i>] (SANU IV, 35)	<i>But before long,/ (When flitted a falcon green and grey)</i>
formulas of a dying man's behest	
<i>To izusti, pa dušicu pusti</i> (Vuk II, 7, 16) <i>To izusti, laku dušu pusti</i> [the same] (Vuk II, 25, 33, 89) <i>To izusti, a dušu ispusti</i> [the same] (Vuk II, 78, 85, 86, 91); <i>To izreče, a ispušti dušu</i> [the same] (Vuk VII, 44), etc.	<i>So he spoke, and breathed his last</i>

According to their specific position in the plot, they are implemented differently and can include: *formulas of succession* (as expressions of a linear and unilateral leading of actions – see Schmaus 2011, 11), and *formulas of “empty” time* (e.g. *Malo vreme zatim postojalo* [Not much time passed], after which a new character is introduced – *al' eto ti* [+ character's name] [*When (character's name) came*] or *Tako stade* [*tri godine dana/ za devet godina*] [*Three/ Nine years passed without change*], and with the next verse begins a new segment of narration), formulas of temporal quantification, which, depending on the length of the story, can be formulas of “short” time (*Malo bilo, mnogo ne trajalo* [Short time passed, almost no time at all]), and formulas of “long” time (duration of a story, usually expressed in years + *passed*). Since epic time “does not run otherwise than as a running story” (Lešić 2010, 363), which, therefore, can be interrupted, stopped, returned, additionally narrated or forwarded, the temporal formulas in the broad sense, as modifiers of the narrative flow, and, as a rule, announcers of certain changes, have a very important role in the structuring of the epic narrative or epic song as a whole.

As for parallel actions, they also can have formulaic character and they express all three types of relations – anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. Schmaus has already discussed *anteriority* (precedence), showing how formulas of perception attach formula of reaction – greeting upon ar-

rival, which applies to the formula of acknowledging (see Schmaus 1971, 148): *Kad je Mitar r'ječi razumijo,/ Uvati je za grlo bijelo* [*When Mitar understood the words, / He seized her by the white throat*] (Vuk II, 100).⁴³ The formulas of simultaneity describe two parallel actions, e.g. *Dokle Porča sedlo opremio,/ Dotle sluga izvedoše đoga* [*As soon as Porča fitted the saddle, / The servants brought his horse*] (Vuk II, 92). Logically, posteriority is realized in the formulas of execution (of previously given commands, requests, etc.): *Odmah njega sluga poslušaoš,/ Te kapije hitro zatvoriše* [*Immediately his servants obeyed, / And shut the gates quickly*] (ibid.), *Bjehu Đurđa despota sluga svoje poslušale* [*The servants had obeyed despot Djurdje*] (Bogišić, 10) and so on. If the meaning of successiveness is prominent in these actions, it will be marked with conjunction (and): *Gleda njega Budimska kraljica,/ Pa doziva Jakšića Todora* [*The queen of Buda watches him, / And calls Jakšić Todor*] (Vuk II, 94), *I dođoše kumu na dvorove,/ Te krstiše dvoje dece ludo* [*They came to the home of their godfather, / and baptized two little children*] (Vuk II, 6). As there is a clear idea of what happened before and what afterwards, these temporal meanings are determined by the logic of the sequence of events, which at the same time form a temporal order in the narrative (see Porter Abbott 2009, 27).

Temporal formulas in a narrow sense, as opposed to the mentioned ways of referring to the chronology of events, express time with special lexical means – with temporal nouns and adjectives, as well as temporal adverbs. They situate the story at a certain point of day (*Kad ujutru jutro osvanulo* [*When the dawn has broken*]), periods of the year (*ljeto prođe, hladna/ tamna/ grozna zima dođe* [*summer passes, cold/ dark/ awful winter comes*]), or associate it with certain holidays (St George's Day : St Demetrius's Day). At the points where the borderlines of narrative sequences and these time markers overlap (and they, generally, coincide), the “frozen” mythical semantics “captured” in a formula is released and activated.⁴⁴

With the *formula of dawning* G. I. Mal'tsev showed how a formula “works” and what happens when, under the pressure of a constructive borderline, appears a formula petrified in archaic semantics (see Mal'tsev 1989, 73–80). He believes that morning is a period of beginnings, births, renew-

⁴³ In this circle of formulas Schmaus also includes “formulas for situations when, during a conversation about an event that lies ahead – that event happens” (Schmaus 1971, 148). In this paper these formulas are mentioned as formulas of fast successive sequences.

⁴⁴ This occurs because the space-time block in folklore is made up of elements that lose their meaning almost literally, and generate new meanings and new valencies in a new, closed and tightly organized system, established in tradition and structured according to the principle of universal semiotic oppositions (see Tsivian 1973, 13–14): *day : night; morning : evening; dawn : dusk; summer : winter*, etc.

als, while also being linked to the complex of beliefs in fate (Mal'tsev 1989, 79). In the tradition, morning – while the sun is rising – is considered to be the right time, or the most appropriate moment, for initiating activities important for the community and individuals (according to the symbolism of progress, a suitable time). Therefore, the formula *Kad ujutru jutro osvanulo* [When the dawn has broken] (Pantić 2002, 256; Bogišić, 71, 72; Vuk II, 8, 43, 53, 92, 99; Vuk III, 2, 28, 49, 61, 69; Vuk VI, 62 etc.),⁴⁵ announces a change and opens the next narrative segment.⁴⁶ The nature of this change is defined by the next formula⁴⁷ and specified by the further course of events – *the departure of a wedding party* (see Vuk II, 92; Vuk III, 22; Vuk VI, 8, 24, 37, 38, 44; Vuk VII, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 31, 36; Vuk VIII, 1; Vuk IX, 13; SANU II, 23, 83; SANU III, 7, 35), *going hunting* (Vuk II, 8, 99; Vuk VI, 75),⁴⁸ *meeting* (Bogišić, 3; Vuk II, 47, 67; Vuk IV, 22; SANU II: br.70), *the arrival of the army* (Bogišić, 65; Vuk III, 8; Vuk IV, 18, 34, 48, 49, 53, 55, 60; Vuk VII, 53; Vuk VIII, 24, 29, 51, 52, 63, 67, 68, 73, 74; Vuk IX, 10, 11, 25, 40; SANU IV, 3, 38), and the like.

Noon is the next point of the daily cycle. It is related to the position of intense sunlight – the highest point that the sun reaches during the day. In the plot it coincides with the climax of the rite such as: the arrival of the wedding party in the forest, a completely unprotected, *alien* territory (Vuk VI, 41, 75; Vuk VII, 11; SANU III, 38, 62), the pinnacle of a duel (ER, 71; Vuk II, 44, 67; Vuk VI, 58; Vuk VII, 2, 28; SANU II, 39, 49, 54, 55), and the most critical moment of the battle (Vuk VI, 13; Vuk VII, 19, 57; Vuk VIII, 41, 62, 67, 68; Vuk IX, 14; SANU III, 24). If we take into consideration the “macro plane” i.e. the whole scheme of the story (which is the formula of the course of events – Braun 2004, 127), it can be seen that the climax overlaps with noon as a climax point of the day. At that moment, a duel in the last

⁴⁵ These results are also valid for variations of this formula such as: *A kad sjutra dan i zora dođe* [When the dawn and day breaks tomorrow] (Vuk II, 8); *Kad bijela zora zab'jelila* [When the white dawn comes] (Vuk III, 8), and the like.

⁴⁶ Actually, it is not a feature exclusive to this formula. The formula of fairy's acclamation, “regardless of its position in the ‘text’ and shifts on the plot-climax-denouement scale ... implies a change in the previous state” (Samardžija 2008, 247), as well as any other formula, since the formula per se marks the borderline of the narrative, and introduces a new event that will disrupt the previous state.

⁴⁷ This, again, does not rule out the possibility that the next formula also has a cohesive function (providing/sending) of the information that reveals the essence of the change, such as formulas of *fairy's acclamation* (see Vuk VI, 73; Vuk VIII, 17); *raven the news-bearer* (see Vuk II, 45; Vuk VII, 56); *telling a prophetic dream* (Vuk II, 66; Vuk III, 68 etc) or *books* (cf. Vuk III, 20, 68; Vuk IX, 1, 5, 7, 31).

⁴⁸ See also Vuk III, 48, 49.

scene (during physical conflict),⁴⁹ takes a fateful twist, and the hero reaches the limit of his physical endurance. In the songs that sing about clashes of troops or armies (typically in the historic epic), noon decides the outcome of the battle. After midday, when the sun is on its downward path, the negative semantics prevails.

Evening and morning mark the *beginning and end* of each day, i.e. they act like “connectors” of its most critical moments (see Maľtsev 1989, 79, 80). Unlike morning, which carries positive symbolism, evening represents its negative counterpart, or semiotic opposition.⁵⁰ In addition to a relatively stable form of the formula of evening (*Kad je bilo veće[r] [p]o večeri* [When the evening falls] – cf. ER, 141, Vuk II, 43, 96 etc.),⁵¹ akhsham can also be found in songs (see Vuk III, 5, 22, 48, 52; Vuk IV, 52; Vuk VI, 62; Vuk VII, 12, 14, 30, 44; Vuk IX, 15, SANU III, 60, 67), which is the time of the fourth daily prayer of Muslims which occurs after sunset. It is usually related to the ending (final destination) of movements – *po akšamu stiže u Grahovo* [After akhsham he arrives in Grahovo] (Vuk III, 5), *po akšamu u Sokola dođe* [After akhsham he arrives in Sokol town] (Vuk III, 52), *U lijepo doba dolazio/ Tek na nebo akšam i zvijezda* [In good times he comes/ only akhsham and a star in the sky] (Vuk VII, 14), and others. After the sunset, the hero retreats to the safety of his home. However, if he feels threatened from within by an unfaithful wife (Bogišić, 97; Vuk II, 25; SANU III, 5) or his sister-in-law (Vuk II, 5; SANU II, 4), some malicious activities will prove fatal to the hero/heroine. Apart from this and deprived of their mythical semantics, evening hours can get realistic stylization, when presented as moments of leisure (see ER, 124, 141; Vuk II, 47; Vuk III, 73; Vuk VI, 23; Vuk VII, 14, 46; SANU II, 57, 68, 79; SANU III, 5, 44).

Night creates a binary opposition to the period of daylight (daytime).⁵² According to traditional coding, night primarily belongs to demonic beings, and therefore the correct behaviour is codified by the set of rules and pro-

⁴⁹ This moment is introduced in the song with the formula – *Nosiše se [Ćeraju se] ljetni dan do podne* [So they fought until the noon of a summer's day] (see ER, 71; Vuk II, 44, 67; Vuk VI, 58; Vuk VII, 2, 28; SANU II, 39, 54, 55). As it can be noted, the central part of the day is also connected to the determinant of the annual cycle, to the summer as the peak time of the annual cycle.

⁵⁰ This order of the parts of the day (morning – noon – evening – night) is analogous to the phases of the annual cycle (spring – summer – fall – winter) – see Frye (1979, 183). Maľtsev explains this with the fact that the daily cycle historically preceded the annual cycle (see Maľtsev 1989, 79) and, presumably, was replicated on it.

⁵¹ Cf. Vuk II, 5, 13, 30, etc.

⁵² The epithets attached to the *day* and the *night* are real antonyms – *beli (bijeli) dan(ak): tamna / mrkla noć(ca)* [white day : dark/obscure night].

hibitions relating to the night (see Tsivian 1973, 15). They are primarily related to the termination of works – not to be contaminated by the influence of the night. The formula *Kad je bilo noći u ponoći* [When it was the midnight hour] (Vuk II, 12)⁵³ / *Kad je tamna noć dolazila* [When the dark night came] (Vuk VI, 4), therefore, announces something extraordinary (phenomena, processes, operations), and when it appears in a fairytale in verse about a serpent/dragon hero, it announces his transformation into an anthropomorphic form – in reverse time. By changing the genre, in the epic (heroic) song, night actions of the hero do not usually imply his demonic nature, but they could indicate it subtly – especially when it comes to the well-known dragon fighters – Prince Marko (ER, 124, 140; Vuk II, 66; Vuk VI, 18) and Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk (Bogišić, 15; ER, 59; Vuk II, 43; Vuk VI, 6; SANU II, 56; SM 1990, 152). The activities during the night can also be motivated by the need for secret and unobserved actions: *setting an ambush* (Bogišić, 59, 60, 69; ER, 74), *raising troops* (Vuk III, 21, 23, 47; Vuk VI, 49, 53; SANU III, 19, 63), *surprise attack and plunder* (Bogišić, 63, 64, 77; Vuk III, 22, 58; Vuk VI, 82; Vuk VII, 38), *abducting girls* (Vuk VI, 66, Vuk VII, 6, 21; SANU III, 21), *releasing heroes from prison (usually by digging tunnels) under the cover of the night* (Bogišić, 108; ER, 72; SANU III, 8, 41, 42, 80) and the like. In that case, these actions are realistically stylized and mostly devoid of mythic potential.

As a part of the weekly cycle and its boundary, *Sunday* is the most frequently mentioned day in the songs.⁵⁴ It is a day of celebration, so everyday activities are prohibited on Sundays. Its sacred character is emphasized with permanent epithet *svet(l)a* [luminous] (Sunday).⁵⁵ If a religious holiday falls on a Sunday as well,⁵⁶ its character of sacred time (exceptional day) will be more strongly emphasized. Saturday is mainly characterized by negative semantics – *dangerous, last, female, “day of the dead”*. Adding to this semantic line the semantics of the evening as chiefly a bad time of the day –

⁵³ This formula seems to work in opposition to the formula *Kad ujutru jutro osvanulo* [When the dawn broke]. Everything desirable, as it should be, is reversed with this formula.

⁵⁴ See Bogišić, 18, 69, 70, 73, 74, 97, 107, 109; Vuk II, 3, 42, 51, 65, 67, 74, 84, 101; Vuk III, 14, 78; Vuk IV, 27, 31, 33; Vuk VI, 7, 18, 29, 58, 59; Vuk VIII, 13, 40, 41; Vuk IX, 8, 21, 25, 26; SANU II, 22, 38, 40, 66, 95; SANU III, 11, 16, 20, 21, 28, 36, 55, 62, 67; Vuk IV, 2, 41.

⁵⁵ Bogišić, 18, 69, 70, 97; Vuk II, 32, 42, 65, 101; Vuk III, 78; Vuk IV, 33; Vuk VI, 29; Vuk VIII, 13; Vuk IX, 26; SANU II, 66, 95; SANU III, 67; SANU IV, 2.

⁵⁶ Easter is the most frequently mentioned religious holiday in the songs; see Vuk II, 4, 30; Vuk III, 89; Vuk IV, 39; Vuk VI, 21; Vuk IX, 8. It falls on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox.

Kad je večer u subotu bilo [When it was Saturday evening] (Bogišić, 97), the singer suggests that a given action (destruction of the hero's weapons and burning of the winged horse's wings) will have a fatal outcome for the hero (ibid; see also SANU II, 25). At the same time, the hero dreams an ominous dream, but his tragedy is augmented by the fact that he cannot change the final outcome and obliterate the prediction of the dream (ibid.). Other plots also imply that a dream dreamed on a Saturday night announces bad luck (Vuk III, 14; Vuk IV, 27).

In the tradition, the annual cycle, like the daily cycle,⁵⁷ has the semantics according to the principle of binary coding. St George's Day⁵⁸ and St Demetrius's Day are referred to as type determinants marking the beginning and the end of an action, so they are the two most popular and, therefore, the two most frequently mentioned holidays in Serbian oral epic songs. Since these are the dates that divide the annual cycle into two periods – winter and summer – the meaning of the beginning and the end (of the vegetation cycle, fertile period, field works, activities of hajduks...) is dominant in their semantics. St George's Day generally represents good time since it symbolizes the beginning (of the year), or spring (often with associated semantics of the morning).⁵⁹ They, also, demarcate the periods of activities of hajduks and use the proverbial expressions: *Đurđev danak – hajdučki sastanak*; *Mitrov danak – hajdučki rastanak* [St George's Day – reunion of hajduks; St Demetrius's Day – parting of hajduks].⁶⁰ The fact that the collection of tolls (later taxes) was related to these holidays promoted the realistic stylization of the plots of the songs dealing with ambushing toll collectors and fetching the loot. Therefore, the singer places these formulaic holidays symmetrically – winter (parting) and summer (reunion):

*Ljeto prođe, Dmitrov danak dođe,
Snijeg pade, drumi zapadoše
Planine se snijegom zaviše,
Po gori se hoditi ne može
(Vuk III, 53)*

*Summer passed, St Demetrius's day came,
Snow fell, roads were blocked,
Mountains enwrapped in snow,
Forest was impassable*

⁵⁷ Both the daily and the annual cycle associate the symbolism of life and death with the solar path and its periodic strengthening and weakening (disappearing). Mal'tsev (1989, 81) also noted this similarity while exploring the rituals performed early in the morning on St George's Day.

⁵⁸ See ER, 12, 17, 143, 164; Vuk II, 19, 21, 68, 72; Vuk III, 35, 36, 44, 53, 75, 89; Vuk IV, 14, 25, 29, 31; Vuk VI, 3, 20; Vuk VII, 43, 47; Vuk VIII, 73; Vuk IX, 17, 33; SANU II, 5, 6, 39, 49, 78, 102; SANU III, 11, 17, 66, 79.

⁵⁹ Cf. the formula of mentioning – *Kao Đurđev danak u godini* [*Kao dobar junak u družini*] [Like St George's day in the year (Like a good hero in a company)] (SANU II, 102).

⁶⁰ The reverse time of activities (from St Demetrius's Day to St George's Day) is associated with the enemy (the Turks) – see Vuk IV, 25; SANU III, 79.

The next reunion of the hajduks is scheduled for St George's Day:

*Kada dođe lijep danak Đurđev
Te se gora preođene listom,
A zemljica travom i cvijetom
(Ibid.)*

When the nice day of St George comes,
And the forest dresses in leaves,
And the earth with grass and flowers

In this way, the whole narrative time is framed by these holidays. The narrative ends with vengeance taken against a treacherous aider and the hero's return to the forest (cf. Vuk III, 52), which completes the episode.

The need for the (formulaic/formal) ending of the text is partly motivated by the fragmentary nature of the oral poetic text (see Maľtsev 1989, 124–128): “Linguistic units up to (and including) sentences are constant, and in their concrete realizations they are arranged in chains by giving descriptions of certain ‘pieces of reality’. The listener receives them successively, draws the necessary information, and what is called ‘text’ decomposes in successive intervals” (Petković 2006, 16–17). So, the performer constructs the text just to deconstruct it by performing it. During live performance, the illusion of “text” can be abandoned when we change the time dimension – leaving the narrative time of the song ([*to je bilo*] *kada se činilo* [(it was) when it happened] – i.e. when the described event “happened”) and returning to the moment of performance (*a sada se tek pripovijeda* [and now it is only being told]).

All of this suggests the need to redefine the concept of temporal formula, to peruse the intertextual context of its use, as well as its role in other classical decasyllabic songs. The purpose of such research would be to show not only how it functions as a formula per se, but, above all, how it functions in structuring the songs, i.e. in demarcating and signalling the sequence of textual units. Thus it becomes a functional tool which creates one of the dimensions in the world of a song, marks the narrative flow and clearly segments the verbal sequence during the act of verse-making, which also makes improvisation easier. This research would be only an introduction to similar far-reaching attempts.

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Generic Lacuna in the Epic Poems Using the Fog Formula

Abstract: This article is about the modellative potential of a genre, i.e. about one of the main theoretical questions connected with the poetics of oral literature. This is exemplified here by Serbian oral decasyllabic epic poetry, more precisely by the modelling of the epic formula the “appearance of the horseman/hero from/in the fog”.

Keywords: formula, epics, small forms of folklore, fog, horseman, hero

One of the most attractive theoretical questions connected with the modellative theory of literary genres¹ poetics is the question of the relationship between a literary text and its cultural environment or, to be more precise, the relationship between the modellative potential of a literary procedure and the material which is being processed. In oral tradition, the material can come both from the mundane reality itself and from the so called “non-literary models” of a given culture, i.e. from its rituals (wedding, burial, building), cults (of the saints, for example), magic practices etc. As they themselves are – by definition – modellative systems of the second degree, the literary procedure itself gets an extra potential, which upgrades it to the third degree of modelling (the first-degree modellative system being the language itself).² Thus the literary work appears to be a model of a model.

The literary modelling – especially in the case of formulas – usually begins from many nuclei which differ in origin, generic preferences and measure of abstraction. In the special case of the formula “horseman/hero in/from the fog”, some of them proved to be so strong that they failed to adapt to the new literary surroundings and remained intact even as a part of a completely new (i.e. epic) genre. Recognizing these intrusions as a material much older and more important (from the standpoint of traditional culture) than literature in general, the “epicity” of the poem withdraws, thereby making room for an alien content. In that sense, from the perspective of the epic poem, we can speak about a *generic lacuna*, which is the subject of this paper.

¹ Russian semiotics is taken here as a referential theory; cf. the works of Lotman, Neklyudov, Ivanov, Toporov and others.

² In that case gradation goes as follows: spoken language (first), ritual language (second), literary language (third) degree modellative systems.

All through the presentation of the proposed research, two basic definitions important for the theory of the formula should be kept in mind: 1) the epic formula itself is a text whose position in the poem is marked by its form and function; and 2) within the epic as a genre, formulas simultaneously exist on many different levels of fixity.

As it is the case, the formula “a horseman-hero in/from the fog” never occurs in the liminary positions in a poem (at the beginning or at the end), but always somewhere within it, which makes it the so-called “inner formula”. Its pointed variant (hero in the fog) is only one of the six types of the formulaic appearances of fog in the epics and we shall pay some attention to all of them. Those are: (1) natural fog³ (Vuk IV, 62; VII, 9; SANU III, 25, 75); (2) gun smoke (Vuk IV, 2, 28, 33; VIII, 11; SANU III, 10, 56; SM 12); (3) steam “from horses and warriors” (Vuk III, 42; VI, 20; VII, 14, 22; SANU III, 6; ER 131; SM 32, 62); (4) the appearance of a horseman from the fog (Vuk II, 39; III, 39; IV, 8; VI, 10; VII, 3; SANU, II, 71, 85, 86; MH IX, 5, 20, 25; SM 79, 145, 148); (5) an army appearing as a fog in a prophetic dream with interpretation (Vuk VIII, 36; SANU III, 74; MH I, 60, 78; ER 116); (6) and the fog seen in a prophetic dream without interpretation, i.e. appearing as its own self (Vuk II, 25, 62). For example:

Appearances (1) – (3):

Natural fog	Gun smoke	Horses and warriors
Srbima je sreća pomagala, Kukutnicu magla pritisnula Pa ne znadu niti vide Turci, Otkud Srbi biju iz pušaka, (Vuk IV, 62)	Pade magla od neba do zemlje, Nit' se vidi neba ni oblaka, Viš' njih jarko pomrčalo sunce Od pušcanog praha i olova: (Vuk IV, 28)	Pramen magle polje pritiskao, Ne bijaše magla od daždica, No od pare konjske i junačke: (Vuk III, 42)

³ There is only one word for fog in Serbian, which – compared to the English range of words: mist, haze, vapour, steam, etc. – is a very narrow choice indeed. Here, and wherever possible in the text, we tried to make a distinction, to define as nearly as possible the kind of phenomenon we are dealing with. The readers are invited to use their imagination in this matter because: 1) in Serbian folklore, fog is a demon (the same as smoke); and 2) consistent with the local climate, the Serbian language does not make a distinction between that which goes up from the earth and that which comes down from the sky. There is only one folkloric expression for it: A fog fell from the sky to the earth.

Luck was on the Serbian side Upon Mount Kukutnica a fog lay So Turks can neither see nor know Whence Serbian guns are firing	The fog fell sky to earth, Neither sky nor clouds could be seen, Above them the bright sun is darkened By gun smoke.	A wisp of fog fell on the field, It was not a natural fog, But the steam from the horses and warriors
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Appearances (4) – (6):

Hero in the fog	Army as a fog	Fog in a dream
Livadu je magla pritislula, Iz magle se junak namolio Na njegova golema labuda, Po imenu Alaj-beg-Čengijču, (Vuk IV, 8)	Što je magla pala do Drežnika, To je vojska Mamul- kapetana; (Vuk VIII, 36)	U magli se, ljubo, rasta- dosmo, Rastadosmo, pak se ne sas- tasmu; (Vuk II, 25)
The fog lay on a meadow, From the fog a hero appeared On his giant horse, His name was Alaj-bey- Cengic.	This fog that lay around Dreznik, This is the army of Cap- tain Mamul.	In fog, my beloved, we parted, We parted, and never met again.

The usual function of inner formulas is to connect two neighbouring narrative segments of a poem when one of them signifies the end of the previous and the other the beginning of the next part of the plot. Thus division between the segments opens to what is coming, and the fog, neutral in itself, becomes either static or dynamic, depending on what is being announced. Accordingly, if it marks the transition from idleness to action, the formula appears at the beginning of a sequence where it needs additional fixing (usually a temporal formula) because it heralds change:

Ciglu jednu noću konačili <i>Pa u jutru svati uraniše,</i> <i>Nešto im se dade pogledati,</i> <i>De se polje maglom pretvorilo,</i> A kroz maglu sijevaju munje, Konji vrište, pjevaju junaci, A viju se po polju barjaci. <i>Punu vjetar, magla se razgali,</i> <i>Ugledaše kitu i svatove,</i> <i>Među njima na konju devojkju</i> (Vuk VII, 22: 295–306)	They spent one night there <i>And in the morning they got up early</i> Something caught their eye, <i>The field turned into fog,</i> And through this fog lightning was flashing, Horses neighed, warriors sang, Banners fluttered all over the field. <i>The wind blew up, the fog cleared,</i> <i>They spotted the bedecked wedding guests,</i> <i>And among them the mounted bride</i>
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In the opposite case, naturally, no addition is needed because the formula is the ending of the previous segment, whence the function of the beginning of a new sequence goes to the plot itself:⁴

Nož sije, krv se proljeva,	The dagger flashes, the blood is spilt,
Ne vidi se od mene do tebe,	Nothing can be seen from me to you,
<i>Po podrumu magla uvatila</i>	<i>The cellar is filled with fog.</i>
Boga moli Plavša arambaša:	Plavsa, the arambasa, ⁴ prays to God:
“Daj mi, Bože, vetra sa planina	“Give me, o God, a wind from the mountains
Da rastera maglu po podrumu,	To dispel this fog from the cellar,
Da ja vidu ko je zadobio,	So that I can see who won,
Ali Turci ali odmetnici!”	Whether Turks or outlaws!”
Bog mu daje, sreća donijela,	And God gave him, his luck was strong,
<i>Vetar punu posred Sarajeva,</i>	<i>The wind flew through Sarajevo,</i>
<i>Te isčera maglu iz podruma.</i>	<i>And dispelled the fog from the cellar.</i>
(SANU III, 10: 230–240)	

As long as it “works” this way, the fog will not tend to take the final, unchangeable form to which we are accustomed whenever a cliché is involved. At this stage, its function is subordinate to the fabulation and composition of the epic poem, which means that the formula itself merely has the significance of a shifter.⁵ The information it conveys is only relational, so the form of its appearance is usually very simple: “pramak se je magle zadjenuo” (a wisp of fog passed); “sve jednako magla od pušaka” (the fog from rifles, i.e. gunpowder smoke, keeps rising); “al’ se ravno polje zamaglilo” (the flat field is full of fog); “sve je polje magla pritisnula” (the whole field is sunk in fog); “Kukutnicu magla pritisnula” (Kukutnica is immersed in fog); “pade magla od neba do zemlje” (the fog fell from sky to earth); “al’ se diže magla iz oblaka” (the fog from clouds suddenly lifted); “od Budima magla se podigla” (the fog lifted off the city of Buda), etc. Every narrative genre, especially if it is oral, has a need for simple expressions like these. Their significance is always equal to their own meaning, and so they should be accepted like this, as a different way to say: it dawned, it rains, the evening came, and the like. Relational information of these formulas is a structural element of a poem in its own right, and its true significance is formed within that context.

⁴ Arambaša, a Turkicisms (from *harami başı*) meaning the leader of a band of outlaws or brigands.

⁵ The term “shifter” has been introduced to Serbian literary theory by Novica Petković, especially in his book *Ogledi iz srpske poetike* [Essays on Serbian Poetics (Belgrade 1990)]. Shifters, as well as everything else belonging to the Lotmanian “aesthetics of identity” (Lotman 1970), bring to the surface generic norm(ativity), i.e. data about the literary genre, while the individual, the author’s, characteristics (his voice) recede into the background. This type of informativeness (which provides information about the type of event and not about its individual characteristics) is termed *relational informativeness*.

Except for the inevitable influence of versification, in this phase modelling is neutral and inconspicuous, even if form is a little more sophisticated, as in:

Pramen magle polje pritiskao; Ne bijaše magla od daždica, No od pare konjske i junačke.	A wisp of fog fell on the field; It was not a drizzly fog, But the steam of the horses and their riders.
(Vuk VI, 20: 25–26)	
Nije magla da bi magla bila Nego para konjska i junačka.	It was not a fog as God made it But the steam of the horses and their riders.
(Vuk III, 42: 135–136)	

The first step towards stabilizing form is made when the fog enters the system of equivalences basic to the frame formulas such as the Slavic antithesis, for example, and a prophetic dream, where it always signifies the same: “the conquering army”:

SLOVENSKA ANTITEZA

Sinule su do dvi magle sinje:
Jedna pala kraj mora sinjega,
Druga pala kraj vode Sitnice.
To ne bile do dvi magle sinje,
Već to bile do dvi vojske silne:
Jedno turska, drugo je kaurska.
(MH I, 60: 1–6)

PROROČANSKI SAN

Što je magla do Drežnika pala,
To je pala česareva vojska;
Što kroz maglu gora prolistala,
Ono su ti krstati barjaci;
Što iz magle tri košute riču,
Ono su ti ubojni topovi.
(SANU III, 74:15–20)

SLAVIC ANTITHESIS

Two grey fogs flashed:
One fell by the side of the grey sea,
The other fell beside the river Sitnica.
Those were not two grey fogs,
But those were two mighty armies:
One Turkish, and the other Christian.

PROPHETIC DREAM

The fog that fell near Drežnik,
That is the emperor's army;
The trees coming into leaf in that fog,
Those are the Christian flags;
Three does that roar from that fog,
These are deadly cannons.

The next (and final) step begins when the formula gets fixed to the action and the actant,⁶ and becomes stable. After that, it is always recognized as the “appearance of a horseman-hero in/from the fog”. This formula is self-sustainable in any context and independent of the aforementioned frame formulas. The image from which it originates, though, does not come *ex nihilo*, but derives from the previous forms. This makes the epiphany of a horseman-hero naturally connected with the “fog/steam of horses and warriors”, although he is actually a new figure in the formula:

⁶ The bearer of action, the active agent.

Pramen se je magle zadenuo Preko polja od Sijenja bela, Pravo ide moru na zakuke.	A wisp of fog flew Over the field from the white city of Senj, Straight to the sea.
Ta se magla primaknula blizu; <i>Tek iz magle junak iskočio,</i> Baš na vrancu mladi Marijane. (Vuk III, 29: 78–93)	This fog came near; <i>And a hero popped out of this fog,</i> Young Marijan on a black horse.
Nešto im se dade pogledati, Pogledati poljem niz primorje – Dok se pramen magle zapodio, <i>A iz magle junak iskočio!</i> (SANU II, 85: 35–38)	They happened to look, To look over the field by the seashore – And then a wisp of fog came, <i>And out of the fog a hero popped!</i>
Malo bilo dugo netrajalo, Pramakse je magle zadenuo, Po pržini po kraj mora slana; <i>Iz magle je junak izletio</i> Na vrančicu konju velikome. (SM 145: 21–26)	It did not take long Before a wisp of fog fell Over the sandy shore by the salty sea; <i>From the fog a hero rushed</i> On a big black horse.
Dok se magla bliže primicaše, <i>Dok iz magle junak izletio</i> Na kulašu na belogrivašu – A kakav je Banović Sekula, Golju sablju u visinu tura, U bijele dočekuje ruke! (SANU II, 71: 110–115)	While the fog was drawing near, <i>From the fog a hero rushed</i> On his white-maned red horse – And what he is like, Banovic Sekula: His naked sabre he hurls up in the air, And catches it with his white hands!
Taman oni u riječi bili, Al' se mala magla zapođede Uz Kosovo od belog Mramora, <i>A iz magle junak izletio</i> Na doratu ko na gorskoj vili. (SANU II, 86: 20–24)	And as they were talking, A wisp of fog fell Along the Kosovo field, from the white Marmor, <i>And from the fog a hero rushed</i> On his brown horse like on a forest fairy.
Kad se polje maglom zamaglilo, <i>A iz magle junak ispanuo</i> Na malinu, konju od megdana, A to bješe Osman barjaktare. (MH IX, 5: 126–129)	When the field got blurred by fog, <i>And from that fog a hero fell out</i> On his battle horse, And that was Osman, the standard-bearer.

As soon as the epic fog gets in touch with a mounted warrior (a horseman-hero), it starts to condense and to emit signals strange to the earlier, simple examples. First indications of the kind come:

(1) from the context itself

Livada se maglom zamaglila, Od brzine konja i junaka, Strah je mene, neće dobro biti. (MH IX, 25: 100–102)	The meadow gets immersed in fog, The fog of fast horses and riders, I fear the worst.
Tako Vuče u riječi bio, Kad kroz maglu junak ispanuo, Vas u krvi crnoj ogreznuo: Nosi desnu u lijevoj ruku. (MH IX, 20: 31–34)	While Vuk was talking, A horseman fell out from the fog, All covered in blood: Carrying his right arm in his left hand.

(2) from the demonic epiphany of a horseman in the fog⁷

Čudan junak, a na čudna konja: ⁷ Iz oči mu živi oganj sipa, Iz nozdrva modar plamen suče, Sve se polje jednak zamaglilo Od njiove sile i brzine. (Vuk VI, 10: 77–82)	Wondrous hero, on a wondrous horse: Raging fire bursting from its eyes, Livid flame shooting out of its nostrils, The whole field gets foggy at once Because of their mightiness and speed.
Iz magle je Turčin ispanuo, Na Dundulu konju velikome, Sieda mu brada do pojasa, U glavi mu zuba đavoljega, Krvave mu oči obadvije, Golu sablju nosi u rukama, Pod njime se crna zemlja trese. (SM 79: 85–92)	A Turkish warrior fell out of the fog, On Dundul, his very big horse, His white beard down to his waist, Not a tooth in his head, Both of his eyes bloody, Unsheathed sabre in his hand, The black earth is trembling under him.

and finally

(3) from the doing of the fog itself which – identified with the darkness and coloured in black – swallows horses and men, covers them, and brings about an unknown danger.⁸

U magli se, ljubo, rastadosmo, Rastadosmo, pak se ne sastasmo. (Vuk II, 25)	In the fog, my beloved, we parted, We parted, and never met again.
Lov lovio Banović Sekule, Pored Save i krajem Dunava, Al' Sekulu loša sreća bila, ⁸ Pala magla od neba do zemlje, Gusta magla kano oblčina, Da nevidi on pod sobom đoga, Anekmoli da ulovi lova. Al' iz magle dobar junak viče. (SM 148)	Banovic Sekula went hunting, By the Sava river and the river Danube, But his luck was bad. A fog fell from sky to earth, Thick fog like a cloud, So he could not even see his horse under him, Let alone catch anything. And from that fog a worthy hero shouts.

⁷ On demonic connotations of wonder, miracle / wondrous, miraculous, cf. Loma 2000.

⁸ On bad luck in the epic hunt, see Detelić 1992; 1996.

Although it might not seem so, this is not the same formula any more. First of all, the desired model is no longer iconic but metaphorical: the image of dust, steam, general mayhem, which was part of the action producing the effect *similar to a fog*, withdraws now before the *image of a fog* which draws its meaning from some other, non-iconic source placed without the poem. The influence of many different connotations of such an image is no more linear, spread over the surface of poetic communication. Its source is now deep down in the layers of tradition we know so little about. The text itself allows some secondary readings, such as a suggestion of death, sorrow, danger, punishment, enmity, revenge and the like. Nevertheless, all these denotations belong to the poem and its plot and therefore are not enough to provide an answer to the main question: why the fog came and where it came from.

The associative field of the “appearance of a horseman-hero in/from the fog” is both too narrow and too wide at the same time. As far as we know, no mythical tradition (Slavic or other) is fixed to a person, an event or a performance pictured as a horseman in/from the fog in any relevant way: by attribution, epiphany, transposition, whichever. Fog as such, an indefinable state of latency (neither light nor darkness), carries quite a few connotations even without all possible contexts. Even its traditional image is always the same: the fog is that something in which nothing can be heard or seen,⁹ a blurry shadow enveloping the netherworld,¹⁰ a phenomenon whose abode is in hell, which means in the farthest north,¹¹ etc. Like the uroboros, this line of research always comes back to where it started, so it seems best to abandon it.

There is yet another path rarely used in epic studies, a kind of intergeneric analysis which seems promising in this respect. It is all about the so-called “short forms of folklore”, which usually means the folkloric texts for children (tongue twisters, quiz questions, counting rhymes), for enchanting, the occasional (often formulaic) texts (e.g. road/travelling songs, songs for lighting a fire, beside-the-fire songs etc.) and similar forms that can hardly be classified properly.¹² The common characteristic of all these texts is their antiquity, especially in the case of charms and enchanting, from

⁹ Cf. Sikimić 1996: 90, 221.

¹⁰ Cf. Benoist 1976: 72. Nodilo (1981: 523) thinks that fog and hell are one and the same.

¹¹ Graves & Patai 1969: 32. Cooper (1986: s.v. Fog) adds: “The state of delusion and chaos. Mystery religions use the symbolism of fog for initiation; a soul must come from darkness and chaos to the clear light of brightness.” It is clear now why we cannot use this kind of interpretation.

¹² They should not be confused with the “simple forms” of Joles, although some similarities inevitably exist.

which derives the general hypothesis about their archaic and magic origin. It is possible to extricate a group of texts in some way connected to the fog as a lesser demon, whether they are used to drive the fog away (examples 1–4 below), or they depict the fog as either a passive (example 5) or an active (examples 6 and 7) element of enchanting:

1	Bježi magla s magličima, eto popa s popićima, nosi žigu na ožegu, đe te stignu da ožegu, đe počineš, da pogineš. ¹³	Run, fog, with your spawn, Here comes the priest with his children, He brings weevils on fire tongs, Where they catch you, they will scorch you, Where you rest, you will perish.
2	Bježi maglo s magličima! Eto popa s paklići. Đe te stigne, tu šine. Đe paneš, tu ostaneš. ¹⁴	Run, fog, with your spawn! Here comes the priest with hell children. Where they catch you, there they strike you. Where you fall, there you stay.
3	Bježi maglo s magličima, Eto popa s nožićima, Đe te stigne Tu te žigne. ¹⁵	Run, fog, with your spawn, Here comes the priest with little knives, Where they catch you There they sting you.
4	Bježi maglo s magličim' eto babe s kabličim', pobiće ti maglice, strpat' ih u kablice. ¹⁶	Run, fog, with your spawn, Here comes granny with buckets, She will kill your fog children, She will put them in the buckets.
5	M'gle biju na nebo, petli poju na zemlju. Dojde glas, da sečemo ras. ¹⁷	Fogs fly to the sky, Roosters sing on earth. Word came We should cut the ras.
6	Razvi se po gori, Ka' riba po vodi; Razvi se po vodi, Ka' magla po gori. ¹⁸	Spread over the forest Like the fish in water. Spread over the water Like fog in the forest.
7	Adama zbolela glava: Adam dade Jevi, Jeva dade moru, More dade magli, Magla dade suncu, Sunce magle isušī. ¹⁹	Adam got a headache: Adam gave it to Eve, Eve gave it to sea, Sea gave it to fog, Fog gave it to sun, The Sun dried the fog away.

¹³ Momir 1890: 268.

¹⁴ Riddle on the cleg; Simić (fieldwork).

¹⁵ Gagović, S. – Piva: s.v. *žignuti*, “bocnuti” (to poke, to sting).

¹⁶ Zovko 1898: 743; Sarajevo.

¹⁷ Radenković (1981: 273): a charm against the illness called ras.

¹⁸ Ibid. (477): against any illness.

¹⁹ Ibid. (512): against spells.

Lots of information are offered by these verses: on the quantity and position of the fog; on the general tendency of demons to make family connections (fog, fogs, fog with fog children); on the person who is able to cast it out (with the same tendency of familial connecting: priest with priest/hell children, grandfather with grandchildren,²⁰ grandmother/granny; in an example below, a she-bear with her cub); on the instruments of attack that one needs (tongs, live coals, knife, stake; or, in other examples: sabre, needle, trident/harpoon); on the purpose of the noted actions (to kill you, to make you stay, to slaughter, to poke, to dry away). The repertoire of the means of casting out a demon, basically coming down to three – wood, fire and metal – may be enlarged with examples from similar texts for casting out a smoke (and a lesser demon), adding bone to the first three (8–11):

8	Tamo, dime, karadime, tamo su ti vrata, i pečena jaja, i s maslom pogača, i dedove kosti, čim ćemo te bosti. ²¹	There, smoke, black smoke, There's the door, And fried eggs, And a loaf of bread made with butter, And grandfather's bones, With which we shall poke you.
9	Biži, dimi, karadimi, tamo su ti vrata i pečena jajca. Doći će ti gosti, pa će tebe bosti iglicom, bumbaricom, boc, boc. (to obično dica govore) ²²	Go away, smoke, black smoke, there's the door And fried eggs. Guests will come, they will Poke you with the needle, poke, poke. (this is usually said by children)
10	Idi gore, dime, kostantine, tamo su ti vrata, kuda valja proći, ovamo su kosti, pa ćemo te probosti, buf! ²³	Go up, smoke, Kostantine, There's the door, For you to pass through; Here, here are bones With which we shall stab you, puff!
11	Tamo dime, karadime! Tamo su ti vrata i šarena jaja; tamo su ti kosti, čim ćemo te bosti! ²⁴	Go there, smoke, black smoke! There's the door and coloured eggs; There are bones, With which we shall poke you!

²⁰ This example is not given in the table, but it exists (as many others) in folklore (Zovko 1898: 742 – Sarajevo). *Grandfather's child* here is a special term for a grandfather's favourite grandchild.

²¹ Radenković (1981: 625): against smoke.

²² Lovretić 1902: 185; Otok, ZNŽOJS VII.

²³ Miodragović 1914: 167.

²⁴ Momir 1896: 201.

As far as spatial references are concerned, the charms observe fog in heights (in the sky, over the mountains),²⁵ and the children's charm downwards (in meadows). This does not matter much, however, because neither of them names the place where the fog is supposed to go. That place appears in the following examples:

12	Biži, biži, maglina, Jakov teče z Pazina sa šakami soli, s pikastimi konji, da će te nabosti na jelove osti; da će te ponesti v onu črnu jamu. Kade je ta jama? s trnjem zagračana! ²⁶	Run, run, fog Jacob comes from Pazin With handfuls of salt, With his skewbald horses, He will impale you On his fir leister; He will take you To that black hole. Where is that hole Fenced with thorns?
13	Oj ti maglo, maglenice beži, maglo, uz potok, niz potok eto mečka s mečičima za tobom. Svako meče po iglicu da te bode u guzicu da te guči, da te muči da te sturi u rupčinu, da ti sipa suručinu.	Oh you, fog, little fog, Run away, fog, up the stream, down the stream Here comes she bear with her cubs after you. Each cub has a needle To poke you in the buttocks To squeeze you, to torment you, To put you in the hole, To pour the whey over you.

Chasing the fog “up the stream, down the stream” (which is a motion characteristic of demonic beings), and into “a black hole”, finally is a relevant information because it fixes the place the fog should permanently stay in. This is also a definition of its domain which is common to demons of illnesses and impure forces in general — as can be seen from the examples of enchanting against disease:

²⁵ This is regular in enchantments. In the anthology compiled by Ljubinko Radenković, fog is always in heights: on the hills (422, 123, 191, 542, 181, 505), down the hills (563), up the mountain (168, 368, 557), on mountain tops (175, 189). This fits the general image of demonic “up and down” movements.

²⁶ Istarske 1924: 180–181; to a lazy child.

14	<p>Pogana poganice! Balava balavice! Napratna napratnice! Kojim si putem došla, onim se putem i vrati; jer je, evo, došla baka bajalica, koja će te travom prebacit', riječima prebrojit', i nožem preporit', i iglom zboat', a vatrom pregorit';</p> <p>..... Tu ti više nije mjesto! Eno tebi 'tice vrapca, pa neka te jami pod desno kriošće, nek te nosi nebu pod oblake, nek te vjetar raznese na sve četiri strane, pa da padneš u duboke jame, u mutne vode.²⁷</p>	<p>You impure poganica! [folklore name for a disease] You snivelling snivel! You violent napratnica! [same as the above] The same way you came Go back; Because the granny enchantress is here, And she will throw grass over you, She will count you out with words And she will rip you open with a knife And poke you with a needle, And scorch you with fire.</p> <p>..... There is no place for you here! Here is a sparrow bird for you, So let it take you under its right wing, Let it take you to the sky, Let the wind cast you To all four corners of the world, So that you fall in deep holes, In murky waters.</p>
15	<p>Ovden ti mjesta nije, nego u goru pustinju, u jamu bezdanu, de se glas zvona ne čuje, de kokot ne poje, de munje sijevaju, de gromovi udaraju, de vukovi zavijaju, i zle duše urlakaju.²⁸</p>	<p>There is no place for you here, But in a deserted forest, In a bottomless hole, Where bells cannot be heard, Where no rooster sings, Where lightning flashes, Where thunders clap, Where wolves howl And evil souls roar.</p>

It is obvious, therefore, that to burn, poke, and cut with pointed objects (ritual or ordinary knives and needles, bones, leisters and stakes) are regular actions for casting off the demons of illnesses, and that the procedure for fog and smoke is quite the same. Within the same context, they even receive the same offerings and are threatened with the same animals, as can be seen from the following examples (16 and 17 are incantations against an illness, and 18 and 19 for casting smoke away):

²⁷ Radenković (1981: 343): against the illness called "poganica".

²⁸ Ibid. (451): against a wound of any kind.

16	Izlazite iz srce u kosti, iz kosti na vlakno, iz vlakno na Stambol kapiju, tamo vas čekaju mladi pilići, meki dušeci i mlaka kafa. Nožem ću vas izbosti, sekirom iseći, a metlom izgribati. ²⁹	Go out of the heart to the bones, From the bones to the thread, From the thread to the Istanbul Gate, There young chickens wait for you, Soft pillows and warm coffee. I will stab you with a knife, Cut you with a hatchet, And scrub you with a broom.
17	Beži, Elo, Eliko! Iz Niš idu osamdeset i os'm bivoliće, s jezik će te odmetu, s kopite će te ubiju, s rozi će te ubodu. ³⁰	Run Ela, Elika! From Nis there come Eighty-eight she-buffalos, They will sweep you with tongues, With hoofs they will kill you, With horns they will poke you.
18	Tamo, dime kadime; tamo su ti vrata, tamo su ti jaja, tamo ti je kvočka sa piladima, i tamo se niti vamo ću te biti. ³¹	There, smoke, black smoke; There is the door, There are eggs, There is the hen with chickens, There you stay Here I will beat you.
19	Salih kola od olova, Pa upregnuh sto volova: Ća, Galeša, ća, Rameša! Stade vola riknjavina, Stade kola škripnjavina. ³²	I cast a cart of lead, And yoked a hundred oxen to it: Ha, Galesa, ha, Ramesa! The oxen started to roar, And the cart to squeak.

It is generally plausible, then, to consider fog, as well as smoke, a demonic being. It is not yet clear which particular demon it is, or to what type of demons it belongs. In Bulgarian folklore there are some examples which may be useful in that respect:

Паднала е гъста мъгла	A thick fog fell
На Софийско равно поле.	On the field in front of Sofia.
Не е било гъста мъгла,	It was not a thick fog,
Но е било сурá ламя	It was a grey dragon
Да си аде бяла пшеница	Who came to eat white wheat
И да зобе бяло грозде. ³³	And to pick the white grapes.

²⁹ Ibid. (67): against the illness called “izdat”.

³⁰ Ibid. (112): against the illness called “wind”.

³¹ Ibid. (623): against smoke.

³² Ibid. (624): against smoke.

³³ Marinov 1994: 60. According to Marinov, in Bulgarian folklore fog could also appear as a shepherd (“Нойко овчар”) with a big flock of grey sheep, followed by a ram (“Югич”) with a golden bell around the neck.

Пропеднала тъмна мъгла,	A dark fog fell,
Не е била тъмна мъгла,	But it was not a dark fog,
Но је била лоша ламіа	It was a bad dragon,
Лоша ламіа с девет глави,	A bad dragon with nine heads,
Диха, диха, мъгла издава. ³⁴	It breathes and breathes, and gives out a fog.

But they cannot be found anywhere else in the short forms of folklore in the Balkans. In the fairy stories, though, the dragon appears as a demon, one of whose manifestations can also be a fog.³⁵ Without any concern for their origin, the context in which fog appears here is closer to the epic than to anything mentioned before. The breath of a nine-headed dragon is not too far away from the “steam of horsemen and horses”, especially if it comes from the horse with livid eyes and fiery breath, and from the hero “with no devil’s tooth in his head”, with bloody eyes and under whom the earth is trembling. This really provides a good opportunity to point to one of the most important issues in epic poetics: the way the epic influences and changes the material in order to give it a new, adaptable form.

Let us suppose, then, that the epic fog also has its roots in the magical image of the world where its characteristics are understood as demonic, and its being (“fog with infant fogs”) enters the broad field of “impure forces”. Of all different elements that perform such a profile of fog, in the process of literary modelling, *the epic does not take any one of them alone*. What really enters that process is the totality of them all, the general picture of the evil force which can change its shape at will, while never abandoning the original one, and thus has many faces at the same time. Abiding by this logic, the epic genre itself accepts reduplication as a method of choice, and to a demonic being in its original form, it adds an image from its own repertory, that of a horseman which – from the perspective of the poetics of the genre – overpowers everything else. Given that epic modelling is not an evolutive process, so it is not possible to talk about development and progress (from lower to higher and from older to newer forms) in that context, the demonic appearance of a horseman in/from a fog is not the only acceptable solution for epic poetry. On the contrary, depending on what it sings about, at whom it is aimed and for what purpose, a song is free to choose from among the formulas the one that fits best, no matter how complicated and in which phase of fixity it may be. This is why the fog formula in epics has all three of its forms (neutral, iconic and metaphoric) equally operative and equally unamenable to any kind of aesthetic or poetic evaluation. What lends itself

³⁴ Popov 1889 (10–16): 12.

³⁵ Čajkanović SEZ, 366–368; *Bulgarski folklorni prikazki* [Bulgarian Folklore Stories], 226.

to such an evaluation is only the appropriateness of its use, which brings quite new parameters into discussion.

On the other hand, a horseman – as an equivalent to the demonic being of fog – is not only a suitable invention, but also a generic *sine qua non*. The epic, more than other narrative oral genres, is subordinate to a hero, and this marks its attitude towards the most important constants: space, time, event, etc. In choosing from among the beings suitable to be the opponents of a hero, the epic has to correlate their appearances only as much as it takes to make their encounter (when it takes place) seem heroic. In modelling such an antagonist, the epic is free to choose from among many different originals. Which one will be chosen depends on many elements, but one thing is certain: whenever it is possible, whenever the circumstances permit, the choice will fall on an already existing model, on a ready-made form which will take most, if not all, of its own, recognizable connotations to a new environment. In the epic context, they will be more or less changed, because they will have to adapt to different functions and needs, but they will never be lost completely. Sometimes they can even prevail, and then generic lacunae emerge, the rare and tiny but effective manoeuvring spaces where the “material” communicates with the audience directly, without a go-between. From such a lacuna emerges even a fourth type of the epic fog which, in its purest demonic character, “swallows horses and men”, the same as the dragon, or death itself, does on another occasion. It is surprising that, of all examples we have already given, fog only appears in this form in a prophetic dream, consequently in the poems about the duke Momčilo (type “Wedding of king Vukašin”):

Ja sam noćas čudan san usnio, “Đe se povi jedan pramen magle “Od proklete zemlje Vasojeve, “Pak se savi oko Durmitora, “Ja udarih kroz taj pramen magle “Sa mojijeh devet mile braće “I dvanaest prvo-bratučeda “I četrest od grada levera, U magli se, ljubo, rastadosmo, Rastadosmo, pak se ne sastasmo. (Vuk II, 25:138–147)	Last night I had a strange dream, That a wisp of fog arced From the cursed lands of Vasoje, And wrapped around Durmitor mountain, I set off through this wisp of fog With my dear nine brothers And my twelve cousins And my forty soldiers from the town, In the fog, my beloved, we parted, We parted, and never met again.
Ja sam noćas zločest sanak usanjao, Poteže se silan oblak magle, Iz dubljine iz sinjega mora I odnese devet braće moje, Ja ih u snu potražiti pođo. (Kordunaš)	Last night I had a bad dream, That there was a mighty cloud of fog, Coming from the depths of the grey sea And it took away my nine brothers, And in my dream I set out to look for them.

San sanjao vojvoda Momčilo,	The duke Momcilo dreamt a dream,
San sanjao, ljubi kazivao:	Dreamt a dream, and said to his beloved:
“Gdje se povi jedan pramen magle	“A wisp of fog arced
Sa onijeh zelenih jezerah	From these green lakes
I savi se na dvore njegove:	And wrapped around his ³⁶ castle:
Čini mi se, dobra biti neće.”	Seems to me, nothing good will come out
(Herdvigov, VII)	of it.”
Тежка ме е дремка одремала	I fell into a deep sleep
и у дремка санак си санувах.	And I dreamt a dream.
Излезнал съм на Разбой планина,	I went to Razboj mountain,
се планина магла нападнало	The whole mountain was immersed in fog
и ви сички низ магау изгубих.	And in that fog I lost you all.
(SbNU 53, p. 487)	

“Seems to me, nothing good will come out of it” [Čini mi se, dobra biti neće], an evil imposing formula which³⁶ – although cited only once – occurs in all examples, makes a balance to the famous epic formula: “The dream is a lie, the truth is with God only [“San je laža, a bog je istina”],³⁷ a statement that in our corpus has no connotations other than either a deliberate or an unconscious fraud, treason, lie. In that (and so darkly defined) frame comes a prophetic dream without interpretation, which largely diverges from the epic norm. It is usually incorporated into a song only to enable a developed and symbolic comparison to depict some trivial (non) historical event. The absence of interpretation, from the perspective of epic poetics, can mean one of two things: either the song has nothing to draw a comparison with, or the picture in the dream does not need any comparison.

In the case of the songs about the duke Momčilo’s death, both options are viable. The songs have something to draw a comparison with, although not in the place where the dream is mentioned, but towards the very end of the plot, when the hero loses his retinue while hunting in the mountains,

³⁶ The interchanging of speaking persons is not a mistake here. Whenever an epic singer has to cite someone’s direct speech and to use a possessive pronoun in the first person (*moj* / “my”), he shifts to the third (*njegov* / “his”) to avoid inactivating (unwillingly) the spell of the word. Here, Momčilo should say “my castle”, but the change into safe “his” should prevent a bad luck catching with the singer himself.

³⁷ San je klapnja, sam Bog je istina, / U san nigda nije vjerovati [The dream is a lie, only God knows the truth, / One should never believe a dream] (Bogišić); Al’ govori ljuba Vidosava: / “San je laža a Bog je istina” [And then spoke lady Vidosava: / “A dream is a lie and only God knows the truth”] (Herdvigov; Vidosava is the name of Momcilo’s treacherous wife); San je laža, a Bog je istina / Sve san laže, bog istinu kaže [The dream is a lie, only God knows the truth, / the dream lies about everything, God says the truth] (Kordunaš); Dobar junak dobar san usnio; / San je laža, a Bog je istina [A good hero had a good dream; / The dream is a lie, only God knows the truth] (Vuk).

and his life at the gates of his city (due to his wife's betrayal). Then, and only then, is the death of his cousins/friends compared with their perishing in the fog and the dream proves to be right. The fog still remains equal to its own self, without any epic substitution or embodiment. This procedure is not usual, but it is regular.

As far as the other option is concerned, the fog really does not need any interpretation. It comes from the surroundings which is not epic but demonic, it does not belong to the real world from which epic modelling usually starts (the city of Pirlitor/Periteorion, hunting party, seigniorial feud, the looks and origin of the hero's adversary etc.), and it functions as a superior category in the epic world, as it really belongs to numinous manifestations and beings of whatever class. The epic norm withdraws before it, it goes to the backstage (thence a generic lacuna), which is the epic method of choice whenever numinous chronotopes are of great importance for the plot (forest + word charm in "The Wedding of Milić the Standard-Bearer", forest + curse in "The Bride of Lazo Radanović", a road through the forest + black lamb/child in "The Godfathering of Manojlo the Greek", etc.). Stronger and older, the ancient basis of these interventions truly does not need any explaining to anyone. But, if it is used improperly or mischievously, it could lead to nothing but a bad or wrong poem, as may be seen in this example from Bogišić's collection:

"Moja braćo, čudan sanak viđoh, Đe se povi jedna sinja magla Od Njemačke od bogate zemlje, A iz magle ljuta zmija pade, Te se meni savi oko srca Ljubi zovem, da me oslobodi Od ljutice od zmije proklete, Moja ljuba za me i ne haje." (Bogišić 97)	"Oh my brothers, I had a strange dream, A grey fog arched From Germany, the wealthy country, And from this fog a fierce snake fell, And it coiled around my heart. I cried for my lady, to rid me Of this fierce and cursed snake, But my lady cares not for me."
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Compared to other examples – where the fog comes from where it should: from the cursed country, from the deeps of the grey sea, from the green lakes and from the mountain – in Bogišić's collection its origin is a wealthy country (Germany), and the fog is embodied in the snake that falls from it. Wrapping around the hero's neck (very well known in the songs of quite a different kind – cf. "Prince Marko and Holy Sunday" MH I, 40) and the wife's wrong reaction are actually a reduplication of the standard transcending of fog from numinous to material being (snake). Thus also the indefinable threat with the impure force is degraded into a concrete treason (wife), which disintegrates its demonic nature, and the formula loses the strength it derived from the numen. Damaging the song, of course.

Information about the corpus (with abbreviations)

The epic corpus presented here is composed of both Muslim and Christian classical printed collections, published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (during the last wave of romantic revival of interest in the national oral tradition). In making that choice, I obeyed only the linguistic criteria, which is the same language, and for that reason I set aside other South Slav epic songs (Macedonian and Bulgarian). The corpus consists of 1357 poems (from eight major collections in twenty-two volumes), sung and recorded in what now are four independent countries: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The oldest records of “pevanja na srpsku” [singing in the Serbian way] are published in the collection of Valtazar Bogišić in the late nineteenth century, and in the *Erlangen Manuscript* dated to the beginning of the eighteenth century. All other sources are various collections of children, occasional, and ritual folklore of different genres (Sikimić, Momir, Simić, Zovko, Gagović, Lovretić, etc.).

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EH — *Muslimanske narodne junačke pjesme*, sakupio Esad Hadžiomerspahić, u Banjoj Luci, 1909.

ER — *Erlangenski rukopis*, new reading at: <http://www.branatomic.com/er/>

Herdvigov — Rikardo Ferdinando Plohl-Herdvigov, *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*, u hrvatskom domu sakupio i rodu i svijetu predao Hrvat — — —, sada slušatelj filosofije i prirodosnanstva na Universiteti u Greču, hrvatskoga narodnoga blaga svezka II, u Varaždinu 1869.

KH I–II: *Narodne pjesme muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, sabrao Kosta Hörmann 1888–1889, knj. I–II, drugo izdanje. Sarajevo 1933.

KH III: *Narodne pjesme muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Iz rukopisne ostavštine Koste Hörmanna, redakcija, uvod i komentari Đenana Buturović. Sarajevo, 1966.

Kordunaš — Manojlo Kordunaš, *Zbirka srpskih narodnih umotvorina iz Gornje krajine*, knj. II, *Srpske narodne pjesme slijepca Rade Rapajića*, vjerno pobilježio i za štampu priredio — — —, izdanje i štampa A. Pajevića, u Novome Sadu 1892. (in Cyrillic)

MH I–IX: *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*, skupila i izdala Matica hrvatska. Odio prvi. Junačke pjesme. Zagreb 1890–1940.

SANU II–IV: *Srpske narodne pjesme iz neobjavljenih rukopisa Vuka Stef. Karadžića*, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Odeljenje jezika i književnosti, Beograd 1974. (in Cyrillic)

SbNU — *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenia nauka i knizhnina*, ot. kn. 27. *Sbornik za narodni umotvoernia i narodopis*, MNP (ot kn. XIX izd. B’lgarskoto knizhovno družhestvo, a ot kn. XXVII — BAN). Sofia 1889. (in Cyrillic)

SM — Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, *Pjevanija crnogorska i hercegovačka*, priredio Dobri-
lo Aranitović, Nikšić, 1990. [*Pjevanija cernogorska i hercegovačka, sabrana Čubrom Čojkovićem Cernogorcem*. Pa njim izdana istim, u Lajpcigu, 1837.] (in Cyrillic)

Vuk II–IV: *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića, Srpske narodne pjesme*, izdanje o stogodišnjici smrti Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića 1864–1964 i dvestogodišnjici njegova rođenja 1787–1987. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1986–1988. (in Cyrillic)

Vuk VI–IX : *Srpske narodne pjesme* 1–9, skupio ih Vuk Stef. Karadžić, državno izdanje. Belgrade 1899–1902. (in Cyrillic)

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398.8=163.41

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Dositej Obradović and the Greek Enlightenment*

Abstract: In this communication an attempt is made to broaden the basis of received knowledge concerning Dositej Obradović's affinities with the culture of the Greek Enlightenment by suggesting working hypotheses concerning a much expanded range of possible contacts and relationships with major personalities and sources of Greek Enlightenment literature, hitherto unnoticed by research on his life and thought. The denser texture of Dositej's encounters with Greek Enlightenment culture could also be seen to illustrate the transcultural and transnational basis of the Enlightenment movement in Southeastern Europe.

Keywords: Dositej Obradović, Serbian Enlightenment, Greek Enlightenment

Dositej Obradović is a towering figure in the Serbian intellectual tradition, one of the foremost founding fathers of the Serbian nation state, but his significance as a presence in Balkan and European history is not limited to his place in a particular national culture. As an heir to the cultural traditions of Balkan Orthodoxy and as one of the initiators of the Enlightenment movement in Southeastern Europe the "humble monk Dositej" belongs to other cultural contexts as well and his witness transcends in its significance his role as an emblematic icon in the particular national tradition to which he belongs.

In this brief communication I wish to illustrate the broader significance of Obradović's historical presence through a discussion of his relation to the Greek cultural tradition and to Greek Enlightenment culture more specifically.

Dimitrije Obradović approached Greek culture through the conventional path that formed one of the shared elements in pre-modern Balkan culture, the path of Orthodox monasticism. For centuries monasticism supplied a path of social, educational and geographical mobility for Balkan youths in the context of the broader Orthodox society of Southeastern Europe. The young Dimitrije opted for this path in order to satisfy his craving for learning, as he informs us in his autobiography. His choice led him into the orbit of Orthodox monasticism and inevitably brought him directly in touch with Greek culture. He pursued his craving for education with great persistence and determination. From an early age he felt he should learn

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Greek and Latin in order to satisfy his yearning for education.¹ The craving for learning was further stimulated by an insatiable curiosity about the broader world beyond his home village and region and his original monastery of Hopovo. All these motivations, about which we are pretty well informed by his autobiography, converged into the lifelong travels, migrations and changes in place of residence that make up Dositej's biography. He thus became an itinerant monk of the kind so common in traditional Balkan Orthodox culture but in his case the incessant travels and movements in a geographical space that covered practically the entire European continent on a radius that extended from London to St. Petersburg, did not reproduce traditional patterns of behaviour and activity like collecting alms, carrying holy relics or selling engravings of places of pilgrimage, but on the contrary functioned as a mechanism of change and questioning transforming Dositej's personality and mentality.²

It was this process of inner transformation that brought Dositej into the orbit of Greek culture. The original attempted encounter with Greek culture turned out to be abortive. This was Dositej's attempt to enrol in the Athonite Academy and to study under its scholarch Evgenios Voulgaris.³ This would have been a decisive initiation into Greek Enlightenment culture not only through Voulgaris' teaching of modern philosophy but also by virtue of the encounter of his students at the Athonite Academy, Iosipos Moisioudax, Christodoulos Pamplekis, Gabriel Kallonas, all of whom later on produced work of similar inspiration as the work of Dositej. As I will suggest in this communication this encounter did not take place on Athos but in the Greek diaspora in Central Europe later on.

By the time Dositej reached Athos in 1765 the experiment with the Enlightenment on the Holy Mountain had failed, Voulgaris had fled and his students were dispersed.⁴ Dositej visited the Athonite monasteries, primarily the great Serbian foundation of Chilandar and certainly the neighbouring Vatopedi. Perhaps he climbed on the hill overlooking Vatopedi to

¹ *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović*, transl. by George Rapall Noyes (Berkeley: California University Press, 1953), 161–164.

² On this change and its significance for broader Balkan culture see P. M. Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism. Iosipos Moisioudax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 38–39. See also Carol Roggel, "The Wandering Monk and the Balkan National Awakening", *Études Balkaniques* 1 (1976), 114–127.

³ *Life and Adventures*, 232.

⁴ On this see P. M. Kitromilides, "Athos and the Enlightenment", *An Orthodox Commonwealth. Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variation, 2007).

visit the deserted buildings of the Athonite Academy. It would have been interesting to know his thoughts on this occasion...

His thirst for knowledge directed his plans for education elsewhere. From the information he must have collected on Athos two choices appeared open to him: Patmos and Smyrna. Patmos, however, the foremost centre of higher learning in the Greek world in the second quarter of the 18th century, was in decline. On the contrary Smyrna had been endowed with a new educational institution in 1733, the Evangelical School, which under the teacher Ierotheos Dendrinios from Ithaca, had acquired a noteworthy reputation. Dositej went to Smyrna and studied under Dendrinios until 1768. In his autobiography he left a glowing account of the school and its teacher, "Greece's new Socrates" as he calls him⁵. What makes this testimony particularly interesting, indeed unique, is the sharp contrast in which it stands with the relevant testimonies of two other leading Enlightenment figures, Iosipos Moisiodax and Adamantios Korais, both of whom had studied under Dendrinios and left very negative accounts of his teaching and personality.⁶ Dositej appears much more positive in his judgement of his Greek teacher, and this had probably to do with a more generous nature that appreciated with gratitude what Greek culture had to offer to the other Orthodox of the Balkans who sought the fruits of education in Greek schools.

From Smyrna Dositej moved on in 1768, travelled to the Western Balkans, stopping at Hormovo in Albania where he founded a school and eventually crossed over to Corfu, still under Venetian rule. In Corfu he studied for thirteen months under a well known teacher of the period, Andreas Petritsopoulos, perfecting his knowledge of classical Greek literature.⁷ He soon moved on, ending up in 1771 in Vienna, where he tutored pupils in Greek. Certainly among his pupils must have been the sons of the important Greek Orthodox community in Vienna. Thus began Dositej's close involvement with the Greek and more broadly the Balkan diaspora in Central Europe, which I wish to suggest, became one of the primary channels of his integration into the culture of the Enlightenment. In 1780 he is recorded in Trieste, where there was an important Serbian community. Dositej did not settle in Trieste but moved on to Venice in early 1781 and then to Livorno, where he embarked for Chios. There he taught Italian in the local school for a period, moving on to Constantinople in 1782 and

⁵ *Life and Adventures*, 235–246.

⁶ Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism*, 23–26.

⁷ *Life and Adventures*, 253–255. On Petritsopoulos note the appraisal by L. Vrokinis, *Βιογραφικά σχέδια των εν τοῖς γράμμασι [...] διαλαμπάντων Κερκυραίων* (Corfu 1877), reprinted in *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά* XVI (1972), 291.

then to Jassy in Moldavia, where he became a tutor to the children of the princely Ghica family for a year (from the spring 1782 to the spring 1783). In connection with this latest occupation I wish to suggest that it possibly points to an important encounter Dositej must have had in the immediately preceding period: it is quite probable that in 1779–1780 Dositej had met Iosipos Moisioudax who was on his way to Venice and Vienna to publish his major works, including his important pedagogical treatise.⁸ Moisioudax had been closely associated with the reforming Prince Gregory Ghica earlier on in his career and it is possible that he recommended Dositej as a tutor for the offspring of his former employer.⁹ There is a second hint of a possible intellectual affinity between Dositej and Moisioudax. Moisioudax was very keen on educational and language reform as it is evident both from his critique of Dendrinós' pedagogical methods and especially from his impressive pedagogical treatise which draws on the educational ideas of John Locke.¹⁰ It is possible that Dositej had read this work, published in 1779, and was inspired by it in composing his own manifesto for educational change, the *Pismo Haralampiju*, shortly after the publication of Moisioudax's work. It is, I suggest, an important research need to compare Obradović's early works with the works of Moisioudax, not only his *Pedagogy*, but also his prolegomena to his Greek translation of Muratori's *Moral Philosophy* in order to identify such possible affinities on the basis of textual evidence.

The possible meeting with Moisioudax was not Dositej's only encounter with important representatives of the Greek Enlightenment. In the 1780s, both before and after his trip to Russia in 1787, Dositej published his first books at the printing press of Joseph Breitkopf in Leipzig: in 1783 his autobiography, in the following year his *Counsels of common sense*. After his return from Russia again in Leipzig he published his famous collection of *Fables*, a book inspired by Lessing's similar work, adapting into Serbian fables from Aesop, Lessing and Lafontaine. Breitkopf had been the printer of many of the greatest works of the Greek Enlightenment and the benches of his printing workshop had seen since the 1760s the leading minds of the Greek Enlightenment bending over the proofs of their books. It is possible that in the late 1780s, when he was publishing his *Fables* in Leipzig Dositej met Christodoulos Pamblekis, who was living and teaching there. Thus al-

⁸ Kitromilides *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism*, 98–100.

⁹ Ibid. 85–86. See also *Life and Adventures*, 281. He mentions that he taught French to the nephews of the Archbishop of Modavia, Gavriil Kallimachis, but he does not record his employment by the Gika family.

¹⁰ See P. M. Kitromilides, "John Locke and the Greek Intellectual Tradition", in *Locke's Philosophy. Content and Context*, ed. G. A. J. Rogers (Oxford University Press, 1994), 225.

though his original wish to study at the Athonite Academy was frustrated, it is probable that Dositej met in his travels and contacts with the Greek diaspora two of its most important alumni who furthermore were without doubt the sharpest critical minds in that group. Pamblekis was the most outspoken religious critic in the Greek Enlightenment and it is not to be excluded that Dositej's well known critical views on religion were to some extent influenced by discussions of shared interests with him.

In 1789 Dositej settled in Vienna where he stayed for the next twelve years until 1802. In the Hapsburg capital he lived through the influences and hopes excited by the French Revolution among all the peoples of Europe. In the 1790s Vienna became the theatre of the revolutionary plans of Rhigas Velestinlis, the Greek Jacobin who became the emblematic figure of Balkan radicalism.¹¹ In the Balkan intellectual circles and especially the printing establishments of Vienna it is quite possible that Dositej met Rhigas either in 1790 during Rhigas' first visit or more likely during his more extended stay in 1796–1797 when he was preparing his revolutionary works. Dositej's interest in Marmontel and his translation of *La Bergère des Alpes* may be considered a point of intellectual contact with Rhigas, whose book *Ithikos Tripous* includes a Greek version of this moral story. The political turn of Dositej's interests, which eventually led him back to Serbia and motivated his participation in Karageorge's revolt, and his arguments for a common front of all Serbian-speaking people, regardless of religious differences, against despotism suggests a clear affinity, I think, with Rhigas' ideas.

There are two further possible points of contact of Dositej Obradović with Greek Enlightenment culture and I would like to conclude by briefly mentioning these two further hypotheses, which should be evaluated and tested on the basis of textual comparisons. Following his settlement in Vienna and the close ties he developed with Greek culture Dositej in all likelihood came across the work of Dimitrios Darvaris, an important intellectual personality in the Orthodox community in the imperial capital.¹² Darvaris had published in Vienna in 1791 a *Manual to good character* (Χειραγωγία εις την καλοκαγαθίαν, reprinted in 1802),¹³ a work whose content must have appealed to Dositej, considering his earlier interest in Antonios

¹¹ See P. M. Kitromilides, "An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan Cultural Pluralism. The Republican Vision of Rhigas Velestinlis", *History of Political Thought* XXIV (2003), 465–479.

¹² See Vaso Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη* (Athens: Erodotos, 2011), 318–320, 325–326, 330 and 333–334.

¹³ See Anna Tabaki, *Περί Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού* (Athens: Ergo Publishers, 2004), 139–165.

Vyzantios' *Chrestoetheia*, which he had translated in 1770 from a manuscript copy. Vyzantios' work in fact had circulated in manuscript for decades and had been a major model for this genre of moral writing in Greek culture. Dimitrios Darvaris had published a Serbian version in Vienna in 1786.¹⁴ These developments may be associated with Dositej's decision to leave his own translation unpublished in his own life time, perhaps judging it redundant and feeling that the critical need to cultivate civility and propriety as a means of improving society could be served by these other sources, especially Darvaris' Serbian translation of Vyzantios' work. This connection of Dositej with Greek culture could possibly explain why his *Chrestoetheia* remained unpublished until 1826.

Finally just before returning to Serbia Dositej published at the Greek printing house of Panos Theodosiou in Venice in 1803 a Serbian adaptation of Francesco Soave's *Moral philosophy*. Soave was a very popular author among Greek scholars at the time and several of his works had appeared in Greek adaptations and translations in the early nineteenth century. Dositej's work belonged to the same intellectual climate and it would be interesting to collate his edition with the contemporary Greek version of Soave's work by Gregorios Constantas, also published in Venice the following year.¹⁵ Such a comparison would reveal the shared intellectual basis upon which the Enlightenment in its Balkan incarnations was constructed.

The hints and hypotheses that make up this communication have been aimed at expanding our awareness of Dositej's ties and interactions with the culture of the Greek Enlightenment in order to illustrate the truly transnational and transcultural basis of the process of transfer and reception of ideas by means of which European culture as a whole was transforming itself, shaping new identities and elaborating the values of modernity. Dositej Obradović was an important figure in this process, developing through his writings and his cultural activities into one of its most important representatives in Southeastern Europe.¹⁶ Understanding his ideas and his life's work can provide important insights into the broader movement

¹⁴ See for details Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique XVIIe siècle*, ed. Hubert Pernot (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1918), vol. II, 332–334 and 450.

¹⁵ *Στοιχεία της Λογικής, Μεταφυσικής και Ηθικής υπό Φραγκίσκου Σοανίου*, transl. by Gregorios Constantas, vols. I–IV (Venice 1804).

¹⁶ For a detailed examination of the philosophical basis of his Enlightenment project see N. M. J. Ćurčić, *The Ethics of Reason in the Philosophical System of Dositej Obradović* (London 1976), and for a recent appraisal of his contribution to the initiation of the modernization of Serbian culture Slobodan G. Markovich, "Dositej Obradovich: The man who introduced modernity to the Serbs", *The South Slav Journal* 30:3–4 (2011), 5–27.

of cultural change that shaped the European Enlightenment and through it European modernity.

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Patterns of National Identity Development among the Balkan Orthodox Christians during the Nineteenth Century

Abstract: The paper analyses the development of national identities among Balkan Orthodox Christians from the 1780s to 1914. It points to pre-modern political sub-systems in which many Balkan Orthodox peasants lived in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Serbian and Greek uprisings/revolutions are analysed in the context of the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment. Various modes of penetration of the ideas of the Age of Revolution are analysed as well as the ways in which new concepts influenced proto-national identities of Serbs and Romans/Greeks. The author accepts Hobsbawm's concept of proto-national identities and identifies their ethno-religious identity as the main element of Balkan Christian Orthodox proto-nations. The role of the Orthodox Church in the formation of ethno-religious proto-national identity and in its development into national identity during the nineteenth century is analysed in the cases of Serbs, Romans/Greeks, Vlachs/Romanians and Bulgarians. Three of the four Balkan national movements fully developed their respective national identities through their own ethnic states, and the fourth (Bulgarian) developed partially through its ethnic state. All four analysed identities reached the stage of mass nationalism by the time of the Balkan Wars. By the beginning of the twentieth century, only Macedonian Slavs kept their proto-national ethno-religious identity to a substantial degree. Various analysed patterns indicate that nascent national identities coexisted with fluid and shifting proto-national identities within the same religious background. Occasional supremacy of social over ethnic identities has also been identified. Ethnification of the Orthodox Church, in the period 1831–1872, is viewed as very important for the development of national movements of Balkan Orthodox Christians. A new three-stage model of national identity development among Balkan Orthodox Christians has been proposed. It is based on specific aspects in the development of these nations, including: the insufficient development of capitalist society, the emergence of ethnic states before nationalism developed in three out of four analysed cases, and an inappropriate social structure with a bureaucratic class serving the same role as the middle class had in more developed European nationalisms. The three phases posed three different questions to Balkan Christian Orthodox national activists. Phase 1: Who are we?; Phase 2: What to do with our non-liberated compatriots; and Phase 3: Has the mission of national unification been fulfilled?

Keywords: the Balkans, national identity, proto-nationalism, Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians, Macedonian Slavs

In the age of Euro-Atlantic revolutions the question of nationality emerged or re-emerged, depending on the theoretical approach. The concept of pre-modern origins of nations remains a matter of scholarly debate.¹ Yet,

¹ There are two significant authors defending this position: John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of N. Carolina Press, 1986), and Anthony

even if one does not accept Anthony Smith's *ethnies* or ethnic cores from which modern nations originate, it is difficult to reject the empirical evidence provided by E. J. Hobsbawm for proto-nations from which, or concomitantly with which, modern national identities emerged.²

Miroslav Hroch identified seven nation-states in early modern Europe: England, France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and the Netherlands. There were also two emerging nations, Germans and Italians and, about 1800, more than twenty "non-dominant ethnic groups".³ The major objects of academic interest have been the Western nation-states and the national movements of Germans and Italians. South Slavs and Greeks have been covered occasionally. More importantly, theoretical frameworks have been based on Western or Eastern European experience, and the Balkans has been viewed mostly as a sub-variant of Eastern European types of nationalism.⁴ The issue of national movements among the South Slavs was addressed in two important historical studies. The earlier, by Ivo Banac, was written before major theories in nationalism studies have been developed and, unsurprisingly, it made the notion of the nation too essential.⁵ The best study in Serbo-Croatian on the emergence of Yugoslav nations, therefore, remains *The Creation of Yugoslavia (1790–1918)* by Milorad Ekmečić.⁶ Among Greek scholars, an important contribution has been made by the political scientist and historian Paschalis Kitromilides.⁷

John A. Hall has significantly observed: "No single, universal theory of nationalism is possible. As the historical record is diverse so too must be

D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

² Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 46–79.

³ Miroslav Hroch, "National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective", in Sukumar Periwal, ed., *Notions of Nationalism* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1995), 66.

⁴ An exception is Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), who devotes a chapter to the South Slavs (pp. 124–147) but, failing to consult the relevant body of literature, produces very dubious findings.

⁵ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

⁶ Milorad Ekmečić, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790–1918* [The Creation of Yugoslavia], 2 vols. (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1989). A shorter but also very useful analysis along these lines can be found in Dušan T. Bataković, *Yugoslavie. Nations, religions, idéologies* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1994).

⁷ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1994); and also his *An Orthodox Commonwealth. Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum Collected Studies Series, 2007).

our concepts.”⁸ In this paper I shall make an attempt to identify some key issues in the process which, in the nineteenth century, transformed proto-national identities of Serbs, Romans/Greeks, Bulgarians and Vlachs/Romanians into modern nations. There were some specific social conditions and some political circumstances that elude most of the suggested categorisations. Consequently, I have attempted to accommodate Hroch’s tripartite development of national movements to Balkan cases where proto-national states developed into national states. I have also accepted, as quite suitable for the nineteenth-century Balkans, Hobsbawm’s category of proto-nationalism and his core definition of this notion as “the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity”.⁹

The Balkans at the end of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century

Substantial regional differences, tolerated local peculiarities and quite different positions of various social and religious groups is what characterised the Ottoman Empire; as Wayne Vucinich aptly summarised: “Never a homogenous polity, the Ottoman Empire was an enormous and intricate network of social subsystems.”¹⁰ Throughout early modernity, Ottoman towns in the Balkans coexisted with areas of pastoralist life where Neolithic patterns prevailed.

Many pre-modern economic and cultural patterns were present in the Balkans at the end of the eighteenth century. The identity of peasants was mostly quite local since social conditions were such that the Christian peasants in the Balkans lived in relatively small political subsystems. The peasant in highland areas lived in a small clan and felt loyal to his kin. The age of revolutions brought something previously unknown to the Balkans. From being loyal to his visible relatives, one was supposed to become loyal to invisible abstractions such as state and nation. Two ethnic states, Serbian and Greek, emerged in the first three decades of the nineteenth century: the Greek gained independence as early as 1831–1832 and the Serbian gained *de facto* autonomy in 1815, and officially recognised autonomy in 1830. From being members of different subsystems within the Ottoman Empire, by the 1830s the Christian peasants in Serbia and Greece became members of two ethnic states.

⁸ John A. Hall, “Nationalisms, Classified and Explained”, in Sukumar Periwal, ed., *No-tions of Nationalism* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1995), 8.

⁹ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 73.

¹⁰ Wayne Vucinich, “The Nature of Balkan Society under Ottoman Rule”, *The Slavic Review* 21:4 (Dec. 1962), 597.

For accepting the abstract categories of the Enlightenment, a decline of clans and family solidarity was a precondition. By the nineteenth century, however, this was the case only among Muslim urban families which, however, could not subscribe to the European spirit of the age due to the secularism and Christian cultural background of the European Enlightenment. Therefore, in the Ottoman Empire, tiny merchant classes and learned individuals, mostly of Greek origin or at least belonging to Greek culture, were a rare subgroup that could have received and accepted the ideas of the Age of Revolution.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there appeared among most Balkan Christians a reverse pre-modern process, which involved the extension of kinship and the revival of the extended family. The process followed two lines. One was present in the western areas of Herzegovina, Montenegro, Northern Albania and the area of Mani in the Peloponnesus, where the extension of kinship took place, while extended families prevailed among the Christians of the rest of the Balkans. Thus, during the period of Ottoman rule an average South Slavic household had ten members, but the number could be as high as one hundred.¹¹ Private *çiftlik* estates emerged in the Ottoman Balkans in the seventeenth century, mostly along the Black Sea coast and in areas close to the Danube, but also along the river valleys of Greece and Macedonia. They normally covered 20–30 hectares of land and were owned by local Turkish or Albanian military officers. Bulgarian scholar Strashimir Dimitrov has established that only ten percent of the Bulgarian population was under the *çiftlik* regime by the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the major land regime, as John Lampe has noted, was the upland village, particularly in the Serbian and Greek lands.¹²

Substantial parts of the Balkans lived in a kind of a Neolithic age until at least the mid-nineteenth century, and some of these Neolithic features survived even later. Traian Stoianovich identified these characteristics as the so-called Earth Culture. “Balkan man, we have observed, was until recently an earth man, like the other man of the world, a product of Neolithic cultures, bound religiously, psychologically, and economically to the soil and space around him.” It would be only “in our own time” that an elite culture “would cause a radical transformation, seemingly an obliteration of

¹¹ Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds. The First and Last Europe* (Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), 158–164. Its original and much shorter edition is Traian Stoianovich, *A Study in Balkan Civilization* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 133–137.

¹² John R. Lampe, “Imperial Borderlands or Capitalist Periphery? Redefining Balkan Backwardness, 1520–1914”, in Daniel Chirot, ed., *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 187–189.

the old Neolithic culture.” But, even such a submerged Neolithic culture, Stoianovich believed, “still profoundly conditions the deepest thoughts and feelings of peasants, workers, writers, and thinkers, and of men of action and politics.”¹³

Indeed, ancient pagan rituals and conceptions survived in the Balkans and were fully present and obvious to some Western travellers who visited the European Turkey even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century. Noel Brailsford, describing religion among the Macedonian Slavs, noted: “But the real religion of the Balkans is something more deeply-rooted... It is older and more elemental than Christianity itself; more permanent even than the Byzantine rite. It bridges the intervening centuries and links in pious succession the modern peasant to his heathen ancestor, who wore the same costumes and led the same life in the same fields. It is based on a primitive sorrow before the amazing fact of death, which no mystery of the Resurrection has ever softened. It is neither a rite nor a creed, but only that yearning love of the living for the dead which is deeper than any creed.”¹⁴ What Brailsford attributed to the early twentieth century Balkanites corresponds to the description, provided by F. de Coulanges, of early Roman religion, in which the cult of the ancestors occupied a key place.¹⁵ In this cult the hearth played an important role and this all makes it a part of a Neolithic culture since it implies the existence of stable habitations. Speaking of religious divisions among the South Slavs in an epoch that he termed “the era of beliefs” (1790–1830), Milorad Ekmečić has noted that members of different churches, in spite of deep divisions among them, “had, in superstition and relics of paganism, a belief that had been common to them. In terms of how strong religious feelings were, superstition was stronger than the official church and its teachings”.¹⁶

At the beginning of the twentieth century the population of Balkan Christians was more than 85 percent rural on average. At the beginning of the nineteenth century rural populations lived in communal joint-families called *zadruga*. It was essentially “a household composed of two or more biological or small families, closely related by blood or adoption, owing its means of production communally, producing and consuming the means of

¹³ Stoianovich, *A Study in Balkan Civilization*.

¹⁴ H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia. Its Races and Their Future* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), 75.

¹⁵ Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City. A study on the religion, laws, and institutions of Greece and Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

¹⁶ Ekmečić, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije*, vol. I, 23.

its livelihood jointly, and regulating the control of its property, labour, and livelihood communally.”¹⁷

A semi-nomadic way of life and pastoral economy characterised many Balkan Christians and thus, unsurprisingly, strengthened tribal organisation which survived in the Balkans as late as the nineteenth century and, to an extent, even later in areas like Montenegro, Northern Albania, or the Peloponnesus. Philip Mosely, in an article first published in 1953, was able to find the tribal way of life in pre-1912 Montenegro and in Northern Albania: “Until recent decades, this tribal region probably represented the most ancient social system still extant in Europe.” In this area the communal joint-family survived through the nineteenth century and disappeared in the first decades of the twentieth century.¹⁸ As long as there was an independent Montenegro its ruler was viewed as the leader of one tribe and “the tribal way of life remained rather stable”.¹⁹

The identity issue in the Serbian and Greek Revolutions

If one can accept that nationalism creates a modern nation, then it is important to see under which social conditions this process occurred in the Balkans. The task set before the small nationally conscious Balkan élites was a very difficult one. Neolithic peasants were supposed to be turned into nationally conscious citizens proud of their ethno-linguistic heritage. With lowland peasants the task was somewhat easier. Their regional identities and regional narratives were to be fused into one national identity and a single national narrative. Peasants were expected to interiorise two categories that were quite abstract for their worldview: state and nation. Ultimately, they were trapped in conscript armies imbued with the national spirit that by the time of the Balkan Wars had touched substantial parts of the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian peasantry. From the symbolism of earth culture they were supposed to arrive to the point of state and national symbolism. These two symbolisms were separated by millennia, but the national movements in the Balkans had only a century or less to carry out the transformation.

¹⁷ Philip E. Mosely, “The Peasant Family: the Zadruga, or Communal Joint-Family in the Balkans, and its Recent Evolution”, in Robert F. Byrnes, ed., *Communal Families in the Balkans: the Zadruga* (Notre Dame, London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 19.

¹⁸ Philip E. Mosely, “The Distribution of the Zadruga within Southeastern Europe”, in Robert F. Byrnes, ed., *Communal Families in the Balkans: the Zadruga* (Notre Dame, London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 60 and 62.

¹⁹ Ibid.

The structural school in Balkan studies found causes of the Serbian Uprising in a combination of Christian millenarian expectations and unbearable pressure of rebelled Ottoman administrators known as *dahis*. Millenarian hopes were very present among the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The *parousia* or the second coming was expected in the year 7000 of the Byzantine era (1492 AD), and the liberation of Constantinople was predicted to take place after the reign of the first five sultans (the sixth began his reign in 1595), but also on the bicentenary of the fall of Constantinople, in 1653. Later, it was believed that Constantinople would be devastated in 1766 and that it would be a prelude to the *parousia* seven years later.²⁰ The eclipses of the Sun and Moon in 1804 were a sign to the Christian peasants of the Sanjak of Simendria (better known as the Pashalik of Belgrade) that salvation was very near indeed. Thus, as Traian Stoianovich aptly noticed, the French Revolution was concurrent with the Serbian “Re-revolution”, and this moving back was based on a deeply rooted chiliast expectation among Serbs and other Balkan Christians as well as Jews in early modernity that a “golden age” would come. Among Serbs, this feeling was especially strong in the second half of the eighteenth century.²¹

For Stoianovich, the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) was also the Serbian Revolution, and the subsequent uprisings of the Greeks between 1821 and 1829, and the Bulgarians in 1878, were, for Stoianovich, both “national and social”. In Stoianovich’s view, during the First Serbian Uprising the Serbian peasant leaders embraced a “new national ideology” which was propagated only in an “embryonic form” by Serbian merchants, officers and intellectuals from the Habsburg Empire.²²

(a) *The Serbian case*

What certainly inspired the Serbian revolution were two elements: one intellectual, the other political. Although the leaders of the First Serbian Uprising only gradually embraced national ideology, leading intellectuals among the Hungarian Serbs viewed the uprising as a national cause and Serbia as their fatherland from the very inception of the Uprising. Only four months after the beginning of the Uprising the leading figure of the Serbian stream of the Enlightenment Dositej Obradović (1739–1811) wrote to another figure of the Serbian Enlightenment, Pavle Solarić (1779–1821), asking him to mediate in the effort to collect money for the Serbs “who are

²⁰ Cyril Mango, “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), 35–36.

²¹ Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds*, 169–170.

²² Ibid., 172 and 174.

now happily fighting for the gens and fatherland".²³ In the twenty years between Dositej's first book, published in a kind of vernacular in 1783, and 1804, when the First Serbian Uprising began, a small but influential stratum of Serbian patriots developed among the Hungarian Serbs. They were the nucleus of the modern Serbian nation. They constituted an intellectual group of Serbian Josephinists who followed the ideas of the Enlightenment. The period 1790–1794 is marked by the emergence of the modern Serbian national feeling among the Serbian intellectuals in Hungary and Austria, a feeling that was not alien to the Serbian merchants all the way from Trieste to the Hungarian lands who financed or supported many books published by this group.

The other element was political. In 1790 a meeting of representatives of the Serbian people and church was summoned (Popular-Ecclesiastical Assembly). This was a part of the privileges that the Serbs in the Habsburg Empire had enjoyed from the time of the Great Migration of Serbs from the Ottoman Empire to the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire in 1690. This was the seventh such assembly since 1744, and the purpose of them all was to elect the spiritual head of the Serbian people in Hungary – the archbishop. The Assembly was held in Temišvar/Temesvar (modern Timisoara) in August/September 1790. This was a peculiar gathering, since the leading role was played by members of the Serbian bourgeoisie. The archbishop/metropolitan elected by the Assembly was Bishop of Buda Stefan Stratimirović, an Enlightenment figure himself, and a freemason initiated in 1785 (at the time he was abbot of the Krušedol monastery).²⁴ A majority of the deputies attending the Assembly supported the request that the Serbs be granted a territory with autonomous rights in the Banat.²⁵ This

²³ Dositej Obradović to Pavle Solarić, Trieste, 5/17 June 1804, in *Sabrana dela Dositeja Obradovića*, ed. Mirjana D. Stefanović, vol. 6: *Pesme, pisma, dokumenti* [Collected Works of Dositej Obradović, vol. 6: Poems, letters, documents] (Belgrade: Zadužbina Dositej Obradović, 2008), 68.

²⁴ Among 39 names in a list of the members of the lodge *Vigilantia* (Ger. *zur Wachsamkeit*) in Osijek (Esseg) in Slavonia from 1785, one can find Stefan Stratimirović, abbot of the Orthodox Krušedol monastery at the time, Stefan Novaković, owner of a printing house in Vienna in 1792–1794 (when he printed 70 Serbian titles), and the Serb Orthodox Bishop of Novi Sad Josif Jovanović Šakabenta. Cf. Strahinja Kostić, "Serbische Freimaurer am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre wissenschaftliche und literarische Tätigkeit", in Eva H. Balazs et al., eds., *Beförderer der Aufklärung in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Berlin: Camen, 1979), 148 and 151.

²⁵ Aleksandar Forišković, "Politički, pravni i društveni odnosi kod Srba u Habsburškoj monarhiji" [Political, Legal and Social Relations among Serbs in the Habsburg Empire], in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People], vol. IV-1 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994), 277–279.

was the earliest nucleus of the modern idea of Serbian statehood and it was initiated by the already influential bourgeois class among the Hungarian Serbs.

At exactly the same time when the Temišvar Assembly was held, Serbia found herself under Austrian rule for the second time in the eighteenth century. It was in this period, when the Serbs in Hungary enjoyed a cultural renaissance, that it became easy to cross the border between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire. The Austrians at first supported Serbian volunteers in Serbia against Ottoman authority in 1788, then made their regular army out of them and, finally, launched their own two campaigns in 1789. In the second campaign they took Belgrade. Serbian siding with Habsburg forces and occasional advancements and retreats of Ottoman forces compelled many Serbs to flee across the Danube and the Sava into the Banat and Srem in 1788. It is possible that as many as 80,000 to 100,000 Serbs escaped to Austrian soil.²⁶ Since Serbia was under Austria, in the course of the following year the refugees were able to return. All of this enabled communication between the Serbs on the two sides of the Sava and Danube rivers, and the Serbs of Serbia could see how far advanced the Hungarian Serbs were. This means that at the time of the Serbian Uprising many people in Serbia had already had firsthand experience of how people lived in a European country and this facilitated the task that the Serbs of southern Hungary who joined the Uprising set themselves: to create a new Europeanised Serbian élite. Opening the leading educational institution of that age in Serbia, the College of Belgrade, on 12 or 13 September 1808, Dositej Obradović said to the students: "You will be the ones who will enlighten our nation and lead it to every goodness, because by the time you will have become the people's headmen, judges and managers, the people's progress, honour and glory will depend on you."²⁷

Only the spreading of Enlightenment ideas not only among the Hungarian Serbs but also in the nascent Serbian state at the time of the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) may explain the activities of the Hungarian Serb Teodor Filipović (1776–1807), the second doctor of jurisprudence among the Serbs. He arrived in Serbia as early as March 1805. On his way there he changed his Greek first name Teodor to its Serbian equivalent, Božidar, and his family name to Grujović. In September, his draft on the establishing of a governing council was accepted at the insurgents' assembly. Following the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, and

²⁶ Slavko Gavrilović, "Ka Srpskoj revoluciji" [Towards the Serbian Revolution], in *Istoriја srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People], vol. IV-1 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994), 377–379.

²⁷ *Sabrana dela Dositeja Obradovića*, vol. 5, 177.

under the influence of Rousseau, Grujović prepared the *Word*, a speech that was to be delivered at the inauguration of the supreme state authority in Serbia: the *Word* insisted on law, freedom and security.²⁸

It was no coincidence that, three decades later, two achievements almost coincided. In 1832 the first printing house in the Principality of Serbia began operation. In 1833 the first private publisher, Gligorije Vozarović, released six books. Four of them were new editions of Dositej Obradović. In 1834–1836, he published five more books by Obradović.²⁹ These were the first printed collected works of a Serb. It was exactly in this period that another liberally-minded Hungarian Serb, Dimitrije Davidović, drafted the very liberal but short-lived Constitution of 1835.

A recent lexicon of the Serbian Enlightenment identifies 129 names of Serbian writers in the age of Enlightenment.³⁰ Even though not all of them were proponents of the Enlightenment, but simply lived and wrote in that era, most were imbued with the spirit of the age in one way or another. Moreover, most of them lived in the Habsburg Empire and thus the Serbian Enlightenment was conceptualised in cities such as Vienna, Buda, Szentendre (Sentandreja), Sremski Karlovci (Karlowitz) or Sombor, but also Venice or Trieste, which had significant Serbian communities of merchants, businessmen, lawyers, teachers, professors etc. Only two of these writers lived all their lives in the Pashalik of Belgrade. When some of them came to Serbia to join the uprising, like Dositej Obradović and Ivan Jugović, they were quite successful in instilling the national spirit into many leading figures of the uprising. Although Hungarian and Austrian in geographic origin, the Serbian Enlightenment had a Balkan impact: its influence on Serbian notables of the Pashalik of Belgrade facilitated the diffusion of the idea of nation and citizen. What makes the Serbian Enlightenment writers very particular is that an influence of the Graecophone Enlightenment existed but was very limited, with Dositej Obradović being a rare exception.

In 1786, Sava Popović Tekelija was the first Serb to defend a doctoral dissertation in jurisprudence. In his dissertation he spoke of Rousseau as

²⁸ Danilo N. Basta, “Životni put Božidara Grujovića (Teodora Filipovića)”, in Jovica Trkulja & Dragoljub Popović, eds., *Liberalna misao u Srbiji. Prilozi istoriji liberalizma od kraja 18. do sredine 20. veka* (Belgrade: CUPS and Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, 2001), 11–29; Ljubinka Trgovčević, “The Enlightenment and the Beginnings of Modern Serbian Culture”, *Balcanica XXXVII* (2007), 106.

²⁹ Volume 10, containing Obradović's letters, was published in 1845. Cf. *Katalog knjiga na jezicima jugoslovenskih naroda 1519–1867*, ed. Dušica Stošić [Catalogue of Books in Languages of Yugoslav Peoples, 1519–1867] (Belgrade: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 1973), 281–282.

³⁰ Mirjana D. Stefanović, *Leksikon srpskog prosvetiteljstva* [Lexicon of the Serbian Enlightenment] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2009), 261–292.

“celeberrimus nostrae aetatis philosophus” (the most celebrated philosopher of our age) and “virenditissimus” (the most learned man).³¹ The link between the Enlightenment and the First Serbian Uprising is obvious in his case. It was Count Tekelija who published, in Vienna a year after the outbreak of the Serbian Uprising (1805), the *Geographic Map of Serbia, Bosnia, Dubrovnik, Montenegro and Neighbouring Regions* and immediately supplied 500 copies to the leadership of the Serbian Uprising. In 1804, he submitted to the Emperor Napoleon I a proposal to create an Illyrian kingdom which would stretch from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; with its areas united around the Serbs, the new kingdom would have been a barrier against Austria and Russia.³²

Serbian proponents of the Enlightenment had a major task to replace Russian-Slavic language and corresponding vague Slavic identity that developed among Hungary's ethnic Serbs in the second half of the eighteenth century. They advocated instead either a vernacular or a compromise Serbian-Slavic language very close to vernacular, and encouraged Serbian identity. By doing that successfully between 1783 and 1804 they imbued the Hungarian Serbs with a spirit that prompted many of them to come to Serbia during the First Serbian Uprising.³³

(b) *The Greek case*

Ideas of the Enlightenment were more deeply rooted in the Greek areas of the Ottoman Empire and within Greek merchant colonies than among the Christian Orthodox Serbs. This was the result of a network of Greek merchants who operated in the eighteenth century. They existed not only in the Balkans but also throughout the Mediterranean and even as far away as the Indian coasts. Greek language was used as language of trade throughout the Balkans. The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of merchants among Christian Orthodox Slavs, especially among Serbs, but also, though to a lesser extent, among Bulgarians. However, Hellenisation affected Bulgarian merchants heavily and also some Serbian merchants by the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore at the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the eve of the Serbian and Greek revolutions, ethnic Greeks or at least

³¹ Tököl, Sabba [Tekelija, Sava], *Dissertatio iuridica de causa et fine civitatis* (Pest: Printing House of Joseph Gottfried Lettner, 1786), 13.

³² Dušan T. Bataković, “A Balkan-Style French Revolution? The 1804 Serbian Uprising in European Perspective”, *Balkanica XXXVI* (2006), 118–120.

³³ By 1807 the number of Serbian volunteers from the Military Frontier in the Habsburg Empire who joined the Serbian Uprising rose to 515, cf. Bataković, “A Balkan-Style French Revolution?”, 122.

more or less Hellenised Christians with other ethnic backgrounds (Tsint-sar, Serb, Bulgarian or Albanian) were the only Christian merchant class in the Ottoman Empire. This class financed the Graecophone Enlightenment in the same way as the Serbian merchant class supported the Serbophone Enlightenment in Austrian and Hungarian lands. Although they preferred only limited social revolution, merchant classes of both ethnic groups “furnished the leadership” of the Serbian and Greek uprisings.³⁴

There is a clear continuity between Greacophone secular writers from the end of the eighteenth century and the development of modern Hellenism throughout the nineteenth century. The rise of publications in Greek in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was substantial, and in the two decades preceding the Greek War of Independence impressive 1,300 titles were published.³⁵

In 1989 Paschalis Kitromilides called attention to the polemic between Neophytos Doukas, a figure of the Greek Enlightenment, and Ignatius, archbishop of Wallachia, to support his assumption that the Greek Enlightenment and the Orthodox Church insisted on two different kinds of identities on the eve of the Greek revolution. In 1815, Doukas asked, from Vienna, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril VI (1813–1818), to send one hundred monks from Mount Athos to teach Christian shepherds and non-Greek speakers of the Ottoman Empire Greek. In his worldview, those who spoke Greek constituted one community, and those Christians who spoke other languages constituted other communities. Ignatius had a different opinion: he acknowledged that there were nations (Moldavians, Wallachians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Vlachs of Epirus, Greece and Thessaly, Albanians and the Tsakones of the Peloponnesus) with their own languages, but insisted that “all these people, however, as well as those inhabiting the east, unified by their faith and by the Church, form one body and one nation under the name of Greeks or Romans.”³⁶

For the ethnic Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, pan-Byzantine consciousness was a very comfortable form of identity. While the ethnic Serbs and Bulgarians preserved memory of their own medieval saints and rulers, the *Rum millet* simply continued to reaffirm an identity that had already existed in the Byzantine Empire. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the term *Ἕλληνες*, which was going to be developed by both the Kingdom of Hellenes and by mainstream Greek nationalism from the 1830s and

³⁴ Traian Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant”, *The Journal of Economic History* 20:2 (June 1960), 312.

³⁵ Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 25.

³⁶ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “Imagined Communities’ and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans”, *The European History Quarterly* 19 (1989), 156–158.

afterwards, referred to the ancient Greeks. Contemporary ethnic Greeks called themselves *Ρωμαίοι* (Rômaioi) – Romans, or *Χριστιανοί* (Hristianoï) – Christians.³⁷ The main opposition was obviously between Christians and Muslims since Roman/Greek proto-national identity was pan-Byzantine in essence. What the leading figures of the Greek Enlightenment wanted to do was to Hellenise this kind of proto-national identity. Greek authors faced the contempt that the Enlightenment and the late eighteenth century felt for Byzantium, exemplified in Edward Gibbon's six-volume work on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire (published between 1776 and 1778). They also witnessed, only ten years later, what a great success Jean-Jacques Barthélemy made with his five-volume book *The Travels of the Young Anacharsis* (*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*), which lavishly extolled the legacy of Hellas.³⁸ Therefore, their choice was easy: they embraced ancient traditions with an effort to Hellenise contemporary Greek-Byzantine identity.

Thus the ideas of the leading spirit of the Greek Enlightenment Adamantios Korais (1748–1833; or Koraes in *katharevousa*) were in open conflict with the identity of the vast majority of his compatriots. He was the leading figure of the Greacophone, and perhaps Balkan, Enlightenment as well. He lived in Paris from 1788 until his death. There he became “a self-appointed mentor of emergent Greece”.³⁹ He felt strong dislike for Byzantium. The fourth holder of the Koraes Chair at King's College, Cyril Mango, summarised Korais's messages to his compatriots about their medieval empire and their classical heritage: “Break with Byzantium, cast out the monks, cast out the Byzantine aristocracy of the Phanar. Remember your ancient ancestors. It was they who invented Philosophy.”⁴⁰ He advocated a middle way in linguistic reform, accepting demotic Greek but in a purist form known as *katharevousa*. The Kingdom of Hellenes established in 1832 followed his advice, but the language was purified “to the point where hardly anyone could write it correctly, much less speak it”.⁴¹ As a result, the ethnic Greeks had two concomitant ethnic identities for several decades: one insisting on their Hellenic heritage and the other stemming from the

³⁷ Victor Roudometof, “From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453–1821”, *The Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1998), 19.

³⁸ The book saw forty editions and was translated into all major European languages, as well as modern Greek and Armenian. Cf. Mango, “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism”, 36.

³⁹ Ibid. 37.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 38.

⁴¹ Ibid. 39.

Orthodox Commonwealth and based on pan-Byzantine consciousness. The proponents of the former had their cultural centre in the new capital of the Kingdom of Hellenes, Athens; the advocates of the latter emanated their messages from the seat of the Patriarch at Constantinople.

The Greek rebels from the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829/32) felt themselves as medieval Romans rather than as ancient Athenians. As Hobsbawm observed, “paradoxically they stood for Rome rather than Greece (*romaiosyne*), that is to say they saw themselves as heirs of the Christianized Roman Empire (i.e. Byzantium).”⁴² The opposition of the two identities was too harsh and the gap between them seemed unbridgeable.

Programmes of national unification in Greece and Serbia

By 1833 the Kingdom of Greece and the Principality of Serbia were able to gather together only a smaller part of their national communities. Out of some three million Greeks in the Ottoman Empire the Kingdom gathered some 750,000, of whom a vast majority were ethnic Greeks, although some of them were Vlachs and Hellenised Albanians but both groups in the Kingdom by this time felt Greek identity.⁴³ Describing the Serbian people in *Danica* for 1827, a popular yearbook with a calendar, the Serbian language reformer Vuk St. Karadžić concluded, using linguistic criteria, that there were five million Serbs, of whom approximately three million were “of Greek [Christian Orthodox] faith”, around 1.3 million were of “Turkish [Islamic] faith”, and the rest were of “Roman [Catholic] faith”. He acknowledged that only those of “Greek faith” called themselves Serbs and only one million of them lived “in the whole of Serbia”. So, in Karadžić’s opinion, two-thirds of those who felt themselves as Serbs lived outside of “the whole of Serbia”.⁴⁴ Since Karadžić geographically identified the remaining two million Serbs, it was obvious that one million Serbs of Serbia were not just those who lived in the autonomous principality headed by Prince Miloš Obrenović, but also the Serbs living in territories that would be liberated much later. Therefore, his estimation essentially was that less than one quarter of Christian Orthodox Serbs lived in the Serbia of Prince Miloš. In 1833 Serbia re-took six districts that were a part of Karageorge’s Serbia during the First Serbian Uprising. In that way she encompassed more than a quarter of all Serbs of Orthodox faith. In both cases, in Greece

⁴² Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 77.

⁴³ Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence 1821–1833* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 9.

⁴⁴ *Danica. Zbavnik za godinu* 1827, published by Vuk. Stef. Karadžić (Vienna: Printing Works of the Armenian Monastery, 1827), sec. 77–78.

and Serbia, more than two-thirds of their compatriots lived outside of their states in the 1840s.

“What to do with other non-liberated compatriots?” This is the key question of Phase 2 in the development of national identity in the Balkans. The question was responded almost simultaneously in both states by producing programmes of unification. In Greece it became known in 1844 by the name of *Megali idea* – the Great Idea. In debates preceding the adoption of the Greek Constitution of 1844, a leading politician, Ioannis Kolettis, famously said: “The Greek Kingdom is not the whole of Greece, but only a part, the smallest and poorest part.”⁴⁵ For Serbia, several programmes were designed by the Polish Parisian emigration around Prince Adam Czartoryski in 1843 and 1844. The draft prepared by a Czech agent of Prince Czartoryski, František Zach, is known as *Plan of Slavic Policy*. The last draft based on Polish proposals is the redefined and abridged *Plan of Slavic Policy*. It was made with some or no help of the Serbian politician Ilija Garašanin and was completed by the end of 1844. It is known as the *Draft* or *Načertanije* in Serbian-Slavic idiom. Its final draft was more moderate than the Greek idea: it envisaged only the liberation of ethnic Serbian areas in the Ottoman Empire. The Plan, however, looked more like a design for South-Slavic unity. In the 1840s Serbian identity was still to a certain degree Slav-Serbian identity and that was the name of the idiom used at that time. Therefore there was no opposition between the adjectives Serbian and Slavic and sometimes they were even synonymous. In spite of that, dichotomy between narrower Serbian and larger South-Slavic or Yugoslav unification was to be characteristic of the Serbian national plans until 1918.

The Kingdom of Hellenes, with its Bavarian King Otto who came from neoclassical Munich, was modelled in such a way as to look like a resurrection of Hellas. Yet, the slow pace of modernisation created negative assessments of modern independent Greece as early as the 1840s. The Principality of Serbia had an even bigger identity problem. It was perceived as a semi-Oriental state. Therefore, both countries had difficulty being accepted into the symbolic geography of Europe. Modern Greece had this problem since she was expelled from it in the 1840s, and modern Serbia faced this problem throughout the nineteenth century since her European character was too often disputed in the West. Speaking of defining modern South-Slav cultures as radically different from the Ottoman, Milica Bakić-Hayden was led to conclude: “Thus from the standpoint of identity re-formation we have a contradictory process: on the one hand, a conscious differentiation from the Ottomans as an imposed ‘Other’ and, on the other,

⁴⁵ Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 47.

an attempted identification with the Western Europe.”⁴⁶ Locals had to use criteria borrowed from the West, from the repository of the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Only after the publication of Gladstone’s famous pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* in 1876 could one discern predominance of anti-Ottoman discourses in the Western press. By that time, Greeks and Serbs had been endeavouring for three decades, from the 1840s, to attract Western sympathies, with ambiguous success.

In all Balkan Christian states there was a conscious intellectual and political effort to make them appear more European. It consisted in fusing the liberal ideology with the national idea. This was obvious in Serbia, where the first liberal ideas emerged in 1858. When the first modern political parties were established in Serbia in 1881, two of the three were liberal (the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party). They fused patriotism with political liberalism. The most prominent liberal in Serbia at the time, Vladimir Jovanović (1833–1922), is a typical example of this fusion. In Bulgaria, the liberal stream won the Constitutional Assembly elections in 1879, when the history of modern Bulgarian parties began. In Romania, a liberal stream appeared as early as the 1840s, and the decade 1876–1888 was the decade of liberals: Ion Brătianu (1821–1891) held the office of prime minister almost continuously. Greece was the most complicated case. Although the Kingdom of Greece had almost universal male suffrage as early as 1844, political life revolved around fluid groups dominated by prominent politicians rather than by ideologies. The closest to a liberal party was at first the English Party and later the party of Kharilaos Trikoupi (1832–1896) in the 1870s and 1880s. However, faced with a demagogue opponent, Theodoros Deliyannis (1826–1905), Trikoupi refrained from the fusion characteristic of the other liberal parties in the Balkans and only Eleutherios Venizelos (1864–1936) would be able to fuse liberalism and nationalism in his Liberal Party in 1911.

In Greece, the question “What to do?” was further complicated by the fact that Kolettis made no reference to Byzantium at all, although just one year earlier the first to use the expression *Megali idea*, Alexandros Soutsos, dedicated one verse to the Comnenes Empire. The division created by the emergence of a Hellenised identity was overcome by the work of two prominent persons. Spiridon Zambelios published Greek folk songs in 1852. In them, ancient, medieval and modern Greek histories were fused into a

⁴⁶ Milica Bakić-Hayden, “National Memory as Narrative Memory. The Case of Kosovo”, in Maria Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities. Nation and Memory* (London: Hurst and Company, 2004), 32.

discourse of national resistance.⁴⁷ Historical narrative was connected by the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815–1891) who published *History of the Greek Nation* in five volumes in 1860–1874. This work connected five periods of Greek history into a continuous narrative: Ancient, Modern, Christian, Byzantine and the period of modern Hellenism. Byzantium and Hellas were reconciled in the most effective way. This impressive piece of scholarship with ideological components of the epoch “supplied psychological and moral reassurance for a society whose national aspirations far exceeded not only its abilities but also – and more seriously – the moral calibre of its political life.”⁴⁸ How highly esteemed was *History* of Paparrigopoulos in official circles may be seen from the fact that the Parliament of the Hellenes allocated money for the French translation of his *magnum opus* published in 1879.⁴⁹

The second phase in the development of national identity of Serbs was embodied in the work of two exceptional persons. Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) was alphabet reformer and passionate collector of Serbian folk poetry and epic heritage. Prince-Bishop of Montenegro Petar Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851) was, on the other hand, a man who brought a new meaning to Serbian epic poetry. Vuk Karadžić completed the work of Dositej Obradović and canonised the vernacular of Serbian peasants of south-west Serbia as the literary language. He published two dictionaries of the Serbian language (in one volume in 1818, and a substantially enlarged edition in two volumes in 1852), and a collection of Serbian epic songs, which he called “Serbian heroic songs”, in three volumes: two in Leipzig in 1823, and one in Vienna in 1833; and again in Vienna in 1845, 1846 and 1862. The most important of them were the collections published in 1823 and 1845 covering heroic song from the oldest times until “the fall of the Empire and of Serbian nobility”. From 1818, he published all his works in a reformed alphabet based entirely on the phonetic principle. In 1847, he published the first translation of the *New Testament* in vernacular.⁵⁰ The second edition of

⁴⁷ Victor Roudometof, “Invented Traditions, Symbolic Boundaries, and National Identity in Southeastern Europe: Greece and Serbia in Comparative Historical Perspective (1830–1880)”, *East European Quarterly* 32:4 (Winter 1998), 438.

⁴⁸ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “On the Intellectual content of Greek nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea”, in David Ricks & Paul Magdalino, eds., *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity* (London: Ashgate, 1998).

⁴⁹ Roudometof, “Invented Traditions”, 440.

⁵⁰ The translation of *The New Testament* by Vuk Karadžić was banned in Serbia, but became a standard edition in 1868. A committee of the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church issued a revised edition only in 1984, and again based on Karadžić’s translation.

his Dictionary was based on a much wider geographical scope of Serbo-Croat dialects and therefore became a standard dictionary of Serbian language but also, to a certain extent, of what was to be called Serbo-Croatian language after the Second World War.⁵¹ He arranged the signing in March 1850 of the Vienna agreement on common literary language of Serbs and Croats, which facilitated later designs of Yugoslavia. Petar Petrović Njegoš, on the other hand, canonised the local struggle of Montenegrin notables to preserve their Christian and Serbian identity within a larger framework of Serbian history. His epic poem *The Mountain Wreath*, published in 1847, begins with the 1389 Battle of Kosovo and the assassination of the Ottoman sultan by the valiant Serbian hero Miloš Obilić, and it is dedicated “to the memory of Kara George, the father of [restored] Serbia”⁵² as the latest incarnation of the spirit of Obilić.

Vuk's legacy was not automatically accepted by the Serbian cultural mainstream. The stratum of educated Serbs from southern Hungary (from 1848 known as Serbian Vojvodovina, today's Vojvodina), which dominated both Serbian culture in Habsburg Hungary and the Serbian bureaucracy in the Principality of Serbia disliked Vuk St. Karadžić for his vernacular, which they found too simple, and also for his new orthography, which was too revolutionary to be accepted. The Serbian Archbishopric of Sremski Karlovci was also against his reforms. A ban on publishing books in the new orthography was in force in the Principality of Serbia from 1832 until 1860, and Vuk's orthography was not officially accepted until 1868. Nonetheless, verses of *The Mountain Wreath* and verses from Vuk's epic (heroic) songs of the Kosovo cycle became obligatory reading for Serbian patriots of the Romantic era as early as the mid-nineteenth century, and by the end of the nineteenth century knowing as many lines of these poems as possible by heart become a matter of good national demeanour.⁵³

⁵¹ Karadžić's *Srpski rječnik* (Serbian Dictionary) of 1852 was replaced only in 1967–1976 with *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* [Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary Language], published in Novi Sad in six volumes (the first three volumes were co-edited in Novi Sad and Zagreb). The leading history of the Serbian people assesses the second edition of Vuk Karadžić's dictionary as follows: “It became the foundation of the Serbian literary language and the bible of Serbian philologists.” Cf. Pavle Ivić and Jovan Kašić, “O jeziku kod Srba u razdoblju od 1804. do 1878. godine” [On the language among the Serbs from 1804 to 1878], in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. V-2 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruka, 1994), 363.

⁵² English translation was made by James W. Wiles in 1929: *The Mountain Wreath of Njegoš Prince-Bishop of Montenegro 1830–1851* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1930).

⁵³ In 1892, in a bestseller entitled *On Conditions of Success*, intended for the members of the Serbian Youth Trade Association, the prominent Serbian economist, diplomat and

The spirit of both the Serbian heroic songs and *The Mountain Wreath* is clearly imbued with feelings encouraging the struggle for liberation of those Serbian areas that were still under Ottoman domination. Therefore Zambelios, Paparrigopoulos, Karadžić and Njegoš all encouraged an unmistakably clear answer to the question "What to do?" The task of Serbian and Greek patriots in the 1850s and later was to encourage national liberation of their compatriots who still lived under Ottoman domination.

Ethno-religious identity among Balkan Christians in the early modern era

In spite of state-building in the Balkans, and successive efforts to carry out modernisation in nascent states, the main layer of identity in the Balkan Christian States, and also in the parts of the Balkans under Ottoman control, remained ethno-religious until the second half of the nineteenth century. In some areas this kind of identity prevailed even in the first decades of the twentieth century. To understand why this was so, one needs to analyse the nature of the Ottoman political and social system.

The Ottoman administrative system placed various groups under different religiously affiliated jurisdictions. These religious communities were known by a name that was applied to the Orthodox Christians from the nineteenth century – *millet*. The word *millet* comes from Arabic and literally means a nation; in reality millets were confessional "nations" or confessional communities. Each community administered autonomously its own family law and religious affairs. Thus, different ethnic groups belonging to the same religion were under the jurisdiction of the same millet. As soon as the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II conquered Constantinople, he assisted the election of the Orthodox theologian and philosopher Gennadius Scholarius to the position of the Patriarch of Constantinople or Ecumenical Patriarch.

The Bulgarian Patriarchate disappeared with Bulgarian statehood at the end of the fourteenth century, and the Serbian Patriarchate was suppressed after the fall of the Despotate of Serbia in 1459, although details about this are vague. It is not clear if the Serbian Patriarchate was suspended by a single act or gradually. Whatever is the case, the first Ecumenical Patriarch after the fall of Constantinople, Gennadius II (1453–1464), was the head of all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and they included not only ethnic Greeks or Romans but also ethnic Bulgarians, Serbs,

writer Čedomilj Mijatović (1842–1932) recommended the books that every Serbian merchant had to have. They included the Holy Bible (translated by Vuk Karadžić and Djuro Daničić), *Fables* by Dositej Obradović and *The Mountain Wreath* by Petar Petrović Njegoš: Čed. Mijatović, *O uslovima uspeha. Pisma srpskoj trgovačkoj omladini* (Belgrade, 1892), 164.

Albanians and Vlachs. Later patriarchs were also heads of the Eastern Orthodox Arabs. The Ecumenical Patriarch was considered as “Patriarch of non-believers” by Ottoman authorities and, for them, he became “Patriarch of the Romaioi” only about 1700,⁵⁴ mostly due to the tremendous influence of the Phanariote Greeks in that period.

In the late 1520s and in the 1530s there were severe disputes between Greek and Serbian bishops within the Archbishopric of Ohrid, which was under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Porte’s support oscillated between the two factions, but four Orthodox patriarchs sided with the Greek archbishop of Ohrid, and the Serbian opposition leader Pavle, bishop of Smederevo, was finally defeated in 1541. However, Serbian opposition remained, and when, in 1555, it so happened that three viziers at the Porte were Serbs by origin, Serbian arguments prevailed. In 1557 the Serbian Patriarchate was re-established and its jurisdiction covered vast areas of Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, northern Vardar Macedonia, south-western Bulgaria and Hungary as far as Komarno and Esztergom. In this way what was later called the Roman *millet* was practically divided and two Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions coexisted for two centuries (1557–1766): one run by the patriarch of Constantinople and the other by the patriarch of Peć (Pech)/Ipek. Patriarch and bishops of the Patriarchate of Peć were mostly ethnic Serbs and only in the last two decades of its existence the Patriarchate was intentionally Hellenised and then abolished.

More than two centuries of continual work of the Serbian Patriarchate had critical importance for the preservation of Slavic Christian Balkan identities, especially Serbian but to a certain extent Bulgarian as well. A leading Serbian interwar historian, Vladimir Ćorović, observes in his posthumously published *History of Serbs* that the geographic notion of Macedonia unexpectedly spread during the sixteenth century and at some point reached even the Danube and included Herzegovina. In Serbian popular ballads the town of Peć in Metohija, and the last medieval capital of Serbia Smederevo (Simendria), situated on the Danube, were included into the geographical scope of Macedonia.⁵⁵ In 1519, Serbian printer Božidar Vuković wrote down that he was from Podgorica “in Macedonian parts”; Vuk Karadžić

⁵⁴ Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “From Millets to Minorities in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire: an Ambiguous Modernization”, in Steven G. Ellis et al., eds., *Citizenship in Historical Perspective* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 254.

⁵⁵ In 1845 Vuk Karadžić published the second volume of Serbian poems (volumes 2, 3 and 4 contain “heroic songs”). Poem no. 81, “The Death of Voivoda Kaica”, situates “the gentle town of Smederevo” in “Mačedonija”. Cf. *Srpske narodne pjesme. Skupio ih i na svijet izdao Vuk. Stef. Karadžić*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Printing Press of the Armenian Monastery, 1845).

claimed that "all areas of our people used to be called Macedonia".⁵⁶ Obviously, the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid over former territories of the Serbian Patriarchate was instrumental in spreading the notion of Macedonia to former Serbian lands, as noticed by Ćorović. Calling these areas Macedonia essentially meant accepting the symbolic geography of pan-Byzantine consciousness which always contained a strong Hellenic component even if that component was Byzantinised. Therefore, the re-establishment of the Serbian Patriarchate meant that the Orthodox population living in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć was transferred from pan-Byzantine symbolic geography to another, also to a large extent Byzantinised but different, symbolic geography centred on the ideology of the medieval Serbian state. In this way the Hellenisation of the Serbian part of the Orthodox Balkan Commonwealth was prevented and this also had some impact on Bulgaria.

It follows therefore that the Orthodox Church (both the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Serbian Patriarchate) was the crucial preserver of ethnic consciousness that was centred on medieval traditions. In the case of the Ecumenical Patriarchate it meant that Byzantine/Romaic identity was its key signifier and in the case of the Serbian Patriarchate it was the Serbian church and state traditions of the late medieval Nemanjić dynasty, sainted by the Serbian Church in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Patriarchate of Peć preserved proto-national identity of Serbs. When it was suppressed in 1766 the same task was successfully performed by the Serbian Archbishopric of Karlovci/Karlowitz in Srem (elevated to patriarchate in 1848), which existed from 1690 to 1920.⁵⁷ The Archbishopric/Patriarchate of Karlovci operated completely independently from the Ecumenical Patriarchate, since it was an institution the existence of which was sanctioned by several Austrian emperors. Therefore, Eric Hobsbawm quite correctly remarked: "There is no reason to deny proto-national feelings to pre-nineteenth century Serbs, not because they were Orthodox as against neighbouring Catholics and Muslims – this would not have distinguished them from Bulgars – but because the memory of the old kingdom defeated by the Turks was preserved in song and heroic story, and, perhaps more to the point, in the daily liturgy of the Serbian church which had canonised most of its kings."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Vladimir Ćorović, *Istorija Srba* [History of Serbs], vol. 2 (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1989), 164.

⁵⁷ The seat of the Patriarchate was at the monastery of Krušedol from 1707 until 1716, when the monastery was set on fire by the Turks and the seat moved to Sremski Karlovci. Cf. Djoko Slijepčević, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkve* [History of the Serbian Orthodox Church], vol. 2 (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1991), 29–30.

⁵⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 75–76.

Even in the case when the state churches from the middle ages fully disappeared as separate bodies, like in Bulgaria, monks who were ethnic Bulgarians were able to preserve ethnic consciousness and medieval traditions in some of the monasteries located far from urban centres. In these monasteries Bulgarian medieval manuscripts, the art of religious painting and bookbinding were preserved. Besides, itinerant monks, known as *taxidiotes*, travelled to collect alms and acted as go-betweens with Bulgarian peasants. Some others were itinerant teachers.⁵⁹ In such a way Orthodox monasteries were key centres of learning, albeit in reduced scope, and a kind of information centres of their age. They were also chief keepers of the memory of old state traditions.

The abolishment of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1766 and of the Archbishopric of Ohrid the following year meant that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Patriarch of Constantinople became ethnarch of some thirteen million Orthodox Christians.⁶⁰ This had a very profound influence on Bulgaria, where many Bulgarian priests were Hellenised, and this process was even strengthened in the second half of the eighteenth century. There even was a tendency to replace Cyrillic script by Greek alphabet in writing Bulgarian. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most Balkan Christian merchants identified themselves as Greeks. The only group that did not follow this pattern was Serbs, who took a large part of Hungarian retail trade after the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), but even they began being Hellenised in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the eighteenth century and this process continued until after 1821.⁶¹ However, the existence of the Archbishopric of Karlovci, the Austro-Ottoman conflict of 1788–91 and the privileges granted to the ethnic Serbs in the Pashalik of Belgrade in the 1790s reduced the Hellenisation of ethnic Serbs in the Ottoman Empire to towns, and mostly to the merchant class.

Where could this identity, based on ethnic and religious grounds, be situated in terms of modern nationalism studies? What immediately comes to mind is Anthony Smith's theories on *ethnies*. Discussing it, Victor Roudometof concluded: "I would like to suggest that Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Romanians were *ethnies* in the Ottoman Balkans and were clearly aware of their differences."⁶² Yet, he does not want to imply that modern nations were born out of an ethnic core. In his opinion, therefore, prior to the 1850s, class and ethnicity overlapped.

⁵⁹ Richard J. Crampton, *Bulgaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 20–21, 30.

⁶⁰ Dakin, *Greek Struggle for Independence*, 9.

⁶¹ Cf. Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", 310–311.

⁶² Roudometof, "From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation", 12.

Since it was the non-Muslim, and not non-Turkish, population in the Ottoman Empire that was subjected, the opposition of Balkan Christians to the Ottoman Empire was the opposition to Muslims as “others”. The “otherness” of the Ottoman Empire was complete and it derived from its Muslim nature with the sultan being a caliph and with the powerful ulema in Constantinople and elsewhere.

The collapse of the Orthodox Commonwealth began in 1831 with the ethnification of the Orthodox church in Serbia. Prince Miloš took special care in the 1820s to regulate the question of a separate Serbian church and the church question became a part of the Hatt-i sherif of August 1830 that granted autonomy to Serbia but also gave Serbs the right to elect the metropolitan and bishops. “They will be invested by the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople and they are not obliged to come personally to that capital city.”⁶³ In September 1831 a concordat was signed with Patriarch Constantius I (1830–1834). It regulated the amount of money that the autonomous church in Serbia had to pay to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The title of the head of the church was “metropolitan of all Serbia”. The Patriarch of Constantinople was to be notified about the election of a new metropolitan and he was obliged to accept him. From 1831 the metropolitan and all bishops in the Principality of Serbia were ethnic Serbs. Although the second metropolitan of Serbia was invested by the Patriarch of Constantinople in December 1833, it is indicative that Prince Miloš consulted the Archbishop of Sremski Karlovci, and not the Ecumenical Patriarch, on who should be Metropolitan of Serbia.⁶⁴ In 1848 the Archbishopric of Karlovci was elevated to patriarchate, and the Serbs had a person with the title of patriarch for the first time after 1766. The Kingdom of Greece followed suite in establishing a separate church in 1833, the autocephalous status of which was canonically recognised in 1850. The Bulgarian church – Exarchate – was established as a completely separate body in 1872, and the church in Romania became independent from Constantinople in 1865 (its autocephaly was recognised by the Patriarchate in 1885). The Serbian Orthodox Church became fully autocephalous in 1879. Thus between 1831 and 1872 Balkan Orthodox churches were fully ethnified and became promoters of national ideas.

Noel Brailsford summarised the reasons that led to this national-religious fusion: “It is the only free and communal life which the Turks permit him [Christian]. It is essentially a national organisation. It reminds him of the greater past. It unites him to his fellow-Christians throughout the Empire, and in the free lands beyond the Empire. It is the one form

⁶³ Slijepčević, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkve*, vol. 2, 315–318.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 325–326.

of association and combination which is not treasonable... Any political organisation outside the Church must necessarily be a secret and proscribed society.”⁶⁵ Under these conditions the church became the central institution of the Balkan Slavic Orthodox Christians. Growing national movements demanded a tool. The only network that could be used by the Kingdom of Serbia and the Principality of Bulgaria in the 1880s and 1890s was the one around the Orthodox Church. By the end of the nineteenth century the Romanian Orthodox Church became a central pillar of Romanian national identity. All this naturally affected the Orthodox Church: “She has been more or less secularised and her spiritual functions have suffered. Her mission has been patriotic rather than spiritual.”⁶⁶

The Bulgarian case

Here one needs to address the Bulgarian case, for which the issue of a separate Orthodox church had particular significance. Prior to the creation of San Stefano Bulgaria in 1878 and the Serbian-Bulgarian war of 1885, there was a surprising degree of solidarity of ethnic Serbs from the Principality of Serbia with ethnic Bulgarians. This implies that each ethnic group was aware of the existence of the other. Although prominent patriots of both groups considered that the other group was ethnically very close to them, and the two obviously were the same in religious terms, they were fully aware that the two groups were different and separate in ethnic terms. It cannot be explained in any other way than by introducing the concept of either *ethnies* or proto-nations. Where one ended and the other began could not be defined by language due to many border dialects of both languages that are closer to one another than to some other dialects of the same language. Yet, language was a delineator and both Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić were aware of that. Medieval traditions were another equally important delineator that both proto-nations kept.

A specific issue of Bulgarian national “awakening” is that it coincided with, and was inseparable from, the Bulgarian struggle for an autocephalous church in the period between the 1840s and 1872. As was previously described, the non-existence of an ethnic Bulgarian church hierarchy led to the Hellenisation of the Bulgarian clergy and Bulgarian culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ethnic Greeks could not fully Hellenise Bucharest, where there was an influential Bulgarian colony. In addition, emerging Serbia was also interested in encouraging the Bulgarian movement. Therefore, early Bulgarian national consciousness was to a very

⁶⁵ Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 61.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 62.

large extent encouraged from areas outside of its ethnic centre, including Constantinople.

In 1829, a Russian-Ukrainian scholar, Yuriy Ivanovich Venelin, published the book entitled *Ancient and contemporary Bulgarians*, in which he insisted on the Slavic origin of Bulgarians and their closeness to Russians. Bulgarian merchant Vasil Evstatiev Aprilov (1789–1847), who had attended a Greek school in Russia and studied medicine in Vienna, was partly Hellenised. Venelin's book made a Bulgarian patriot out of him and he opened the first Bulgarian secular school in Gabrovo, with the help of other local merchants.⁶⁷ It was run by Neofit Rilski/Neophytos of Rila (1793–1881), a monk and a leading figure of the Bulgarian cultural renaissance. In 1835, with the money provided by the “gens-loving” citizens of Bucharest, the Mustakov brothers, he published, in Kragujevac in Serbia, the first Bulgarian grammar for Slavic-Bulgarian schools.⁶⁸ He also made, in 1840, the first translation of the New Testament into the Bulgarian vernacular of Pirin Macedonia.

Not surprisingly the distribution of the first copies of the New Testament in Bulgarian coincided with efforts to establish a Bulgarian autonomous church. In 1849 the Bulgarians got their first place of worship. It was a church in Constantinople dedicated to St. Stephen and administered by a church council consisting of Bulgarians. It was the first Bulgarian ecclesiastic institution since the end of the medieval Bulgarian state. In November 1859, in two churches in Philippopolis/Plovdiv local priests began preaching in Bulgarian. In spite of fierce protests by the Greeks, Ottoman authorities, fearing riots, permitted services in both languages. When three major Bulgarian clerics cut their links with Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarchate arranged for their arrest by Ottoman authorities. Since there was no compromise with Constantinople even a short-lived experiment with the Uniate Bulgarian Church was initiated in 1861. Yet, it could not spread. Georgi Rakovski fought against it and, as R. Crampton observed, other Bulgarians also disliked it: “For them faith was still far more important than ethnicity or nationality; and they were prepared to wait until recognition came to realise their dream of a separate Bulgarian Church within the Orthodox community.”⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Aleksandŭr Fol et al., *Kratka istoriya na Bŭlgariya* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1983), 162; Crampton, *Bulgaria*, 51–52.

⁶⁸ *Болгарска граматика* сего перво сочинена отъ Неѡфѣта П. П. сущаго изъ свѣщенныа обители Рылскіа, за оупотребленіе на Славеноболгарските оучилища, а на свѣтъ издаана отъ любородны те предстоатели за Болгарско то просвѣщеніе г. братѣа Мустакови [Bulgarian Grammar compiled by Neophytos...], Въ Крагуевцѣ [In Kragujevac], 1835.

⁶⁹ Crampton, *Bulgaria*, 75.

Finally, in February 1870, the Porte issued a ferman authorising the establishing of a separate Bulgarian church. In January 1872 the three previously exiled Bulgarian clerics elected Antim/Anthimus of Vidin as the first Bulgarian exarch. Previously the church council met in February–July 1871. Although it was a purely church council it was viewed in a different framework by the Bulgarian public. The press called it “the Bulgarian National Council”. Needless to say, the struggle for a separate Bulgarian church helped prominent Bulgarians to reach the second phase of national development in the 1860s. To establish a separate church had to involve political geography, since the territorial scope envisaged for the Exarchate would set the borders of Bulgarian nation within the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, R. Crampton’s assessment that “it was in the church campaign that the modern Bulgarian nation was created” seems quite justified.⁷⁰ This statement of his, however, should be taken in the context of the time when, as he himself admitted, the matter of faith was still more important to many ethnic Bulgarians than that of ethnicity. Therefore, what the whole process of struggle created was the ethnification of the church, which certainly facilitated the path towards mass nationalism by the beginning of the next century.

Another specific Bulgarian issue was that the united autonomous Principality of Bulgaria was created by a single foreign, Russian, intervention – by the Russian-dictated peace treaty of San Stefano in March 1878. The borders set at that moment “virtually annihilated”⁷¹ the European Turkey and created a greater Bulgaria. The provisions of the treaty were substantially modified in Berlin in July, by restoring territories in Macedonia to the Ottoman Empire and dividing Bulgaria into two units. This means that, for a few months, a greater Bulgaria was a reality. This made the territorial aims of the Bulgarian national movement obvious. From 1878 until 1944 Bulgarian élites put a lot of fruitless effort into recreating San Stefano Bulgaria. However, Serbian and Greek aspirations were based on a combination of historic and ethnographic records. Bulgarian claims were not only historic, they could claim that such an entity, even if short-lived, indeed existed, and this secured a long-term dedication to this project. This led to a struggle with both the Greek and the Serbian national movement over Macedonia, since all three could establish their aspirations on medieval traditions, but also on certain ethnographic or linguistic records.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 80.

⁷¹ L. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (London: Hurst and Company, 2000), 409.

(a) *Construction of Slavic Macedonian identity: from ambiguous ethnicity to modern national identity*

Speaking about the races in Macedonia, James David Bouchier, correspondent of *The Times* for South-East Europe, designated her, in 1911, as “the principal theatre of the struggle of nationalities in Eastern Europe”.⁷² With all races disputing Turkish reversion from Europe, he described the Macedonian question as “the quintessence of the Near Eastern Question”.⁷³

At the beginning of the twentieth century the whole of Macedonia was under Turkish rule. At that time the term covered territories of three Turkish vilayets: the whole vilayet of Salonica, the eastern and larger part of the vilayet of Monastir (sanjaks of Monastir, Servia and part of that of Korche), and the south-eastern part of the vilayet of Kosovo (sanjak of Üsküb). It was a region with a population of some 2,200,000 inhabitants. Around 1,300,000 were Christians, 800,000 Muslims and about 75,000 Jews. There were also some minor Christian groups: Uniate Bulgarians (around 3,600) and Bulgarian Protestants (about 2,000).⁷⁴ The dynamism of the region originated from two features: racial propaganda, and the fight of two Macedonian revolutionary movements. After the suppression of the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć (Ipek) in 1766, the Slavs in the Ottoman Empire were left without any ethnic ecclesiastical organisation. Consequently, the traditionally dominant Greek culture was unchallenged in Macedonia until the mid-nineteenth century.

Then the Bulgarians started to exercise their cultural influences and, when in 1871 the Sultan recognised an independent Bulgarian Church called Exarchate, the Bulgarians were able to appoint their bishops in some Macedonian towns. Bulgarian propaganda made especially remarkable progress in the period between 1891 and 1898. According to official Bulgarian figures, in 1900 there were 785 Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. Serbian propaganda came later and made some progress in the 1890s. At the beginning of 1899 there were 178 Serbian schools in the vilayets of Kosovo, Monastir and Salonica. Finally the Greeks had in 1901 927 Greek schools in the vilayets of Salonica and Monastir.⁷⁵ Obviously, the main struggle for cultural and educational influence in Macedonia, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was fought between the Bulgarians and the Greeks.

⁷² At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century the word “race” was frequently used in English to denote an ethnic group.

⁷³ James David Bouchier, s. v. Macedonia, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th edition, vol. 17 (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1911), 217, b.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 217, a.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 219.

At the beginning of the twentieth century probably the best connoisseur of Macedonia in Britain was Henry Noel Brailsford. By 1905 he had visited the Balkans five times, and Macedonia twice. In 1903/4, after St. Elijah's Uprising (Ilinden), he spent five months around Monastir acting on behalf of the British Relief Fund. He sent regular reports from the Balkans to *The Manchester Guardian*.⁷⁶ In December 1905 he finished his book *Macedonia. Its Races and their Future*. He tried to answer an important contemporary question: Are Macedonians Serbs or Bulgars? At that time most Britons believed that Macedonian Slavs were undoubtedly Bulgarian. This view was advocated by James David Bouchier, correspondent of the London *Times* for South-East Europe. It was also shared by some other British authorities, especially those around the Balkan Committee.

Yet, Brailsford gave no conclusive answer: "They are probably very much what they were before either a Bulgarian or a Servian Empire existed – a Slav people derived from rather various stocks, who invaded the peninsula at different periods. But they had originally no clear consciousness of race, and any stronger Slavonic Power was able to impose itself upon them."⁷⁷ Brailsford also noticed that in some instances fathers who considered themselves as "Greeks" brought into the world "Greek", "Serbian", "Bulgarian" or "Romanian" children. How was this possible? Brailsford was quick to realise that it was the result of education: "The passion for education is strong, and the various propagandas pander eagerly to it. If a father cannot contrive to place all his sons in a secondary school belonging to the race which he himself affects, the prospect of a bursary will often induce him to plant them out in rival establishments. It is, of course, a point of honour that a boy who is educated at the expense of one or other of these people must himself adopt its language and its nationality." It was during his first visit to Macedonia that Brailsford encountered this phenomenon of shifting national identities for the first time. He asked a Greek-speaking villager if he was from a Greek or a Bulgarian village. He got an astonishing answer: "Well, it is Bulgarian now, but four years ago it was Greek." Highly surprised, Brailsford asked how such a miracle was possible and was given a prompt reply: "We are all poor men, but we want to have our own school and a priest who will look after us properly. We used to have a Greek teacher. We paid him £5 a year and his bread, while the Greek consul paid him another £5; but we had no priest of our own. We shared a priest with several other villagers, but he was very unpunctual and remiss. We went to Greek bishop to complain, but he refused to do anything for us. The Bulgarians heard of this and they came and made us an offer. They said they

⁷⁶ Brailsford, *Macedonia*, xii.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 101.

would give us a priest who would live in the village and a teacher to whom we need pay nothing. Well, sir, ours is a poor village, and so of course we became Bulgarians.”⁷⁸

What Brailsford witnessed in person was a transformation of ethno-religious or proto-national identity into national identity. Obviously, it could have taken any national direction provided that it was within the same Orthodox Christian identity. Yet, to strengthen identity one also had to nationalise heroes known in the region and to absorb different historical memories in order to create fervent adherents of a nation. So, local Bulgarian teachers told their pupils that Alexander the Great was Bulgarian rather than Greek.

Brailsford recorded another story that he heard from a French consul. The consul declared that “with a fund of a million francs he would undertake to make all Macedonia French. For this, he would have needed to create another historical narrative. And that indeed occurred to his mind. He would have preached that the Macedonians were the descendants of the French crusaders who had conquered Salonica in the twelfth century.” He believed that “the francs would do the rest.” This indeed was an exaggeration. As Brailsford observed, “the Greeks dispose of ample funds, and yet the Greeks have lost Macedonia.”⁷⁹ Obviously, ethnic identity is easy to manipulate, but only within the same religion. Still, the proto-national part of the identity of Macedonians had a linguistic component and therefore it was more prone to be incorporated by Bulgarian or Serbian nationalism than by Greek wherever that linguistic element was Slavic.

The struggle for Macedonian Slavs between Bulgaria and Serbia led to the emergence of another political stream dealing with the identity of the region, that of a separate Macedonian nationality. In December 1903, Krste P. Misirkov published in Sofia a book entitled *On Macedonian Matters*. At the beginning of the twenty-first century he has been considered as one of the fathers of the Macedonian nation that was developed in communist Yugoslavia after 1945. He proclaimed Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia as the enemies of the Macedonian people.⁸⁰ As for the identity of Macedonian Slavs, he acknowledged a mixture of national and ethno-religious identity: “We did indeed call ourselves ‘Bulgarians’ and ‘Christians’ in the national sense; but why this was so, and whether it really had to be so, we did not very much care to ask.”⁸¹ Curiously enough, his book advocated a separate Macedonian nationality, but also confirmed that no such nationality existed

⁷⁸ Ibid. 102.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 103.

⁸⁰ Krste Misirkov, *On Macedonian Matters* (Skopje: Macedonian Review, 1974), 28.

⁸¹ Ibid. 115.

in the past: "The first objection – that the Macedonian Slav nationality has never existed – may be very simply answered as follows: what has not existed in the past may still be brought into existence later, provided that the appropriate historical circumstances arise."⁸²

Patterns similar to those from the nineteenth century have been used since the 1990s in the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia. It is only that now Alexander the Great is supposed to have been an ancestor of the present-day Slav Macedonians.⁸³ The symbol of ancient Macedonia – Vergina – was placed on the first flag of the new independent state. It was only after resolute Greek protests that it was removed from the flag. By the beginning of the twenty-first century fascination with Alexander the Great became a nationwide phenomenon. This case seems to represent the most recent form of *arkhaiolatreia* (worship of antiquity), a stream that reached huge proportions among ethnic Greeks, but two centuries earlier.⁸⁴

(b) *Shifts in ethnic identity within the same religious affiliation: the case of the Metohija Serbs (between Serbian and Russian identities)*

Brailsford was indeed aware of ethnic layers in the identity of the Macedonian Slavs when he observed that "any Slav race which belonged to the Orthodox faith might have won Macedonia, given the necessary fact and the necessary funds. Serbia or Montenegro, or even Russia, might have done it. In point of fact it is Bulgaria which had succeeded."⁸⁵ From various accounts, it indeed seems reasonable to conclude that Serbia could have done it had she initiated her propaganda before the Bulgarians launched theirs. Could Russia have done it?

⁸² Ibid. 152.

⁸³ In a lexicon covering mostly prominent persons of twentieth-century Macedonia, Alexander the Great also has an entry. Cf. Petar Karajanov, Hristo Andonovski & Jovan Pavlovski, *Ličnosti od Makedonija* [Persons of Macedonia] (Skopje: Mi-An, 2002), 15. In the opening decade of the twenty-first century Alexandromania affected even parts of the intellectual mainstream in Skopje. Prince Ghazanfar Ali Khan of the Hunza tribe of Hunza visited Skopje in July 2008. This tribe believes to descend from soldiers of Alexander the Great's army who stayed in faraway regions. Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia Nikola Gruevski met the prince at the airport in an effort to strengthen the claim that current Slavic Macedonians are actually descendants of ancient Macedonians and the local archbishop blessed the event. Neil MacDonald, "Descendants' of Alexander help to boost Macedonian identity", *The Financial Times*, 19 July 2008.

⁸⁴ Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 27.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 103.

An unexpected incident, known as the Dečani/Dechani Question (*Dečansko pitanje*), that took place in neighbouring Metohija proved that even Russia could have made many Balkan Slavic Christians Russians had she launched her campaign at the right time.

The holiest place for the Christian Orthodox Serbs in Metohija has been the monastery of Dečani, with the relics of the Holy King Stefan of Dečani (and the former Patriarchate of Peć, the seat of the Serbian Patriarchate during medieval Serbian and Ottoman rule). The small number of Serbian monks and the monastery's accumulated debts produced by the mismanagement of its previous abbot led to the decision of the local bishop to allow Russian monks from the kelia of St. John Chrysostom on the Holy Mountain Athos to temporarily take control of the monastery in 1903. This led to a big dispute between the otherwise close governments at Belgrade and St. Petersburg.

The book by Dušan T. Bataković entitled *The Dechani Question* clearly shows that religious-ethnic identity of related Orthodox Slavic peoples could easily be turned towards one or another national idea depending on political circumstances. Thus, it was shortly after the Russian monks arrived that local Serbs began to be Russified, i.e. to claim to be "Russians" in order to underline the protection they expected from Imperial Russia against discrimination and violence perpetrated by Albanian Muslim outlaws, regularly tolerated by the local Ottoman administration in the Peć area. This policy was pursued by the new administrator of the Dečani monastery, hieromonk Arsenius, and supported by the Russian consul in Prizren Tuholka. This, however, was not an imposed policy nor was there any particular Russian plan in this sense. It was Serbs of Metohija themselves who demonstrated a tendency to accept Russian identity, and the Russian monks accepted this readily and encouraged it. In political terms, this policy was conducted by the Russian party that was active in Peć, Prizren and Djakovica. It had a huge impact on local Serbs. It was already in the autumn of 1904 that local Serbs started to ask each other: "What are you, a Russian or a Serb?" Serbian deputy consul in Priština, who later became a famous Serbian writer, Milan Rakić, noted on 19 July 1905: "Some teachers and priests told me in Peć that this disgrace – the Russian Party – has begun lately to spread to villages. Some villagers do not even want to mention Serbs or Serbia, but rather publicly claim that they are Russians. This disgrace was brought on us by Russian monks in Dečani, by consul Tuholka in Prizren and by our own criminal negligence."⁸⁶ It was only at the end of 1909 that the Russian Embassy in Constantinople ordered the monks of Dečani to make no

⁸⁶ Milan Rakić, *Konzulska pisma* [Consular Letters], ed. Andrej Mitrović (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1985), 58.

parties, including Russophile ones. Consequently, the Russian party soon ceased to exist and self-identification of local Serbs as Russians also disappeared with it.⁸⁷

(c) *Social versus ethnic identity*

Serbian ethnographer Tihomir Djordjević described an interesting case in the region of Krajina, eastern Serbia, where in the 1830s local inhabitants preferred their social rights over their ethnic identity. His article is entitled “An example of immigration of Romanians to Serbia”. As a matter of fact, in all letters that Djordjević quotes local inhabitants speak of Vlachs, but Djordjević modernised them into Romanians, an identity that fully developed two decades later, and only on the other side of the Danube.

Veliko Ostrvo (Big Island) in the Timok area (*Timočka Krajina*) was under Ottoman rule until 1830. A committee established to decide on borders gave this island to the Principality of Wallachia. Although the island’s inhabitants were all Vlachs, they decided to opt for Serbia and demanded Serbian administration. The reasons were purely social. They had land on the Serbian side of the Danube and they were under pressure by feudal landowners, boyars, from Wallachia. On the other hand, Serbian Prince Miloš, fearing of potential power that local Serbian notables would gain should they be given landed estates with serfs, completely abandoned any feudal rights and therefore made Serbia attractive to those Wallachian peasants who were familiar with the situation.

The islanders headed by the priest Nikola sent a letter, dated 8 February 1831, to Stefan Stefanović Tenka, captain of Porečka Reka, complaining about being harassed not only “by old snakes [Turks], but, to our misfortune, we have been put under yoke by heathen *ciocois* [boyars], bloodsuckers of the poor.” Tenka informed Prince Miloš that they demanded to stay under Serbia’s patronage. One year earlier local boundaries had been set on their island, and “they are in considerable doubt that they can come under the yoke of Wallachian land”. Miloš supported their demands and the locals addressed their issue to the vizier of Vidin, but to no avail. The peasants from the Big Island repeated their demands to Tenka in a letter of 27 January 1832. They prayed “to God to have mercy to transfer them as soon as possible under Serbian rule in order to liberate them from dogs *ciocois* and from Turks.”

However, on 20 May 1832, the Principality of Wallachia sent an officer and ten soldiers to the Big Island to prevent the islanders from emigrat-

⁸⁷ Dušan T. Bataković, *Dečansko pitanje* [The Dechani Question] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1989).

ing. Locals immediately said to the officer that they were with Serbs against Turks “and they shed blood and therefore they belonged to no one other than Serbs, as the treaties of 1813 made in Bucharest by the Porte and the Russian court testify.” Finally, they began migrating to the area between the villages of Slatina in the north and Kamenica in the south and there were already 120 houses there by the beginning of 1833, and 170 by mid-June. In honour of the son of Prince Miloš, Mihailo, Tenka called the new village Mihailovac (today Mihajlovac). Finally, on 19–20 March 1834, the remaining villagers of the Big Island were secretly transferred to Serbia with the help of Stefan Stefanović Tenka, with all their movable property. Prince Miloš summarised the situation in a letter to Tenka: “Wallachian authorities, by inhuman oppression which can be seen in all Walachian areas, have been the reason why the first inhabitants of the Big Island who have moved to our side had to flee.”⁸⁸

As can be seen, in the early 1830s the peasants of Veliko Ostrvo gave priority to their social rights over the fact that they had a different ethnic background from the Serbs and a quite distinctive linguistic heritage. For them, to become Serbian citizens meant to be free from feudal oppression and this was more important than any identity issue. Therefore, in their worldview the binary opposition was Wallachian citizenship–Serbian citizenship or, in simpler terms, Wallachia versus Serbia, which meant serfdom versus free peasant status. They quite easily connected their social aspirations with Serbian traditions from the First Serbian Uprising.

(d) *The Romanian case*

In early modernity and in the first half of the nineteenth century there existed two parallel principalities, Wallachia and Moldova. They were united by personal union in 1859, and in 1861 they became one political unit: Romania. In the eighteenth century they were under the influence of Greek/Byzantine culture, which continued until the 1820s.

Slavic and Greek influences for a long time prevented the course of Latinism that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century among Vlach speakers of the Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church in Transylvania. A specific Vlach church was established in 1359 but it came under Serbian and Greek influences, of which the former prevailed. Manuscripts in Church-Slavonic are monuments of this period. From the end of the sixteenth century there are also works in the Vlach language. Moldovan chronicler Miron Costin

⁸⁸ Tihomir R. Djordjević, “Jedan primer doseljavanja Rumuna u Srbiju” [An Example of Romanian Immigration to Serbia], *Srpski književni glasnik* LXII:1 (1 January 1941), 47–53.

(1633–1691) was seen by the leading Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga as a “Romanian patriot” and a person who wished to evoke the spirit of patriotism among his compatriots.⁸⁹ Costin’s chronicle *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* (The Chronicles of the Land of Moldavia) was written in Vlach and certainly confirms proto-national identity that will later be fully Latinised and will be expressed as a Romanian nation. In 1703 the terms Romanian and Romanian land were used by the Wallachian chronicler Radu Popescu. However, this stream was interrupted by the so-called Phanariote period (1711–1821), when Moldovan and Wallachian princes were Phanariote Greeks.

The ideas of the Enlightenment were received in the Principalities under Graecophone culture. Schools in Wallachian were opened only in the second decade of the nineteenth century, but some Greek influence remained and in 1840 out of 117 schools 28 were still in Greek.⁹⁰ Therefore in the Romanian case, as in the Bulgarian, the national movement had to insist on the linguistic nationalisation of education.

Another intellectual stream developed in Transylvania in the late eighteenth century; it was called Latinism. It viewed Vlachs and Moldovans as direct descendants of Dacians and Romans, and it gained ground from the 1820s. This kind of identity was first developed in Habsburg Transylvania, where Vlach proto-national identity developed into Latinised identity by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1698, in Transylvania, a part of the Orthodox clergy who were ethnic Vlachs accepted the Union with Rome. Their bishop spoke on behalf of “Wallach gens” as early as 1737. Seminarists of this church were being sent to Rome and it was there that they became aware of their Daco-Roman identity. One of them, Samuil Micu (1765–1806), wrote in 1778 a work with a title mentioning “*natio daco-romana*” which is called in barbaric idiom “*natio Valachorum*”, and two years later he published, in Vienna, *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae*.⁹¹ Latinists were also the first to advocate the Latin alphabet for Vlachs.⁹²

It was only in 1816 that the first history and geography of “Romania” was printed by Daniel Philippides (c. 1750–1832), a Greek scholar of

⁸⁹ N. Iorga, *A History of Roumania. Land, People, Civilisation* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1925).

⁹⁰ Roudometof, “From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation”, 16.

⁹¹ Radu Florescu, “The Uniate Church: Catalyst of Rumanian National Consciousness”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 45:105 (July 1967), 335 and 337.

⁹² Robert Lee Wolff, *The Balkans in Our Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 72–73.

the age of the Enlightenment.⁹³ He apparently was the first person “to use the term ‘Romania’ to describe as one entity the several geographical and political regions, including Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, which exactly a century after he wrote made up the modern Romanian national state.”⁹⁴ However, even the work of Philippides belongs to the Graecophone Enlightenment. In the multilingual dictionaries of Theodoros Kavaliotes (1770) and Daniel of Moshopolis (1802) the language of ethnic Vlachs was still called Βλάχικα – Wallachian.

There was continuity between the Latinist stream and the work of the Transylvanian teacher George Lazar. His brilliant disciple was Ioan Eliade Radulescu who reopened St. Sava School in Bucharest in 1822. “It was on his benches that the generation of 1848, Romania’s future political leaders, were formed.”⁹⁵

Organic statutes encouraged by Russians were accepted in 1831 for Wallachia and in the next year for Moldova. They contained a provision on “fusion du peuple moldo-valaque”. What curiously enough further encouraged the Latinisation of the Vlach proto-nation was Russian protectorate over the two Principalities (1829–1834). Even during Phanariote rule, ethnic Greek princes employed French secretaries. Russians found that the easiest way to communicate with Vlach notables was in French. The already widely spoken language in Wallachia now became even more popular and France became a role model for her Latin heritage and also for her liberal tendencies.⁹⁶

In June 1848 a revolt in Bucharest and a new provisional government clearly articulated the demand for a Romania. “All lands inhabited by Rumanians should be called Rumania and form one state... the Rumanian nation demands that it be one and indivisible.” But this spirit was just in an embryonic form. As L. Stavrianos noted about it: “It cannot be dignified with the name of a nationalist movement. Only an infinitesimally small portion of the population held national ideals.”⁹⁷ Yet, the narrative of Roman descent was there and it was framed by the Romanian historian, politician and publicist Mihail Kogalniceanu (1817–1891), who participated in all key moments in the development of the Romanian nation from the 1840s onward.

⁹³ The same year (1816) Philippides published *Istoriátēs Roumounías* and *Geōgraphikóntēs Roumounías* in Greek. Cf. Kitromilides, “Imagined Communities”, 187.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 154–155.

⁹⁵ Florescu, “The Uniate Church”, 340.

⁹⁶ David Mitrany, “Rumania” in Nevill Forbes et al., *The Balkans. A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 267–268.

⁹⁷ Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, 349.

It is quite common among scholars to call the masses of Wallachia and Moldova in early modernity Romanians as N. Iorga and other Romanian historians did. However, this approach means that modern terms are applied to earlier epochs. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the ethnic group called Vlachs was a proto-nation from which modern Romanians stem and therefore it is also not surprising to apply the term back to the past.

What facilitated the transition from proto-national to national identity in Romania in 1821–1860 was the level of urbanisation of Bucharest. This town became the capital of Wallachia in 1659, and by 1700 it was the largest Christian town in the Balkans with a population that exceeded 60,000. As a town in imperial borderlands that enjoyed relative tranquillity until 1716, it became a magnet for rich residents. By 1824 the population of 60–70 thousand included some 4,000 Germans, and 4,000–6,000 Jews; there were also large colonies of Hungarian Serbs, Bulgarians and, naturally, Greeks. But the majority of the population belonged to Vlachs at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸ Population of the capital of Wallachia reached 120,000 by 1859. Therefore, when the Romanian national movement began in the 1820s Christian middle class capable of making a modern nation was more present in Bucharest than in any other contemporary town in the Balkans. This facilitated the introduction of Latin identity. When in 1862 Cyrillic script was finally replaced by Latin alphabet, the ideas of the Latinist school, initiated in the late eighteenth century in Transylvania, won a victory, a Pyrrhic one though, since in the following decades the Romanian Orthodox Church would become the cornerstone of Romanian national identity.

Phases of nationalism among Balkan Christians

Miroslav Hroch, using Central-European patterns, developed a three-phase model of the development of every national movement. In A phase a linguistic scholarly enquiry is conducted without political aims. In B phase a range of patriots endeavour to gather members of a particular ethnic group. Finally, in C phase, a mass movement is formed.⁹⁹ Hroch insists on two stages in the development of capitalist society: (1) the period of rise of capitalism, and (2) the period of stabilised capitalist “modern” society. B phase may take place fully during the first stage, but it may also develop partially or fully during the second stage. However, C phase in all four scenarios suggested by Hroch

⁹⁸ John R. Lampe & Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550–1950. From Imperial Borderland to Developing Nations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 86–88.

⁹⁹ Hroch, “National Self-Determination”, 67.

happens during the second stage of capitalism. Moreover, "small nations were fully formed when they displayed a class structure typical of capitalist society."¹⁰⁰ Here arises an insurmountable obstacle in applying Hroch's model to the Balkans. By the time of the Balkan Wars there was mass nationalism in all four Balkan Christian States (Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria); Montenegro with its pre-modern social structure was the only exception, being still restricted to Serbian proto-national identity.¹⁰¹ However, although elements of capitalist "modern" society existed in all of them, none of them could have been characterised in such a way at the beginning of the twentieth century. Speaking of the building of Balkan nations in the nineteenth century, Stevan Pavlowitch observed: "Ethnic communities had come to a degree of self-consciousness in an often structureless environment..."¹⁰²

There were indeed impressive improvements in the last few decades of the nineteenth century in all Balkan societies. Yet, as John Lampe put it, "the sweeping structural changes that turn growth into development would not appear in the Balkans until after the Second World War." There are several reasons for this outcome that Lampe was able to identify: (1) unproductive use of loans to expand state bureaucracies and military establishment, and not for productive purposes; (2) opposition of peasant majorities in Bulgaria and Serbia even to modest tariff and tax exemptions for native manufacture; and (3) limited size of domestic markets and shortage of industrial labour. As his title suggests, in the period 1520–1914, the Balkans was turned from imperial borderlands to capitalist periphery.¹⁰³ Therefore, capitalist society was only emerging during the second phase of the national movements of Balkan Christians and was still incomplete by the time these nations became imbued with mass nationalism.

¹⁰⁰ Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 25–26.

¹⁰¹ In spite of the fact that one of the three founding fathers of the Serbian national movement (along with Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić) was the ruler of Montenegro, Prince Bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš, and also that the Prince Bishop had already been imbued with the Serbian national spirit at the end of the eighteenth century, Montenegro was not able to reach the phase of mass nationalism by the time it ceased to exist as a separate state and united with Serbia in November 1918. Serbian nationalism coexisted with Serbian proto-national identity in Montenegro, but was restricted to the ruling house of Petrović and to a very thin layer of bureaucrats, teachers and clergymen. On Petar I Petrović and his plans for Serbian unification see Bataković, "A Balkan-Style French Revolution?", 115–116.

¹⁰² Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *A History of the Balkans* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 159.

¹⁰³ Lampe, "Imperial Borderlands or Capitalist Periphery", 200–202.

Another very important difference is that the national movements in the Balkans did not develop as subsystems within the empires. For most of their time, the national movements developed and were formulated in self-governed political systems, of which one was fully independent (Greece), while two (three) were self-governed (Serbia, and the two Principalities that were fused into Romania in 1861) and then, from 1878, independent. Only in the Bulgarian case the national movement developed its first and most of its second phase under Ottoman rule (1830s–1878), but in Bulgaria too the transition to mass nationalism happened in a self-governed entity and from 1885 in a state entity virtually independent from the Ottoman Empire. It is necessary therefore to propose a modified version of the Hrochian three-phase division for the Balkans, based on empirical data from the region:

Phase 1 involves the emergence among Balkan Christians of individuals capable of conceptualising vernacular, or semi-vernacular, and of writing in it. These individuals had an immediate influence on the course of national movements, although they could imbue only a limited number of other individuals with the national spirit. The proposed form of national language was to serve as a means of horizontal communication between members of an ethnic group. The main question of this period was: “Who are we?”

Phase 2 means that the political programme of unification of a given ethnic group has been formulated and accepted by the political mainstream of that ethnic group. In this phase one or another form of political liberalism is fused with national aspirations. National feelings affect educated and well-to-do strata of the ethnic group. The prior emergence of an ethnic state is desirable but not obligatory prerequisite for this stage. It poses a new question: “What to do with our non-liberated compatriots?”

Phase 3 indicates the existence of an independent ethnic state that is capable to create a broad centrally-planned educational network and to design national elite. This network harmonises regional peculiarities of historical narratives into one dominant historical narrative, setting the stage for mass nationalism. Not in a single case in the Balkans was Phase 3 possible without an ethnic state that had been created before this phase. Ethnic state and its bureaucratic and educational networks rather than developed social structure made mass nationalism possible by the beginning of the twentieth century in four out of five independent Balkan Christian states. At this stage, middle classes, particularly the bureaucratic class, are fully imbued with the national spirit and the peasantry is also affected, although unevenly. The main dilemma of this phase is: “Has the mission of national unification been fulfilled?”

It is obvious that in the period between the first signs of modern national identity in the Balkans in the 1780s and the beginning of the twentieth century, when all major Balkan nationalisms (apart from Albanian) were

already shaped and firmly established, there existed two concomitant types of identities: ethno-religious (proto-national) identity among peasants, and national identity among groups of patriots. Phase 1 was obvious among Greeks and Hungarian Serbs in the 1780s. This phase was personified by leaders of the Greek and Serbian Enlightenments, Adamantios Korais and Dositej Obradović. Among ethnic Vlachs, Phase 1 begins in the 1810s, when the cultural mainstream of Wallachia and Moldova begins opposition to pan-Byzantinism. Bulgarian Phase 1 came slightly later, in the 1830s, with the educational efforts of Neophytos of Rila, his Bulgarian grammar and his translation of the New Testament into Bulgarian vernacular.

In all independent or autonomous Balkan Christian states (the Kingdom of Hellenes, the Principality of Serbia and the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova) Phase 2 was concomitant and could be traced back to the 1840s. In Serbia, it is connected with the rise of the bureaucratic class, which involved another inflow of Hungarian Serbs; and in Romania, with the movement for the unification of the Principalities. By the 1850s all three nascent nationalisms, Greek, Serbian and Romanian, had liberal streams, another component necessary for reaching this stage. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the ideology of liberalism proved to be the most successful catalyst of nationalism and national ideas. Phase 2 was slightly delayed in Bulgaria due to the absence of statehood and the predomination of Greek culture. In the 1850s major communities provided education in Bulgarian for the first time.¹⁰⁴ What logically followed was the raising of the question of ethnification of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1858/59. By the 1860s the Bulgarian population reached Phase 2. In September 1866, a young Bulgarian student of the Owens College, Ivan Evstratiev Geshov (1849–1924), announced to the British public on the pages of *The Pall Mall Gazette* that a range of Bulgarian patriots existed:

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 Bulgarian than any others...¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Crampton, *Bulgaria*, 50.

¹⁰⁵ I. E. Gueshoff, *The Balkan League* (London: John Murray, 1915), v.

As soon as Bulgarian statehood was established in 1878, a liberal political stream emerged at the Constitutional Assembly (February–April 1879) and that stream prevailed over the conservative political line.¹⁰⁶

The Albanians were the last Balkan proto-nation to be affected by nationalism. Their movement was seriously hampered by pre-modern social organisation, which was completely tribal in the North. In addition, both the Ottoman authorities and the Orthodox Church in the South had their reasons to suppress the development of education and culture in Albanian.¹⁰⁷ Although elements of Phase 1 were present in the Albanian community in southern Italy in the 1870s or even slightly earlier, it really began in Albania in the early 1880s. When Ottoman authorities did not suppress the development of schools and press in Albanian for some five years (1881–1885) this created conditions for the beginning of Phase 1.¹⁰⁸ By the time of the Balkan Wars Albanian nationalism was still in Phase 1. Since the Albanians were religiously divided, language became “powerful link for the union of their countrymen”.¹⁰⁹ The adoption of Latin script for all Albanians in 1908 meant that only from that moment there were preconditions for uniting, at some later point, different regional streams of ethnic Albanians belonging to three faiths. Independence of Albania in 1912/13 came primarily as a result of Ottoman defeats. Suffice it to say that the most serious volume on nationalism published in English in the interwar period treated all major Balkan nationalisms, but failed to mention Albania at all.¹¹⁰ Elements of Phase 2 appeared in interwar Albania. Mass

¹⁰⁶ Kosta Todorov, *Politička istorija savremene Bugarske* [Political History of Contemporary Bulgaria] (Belgrade: Sloga, 1938), 43–45.

¹⁰⁷ In the nineteenth century almost two-thirds of the ethnic Albanians were Muslim. Stavro Skendi, “Language as a Factor of National Identity in the Balkans of the Nineteenth Century”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119:2 (April 1975), 188.

¹⁰⁸ Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, 504–505; Stavro Skendi, “Beginnings of Albanian Nationalist and Autonomous Trends: the Albanian League, 1878–1881”, *American Slavic and East European Review* 12:2 (Apr. 1953), 230–232, believed that the activities of the Albanian League (1878–1881) “paved the way for the achievement of independence of 1912”. This is difficult to accept since independence came as a result of external rather than internal factors. As Skendi himself admitted, there were regional patterns to the League. The Orthodox Christians of the South abstained from the League, and by that time only they had some social preconditions for a national movement. The North took the lead, but social demands among the Northern highlanders were far from national. They wanted to prevent the introduction of new laws. Therefore, I believe that the League movement should be taken as proto-national rather than national.

¹⁰⁹ Skendi, “Language as a Factor”, 188.

¹¹⁰ *Nationalism. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* (London, New York and Toronto: OUP, 1939). Apart from chapters on

nationalism will emerge in Albania concomitantly with communist modernisation after the Second World War, although in a peculiar fusion with Marxism-Leninism and Maoism.

When King Milan of Serbia declared war on Bulgaria in 1885, he had to face popular opposition to it. On the very day the war was declared, Milan Piroćanac (1837–1897), his prime minister in 1881–1883, called it “a foolish and senseless undertaking”.¹¹¹ When Serbia was defeated by Bulgaria, King Milan wished to continue the war, but even members of the General Staff opposed it.¹¹² Ethno-religious identity was still too strong. Peasants could not imagine why they should wage war against an ethnically very similar and religiously identical group; nor could intellectual notables accept a war the only purpose of which was to prove that Serbia should be more important than Bulgaria. Later, in the era of mass nationalism, this kind of attitude could not prevail. The second Balkan War between Christian states (1913), which gave rise to the term “balkanisation”, demonstrated that political elites faced much smaller problems to mobilise national homogenisation even in wars with national groups that belonged to the same religion and spoke very similar language as was the case between Bulgarians and Serbs. By the time of the Balkan Wars, all four states (Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria) obviously reached Phase 3. By the 1920s the answer to the main question of this phase: “Has the mission of national unification been fulfilled?” was only seemingly clear. In the Romanian and Serbian/Yugoslav cases it was affirmative, in the Greek and Bulgarian it could not be other than negative. By 1945 not a single Balkan national movement could have replied completely affirmatively.

One should have in mind that independent Balkan Christian countries had small percentages of urban population even at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹¹³ Therefore, the phase of mass nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century reflects the mood primarily in urban centres, not necessarily in all lowland rural areas, and the least clear situation was

major European nations the volume contains a 33-page chapter on “Other European national movements” covering the nationalities of the Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian empires with special sections on Greece, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and Montenegro (pp. 81–113).

¹¹¹ A note made on 2 November 1885: Milan Piroćanac, *Beleške* [Notes] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2004), 184.

¹¹² Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* (London: Cassel and Company, 1917), 60–61.

¹¹³ In 1910, the urban population accounted for 24% of the total population in Greece, 19% in Bulgaria, 11% in Serbia, and 9% in Montenegro. In Romania their share was 16% in 1912. See John R. Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 14.

in highland areas, where literacy rate was the lowest and pre-modern social organisation still extant, in some areas almost untouched. Only further research may clarify the pace of advancement of nationalism into lowland and highland rural areas, but two features certainly facilitated it: the egalitarian spirit and the cult of epic poetry and heroes, both common to nationalism and pre-modern social units alike.

Existence of merchant class that financed Greek and Serbian intellectuals and opening of schools in Bulgaria in the 1830s was enough for Phase 1. In Greece and Serbia the states without nationalism produced Phase 2, and thus became the states with national programmes. In one case national programme and state emerged in the same year – San Stefano Bulgaria. For Phase 3 something more was needed, a stratum of trained bureaucrats imbued with the national spirit. Foreign loans that Balkan Christian countries took from Western creditors were spent exactly to create this stratum and to strengthen the military. The bureaucratic stratum included teachers, officers, civil servants and also intellectuals, since most of them lived off state-paid jobs. This bureaucratic nationalism dominantly contributed to Phase 3 in Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria; only Romania had a slightly more complicated social structure. A study by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, published in 1939, found that one of the peculiarities of Eastern European nationalisms had to do with the fact that middle classes were comparatively small in this region “and played a limited, although undeniable part in the growth of the national movements. On the whole the professional classes (clergy, teachers, lawyers, doctors) were much more important than those who engaged in commerce or industry.”¹¹⁴ This conclusion is applicable to the Balkan cases analysed in this paper.

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¹¹⁴ *Nationalism. A Report*, 112.

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Herbert Vivian A British Traveller in Late Nineteenth-Century Serbia

*Beautiful Servia! my soul will always linger
amid the rapture of thy purple hills.*
(H. Vivian, Brighton, Michaelmas Day 1897)

Abstract: The famous British journalist and author Herbert Vivian (1865–1940) visited Serbia twice (1896 and 1903). On his first visit he stayed for several months in order to research into everyday life, customs, political situation and economic potentials of Serbia, which were little known to the British public. His famous book *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise* (1896) was a major contribution to British travel writing about Serbia with its in-depth analysis and rather objective portrayal of the country's political system, religious practices and economic situation. He was convinced that his book would have an effect on the British attitude towards Serbia by drawing attention of British high society to this country. Vivian was highly impressed by the simple life of Serbian peasants, an idealised self-sufficient social group that was satisfied with the land they tilled. After the 1903 regicide, Vivian, an admirer of the late King Alexander Obrenović became disappointed with Serbia's elite, but remained enchanted with the simple life of Serbian peasants. This article analyses the accuracy of his account and provides a fresh insight into Vivian's attitude towards Serbia.

Keywords: Serbia, nineteenth century, Herbert Vivian, British public opinion, travel writing, Serbian society, Serbian peasantry

Image de l'Autre: Western perspective on the Balkans

After the students protests of 1968, which had a resounding effect in Paris and, later, in the rest of Western Europe, the values of the whole Western world were brought under close scrutiny. The intention was, in short, to create a more objective and more balanced picture of the past, undistorted by the shortsighted Eurocentric perspective. As part of these reforms, the way in which Europeans judged other cultures was also brought under the magnifying glass of researchers and scholars. These changes were primarily brought about by experts in the fields of ethnology, anthropology and sociology, and were later compounded by an interdisciplinary approach in modern historiography.¹

¹ Cf. e.g. the classical studies of Traian Stoianovich, *A Study in Balkan Civilization* (New York: Knopf, 1967), and *Balkan Worlds. The First and Last Europe* (Armonk & London: M.E. Sharpe, 1994); for the most recent approach see Andrew Hammond, "The Uses

With the combined perspectives of history, social psychology and other disciplines in the area of social studies, a new discipline, known as *imagologie*, was born, concerned with how one views the other (*image de l'autre*); in this particular case, it studied how Western cultures have been viewing non-European cultures and their historical heritage. Such studies, increasingly popular in the 1980's, have become quite relevant to the Balkans, a meeting place of many different cultures, civilisations and religions.

The collapse of communist Yugoslavia in 1991 and the ensuing wars of succession (1991–1995, 1999) revived all the negative stereotypes associated with the Balkan nations, in particular those from the former Yugoslavia. Thus, the term “Balkanisation” was re-introduced into political discourse to denote the endless, and often violent, fragmentation of larger political units, and armed conflicts between different nations of the region were often superficially described as a “return to tribal life, to the primitive, to barbarism.”² That is why Maria Todorova convincingly argued in her classic study *Imaging the Balkans* that the Balkan bogymen in contemporary Western culture was, in fact, just a revived stereotype. Unlike Eli Skopetea and Milica Bakić-Hayden, who claim that Balkanism is essentially a sub-theme of Orientalism, Todorova seeks to prove that Balkanism is more than a mere variation of Orientalism.³ As for the terms of post-colonial criticism and Balkanism, Andrew Hammond concludes that “the study of Balkanism [...] entails both the analysis of *non-colonial relations* of power, and the analysis of these relations *within Europe*, topics that have rarely been addressed in post-colonial criticism.”⁴

The image of Serbia in British travelogues in the nineteenth century

The British began travelling through the Balkans relatively early, in the Middle Ages, either as pilgrims or crusaders on their way to the Middle East, but not much of their writings survived – and most of that is frag-

of Balkanism: Representation and Power in British Travel Writing, 1850–1914”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 82, No 3 (July 2004), 601–624.

² Maria Todorova, *Imaging the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15.

³ Ibid. Cf. also Eli Skopetea, “Orijentalizam i Balkan”, *Istorijski časopis XXXVII* (1991), 131–143; Milica Bakić-Hayden, “Nesting Orientalism. The Case of Former Yugoslavia”, *Slavic Studies* 51 (Spring 1995), 917–931. For more on Orientalist studies in the Middle East and the Balkans see Peter Jeffreys, *Hellenism and Orientalism in the writings of E. M. Forster and C. P. Cavafy* (Greensboro, NC: ELT Press, 2005), and Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: said and unsaid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

⁴ Hammond, “The Uses of Balkanism”, 624.

mented. Later, with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire, British diplomats and merchants often travelled those same paths and produced some good accounts of their travels and impressions. It was not until the nineteenth century that English travellers became fairly frequent in the Balkans. However, even during the previous centuries marked by war and unrest, there were bold people who traversed Europe in order to visit the Balkan lands.⁵

Until the 1840's and early 1850's, the Serbian lands were *terra incognita* for most British travellers passing through on their way to the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. They referred to them as European Turkey and called local people "Christian Turks"; they were more familiar with the ancient Roman names of the settlements than those from the time of Serbia's medieval heyday. In British travel literature it was not until the 1930's that accurate facts concerning the Balkan peoples and cultures began to replace superficial impressions lacking any wider historical and cultural context.⁶

Until the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Balkans had been of little interest to the British Empire. When the war broke out in 1853, the Balkans suddenly became an area where, as London firmly believed, the fate of the whole of Europe was to be decided.⁷ Regardless of the fact that the preservation of the decaying Ottoman Empire had been one of Britain's primary political goals for the most of the nineteenth century, the British political public knew little of the Balkans. The history of Serbia, both modern and medieval, was well illuminated by certain British historians and writers, and scholarly interest was not insignificant, although lagging far behind the enthusiasm of many Philhellenes for the restored Greece.⁸

British intellectuals had a very limited and superficial knowledge of Serbia, her political and national ambitions, and her medieval and modern history. The influence of the ever-increasing number of travelogues was not

⁵ Čedomir Antić, *Zemlja praznika i grad spomenika. Srbija i Britanija polovinom 19. veka / A Country of Holidays and a City of Monuments: Great Britain and Serbia in the mid-19th century* (Velika Plana: Naš Trag, 2004), bilingual Serbian-English edition.

⁶ Cf. more in: Sanja Lazarević-Radak, *Otkrivanje Balkana* (Pančevo: Mali Nemo, 2013).

⁷ Čedomir Antić, *Neutrality as Independence. Great Britain, Serbia and the Crimean War* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, SASA, 2007).

⁸ In contrast to Serbia and rare supporters of her independence and national goals, the Philhellenes enjoyed wide support of both political and intellectual elites throughout Europe: C. M. Woodhouse, *The Philhellenes* (Fairleigh: Dickinson University Press, 1971); Douglas Dakin, *British and American Philhellenes during the War of Greek Independence, 1821–1833* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1987).

considerable either. Books dealing with Serbs from Serbia or those within Turkey-in-Europe were, with rare exceptions, printed in limited editions.

In 1842, an article on "Servia" was published in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. This meant that the existence of a new state – although it was an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty – was acknowledged in the most prestigious publication in Britain intended for both experts and the general public. However, it would take half a century for the official name, Serbia, to come into use in Britain.⁹

One of the most interesting Britons who showed interest in Serbia was, without a doubt, the eccentric David Urquhart, a diplomat, journalist and traveller.¹⁰ According to the available sources and most of the authors who have written about Serbia, Urquhart was the first to indicate the importance of Serbia and suggest that the British consul should direct his attention towards her capital. Urquhart was the author of the first, fragmentarily preserved, history of modern Serbia in English language. It was also one of the first history books on Serbia published in the Western world. The first edition of *A fragment of the History of Servia* (1843) can be found in the British Museum Library, and there also is a copy in the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade.¹¹ The book had 96 pages, but some of them are missing. Given that Urquhart was an author, not a scholar, his knowledge of the Balkans, and especially Serbia, was quite impressive. Like Leopold von Ranke's monumental synthesis, *The Servian Revolution*, Urquhart's study contains some inaccuracies,¹² but the similarity between the two ends there: their methodologies in explaining the history of Serbia are different, and that of Urquhart is less scholarly. Regardless of whether it is viewed as a scholarly study or a piece of journalism, designed to present Serbia as Circassia of the Balkans that might be used against imperial Russia in the future, Urquhart's work was important for making British public opinion aware of Serbia's politics, economy and culture.¹³

⁹ *The Encyclopaedia Britannica of Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and General Literature*, vol. VII (Edinburgh 1842).

¹⁰ Cf. his biography by Gertrude Robinson, *David Urquhart. Victorian Knight Errant of Justice and Liberty* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920), on Serbia: pp. 48, 68, 197–198. (Reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, New York 1970.)

¹¹ D. [David] Urquhart, *A Fragment of the History of Servia* (London, 1843). Dejid Urkart, *Fragment iz Istorije Srbije 1843* (Belgrade: Arhiv Srbije, 1989).

¹² Leopold von Ranke, *Die serbische Revolution* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1829). An English translation: Leopold von Ranke, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution*, transl. by Mrs. Alexander Kerr (London: J. Murray, 1847).

¹³ Detailed analysis in Jelena Paunović-Štermenski, *Urkvartovo vidjenje međunarodnog položaja Srbije* (Belgrade: Akademska misao, 2007).

Although poorly informed about Serbia, the British public did not consider the autonomous Principality of Serbia an alien country altogether, despite her “barbarisation” under Ottoman rule and her different brand of Christianity. Unlike the Ottomans, the people of Serbia were of European descent and were not acknowledged as such until their refusal to take part in the Crimean War against Europe’s centuries-old ally, Russia. Although the autonomous Principality of Serbia had long been counted amongst the countries of the Near East, the Serbs were not considered an uncivilised nation altogether, and some comparisons between their and British lifestyle could be made. Of course, the differences were evident, particularly in the highest strata of their respective societies.¹⁴

Following Urquhart’s book, whose real influence on British public opinion has remained a matter of scholarly debate to this day, it was Andrew Archibald Paton’s famed travelogue that inspired many fellow travellers to visit Serbia and her neighbours in the decades that followed. These curious travellers came from all sections of society – some were literarily talented and ready to face all manner of adventures and perils.¹⁵

Andrew Archibald Paton was a great adventurer, who had already travelled on foot from Naples to Vienna. At the beginning of the Constitutionalists’ rule in Serbia (1842–1858), he was appointed general consul of Great Britain. During his term of office, he ceaselessly travelled the length and breadth of Serbia, writing down everything he saw and heard from the people he encountered. This resulted in the book *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family* published in 1845. His main work, however, is a more detailed book titled *Researches of the Danube and the Adriatic* published in 1861, a collection of his earlier works on the Balkans, the Danube area and the Adriatic coast, all of which he came to know better than any other contemporary British traveller.¹⁶ In 1862, he was appointed consul in Du-

¹⁴ Thomas Forester, *Danube and the Black Sea* (London: Edward Stanford, 1857); William Forsyth, QC., LL.D., M.P., *The Slavonic Provinces South of the Danube. A Sketch of their History and Present States in Relations to the Ottoman Porte* (London: John Murray, 1876); on Serbia, pp. 17–71. Forsyth was the first British author to suggest that “Servia ought to be pronounced Serbia”. He explained that the term was related to the Latin word *Servus* with a derogatory meaning, but that it features in all consular reports from Belgrade, and so (ibid. 18): “I shall therefore use the word Servia, although under protest.” Cf. also a general overview in James Baker, M.A., *Turkey* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1877), on Serbia, pp. 240–257.

¹⁵ Cf. for example: Alfred Wright, *Adventures in Servia, or the Experience of the Medical Freelance among the Bashi-Bozouks* (London & New York: Soonenschein & Co., 1884).

¹⁶ Andrew Archibald Paton, *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic, or Contributions to the modern history of Hungary and Transylvania, Dalmatia and Croatia, Servia and Bulgaria*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1861).

brovnik. His sympathetic book on Serbia remains a major contribution to the British literature on Serbia.¹⁷

However, as Patton pointed out, Serbia was becoming more Europeanised, slowly leaving her Oriental customs, traditions and behaviours behind. His works are considered a treasure trove for researchers as they contain valuable information for many disciplines, from geography, history and economy to architecture, culture, transportation, folklore etc. The 230-page book *Servia and the Servians* (1862) written by the British pastor, vicar of St. Bartholomew, Rev. William Denton had a similar, if not even greater, influence on British public opinion. It was a detailed survey of Serbia's institutions, customs and national aspirations, and it served the purpose of supporting Serbia's national claims after the Turkish bombardment of Belgrade in 1862. It aimed at alerting British public opinion to the difficult position of the Christian Orthodox Serbs who were suffering under "despotism of Turkey".¹⁸ Highly critical of English indifference to the Eastern Christians, Denton stressed in the introduction:

No one can know much of the people who inhabit the southern bank of the Danube without seeing in them all the elements which make up national greatness. No one can travel through the countries inhabited by the Servians, without respect and admiration for the people whose virtues have not been destroyed by four centuries of oppression, and without an assurance that for such a race a splendid future is in store.¹⁹

Denton's homage to Serbia paved the way for another important travel writing that encompassed other Serb-inhabited areas of Turkey-in-

¹⁷ Paton had a wide range of interests. He drew attention of his readers to all characteristics and curiosities of the country he was studying, from a physical description of the relief to the conditions for agriculture, from the income and formal garb of the head of the Serbian Church to detailed accounts of religious practices of the Serbian Orthodox Christians. Having spent many years in the East, Paton was sufficiently prepared for his encounter with a semi-eastern civilisation. Having studied reliable literature, which he often quoted, and having done hands-on research, Patton was able to draw a comprehensive picture of the social, political and economic conditions in the country. Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia. The Youngest Member of the European Family: or, a Residence in Belgrade and Travel in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior during the Years 1843 and 1844* (London: Longman, 1845); see also Branko Momčilović, *Britanski putnici o našim krajevima u 19. veku* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1993), 185.

¹⁸ Rev. William Denton, M.A., *Servia and the Servians* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1862). Denton published two more books dealing with Serbia and the Balkans: *The Christians of Turkey. Their condition under Mahomedan Rule* (London: Daldy, Isbiter & Co., 1876), and *Fallacies of the Eastern Question* (London, Paris & New York: Cassel, Petter & Galpin, 1878).

¹⁹ Denton, M.A., *Servia and the Servians*, vii-viii.

Europe. The exhaustive travelogue of Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adeline Pauline Irby resonated across the Western publics. Their humanitarian work made them famous not just in official circles, but also amongst the Serbian people at large. Pauline Irby was, according to *The Eagle* magazine, “The mother of the poor of Serbia”. Mackenzie and Irby travelled through Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Old Serbia, Montenegro and northern Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia and Fruška Gora Mountain (region of Srem). These two heroines rode through Turkey-in-Europe on four occasions and spent many months learning local languages, customs and history.²⁰ Their impressions were published in several works, of which the most famous and detailed one – *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (1867) – had several editions and soon became a classic handbook for exploring European Turkey. The Serbian translation by Čedomilj Mijatović was published in Belgrade only a year later. After the death of G. Muir Mackenzie in 1874, the second revised edition was enlarged in 1877 was appended with several chapters by A. P. Irby. This edition coincided with the growing interest of the British public in the Balkans when, in 1875, the Serbs in Herzegovina and Bosnia rose to arms against Ottoman rule, and thus reopened the Eastern Question. Miss Irby also added a survey of Serbia’s history (chapter “The Story of Serbia”) from the medieval period to the 1804 insurrection under Kara George. Following the political developments in the Principality of Serbia, she noted that Serbia in 1875 was “one-fifth smaller than Scotland”.²¹

It should be noted that any Briton travelling in the nineteenth century was a privileged traveller no matter where he went. A British passport was a recommendation that opened many doors. With an additional recommendation from the influential Interior Minister, Ilija Garašanin, A. A. Paton was warmly welcomed everywhere. With such treatment, and along with his natural energy and curiosity, Paton was privileged enough to travel farther and see more than any other British traveller of the time. That was all the more important given the difficulties of travelling through Serbia

²⁰ First published in 1867: G. Muir Mackenzie & A. P. Irby, *The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1867); a second, considerably enlarged and updated edition, prefaced by The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. (London: Daldy, Isbiter and Co., 1877).

²¹ After the death of M. Mackenzie in 1874, A. P. Irby continued to take care of the Christian school for female children the two of them had founded in Sarajevo. After the Serb uprising in Herzegovina (1875), Miss Irby continued her humanitarian relief activity in Dalmatia and Slavonia, where she provided aid to Serb refugees from Bosnia and opened new schools attended by many Serbian children. She continued her charitable work until her death in Serbia in 1911. Cf. Ivo Andrić, “Miss Adeline Irby”, *The Anglo-Yugoslav Review* 3–4, (1936), 85–90.

due to the lack of decent roads in the areas distant from the main road to Constantinople. Therefore, not all British travellers were as well informed as Paton. Some of them, like Spencer, could not tell the difference between Serbia, Bulgaria and Bosnia, or between Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks, and used old and archaic terms for Serb-inhabited provinces, "which shows how long we [Serbia and the Serbs] had been left out of Europe, for which we were still a mystery."²²

The significance of these travelogues should not, however, be underrated or inflated. They are very valuable, especially for the first half of the nineteenth century: they contain eyewitness accounts of the events that might have been missed or neglected in Serbian historiography. These accounts are also appreciated because they frequently offer different perspectives, varying from biased to objective, and some rather insightful and original comments, as well as useful comparisons between Serbia and the surrounding areas, a sort of comparison rarely made by a Serb at the time. These travelogues brought an unknown or little-known area of South-East Europe, at the crossroads of West and East, closer to British publics.

The role of these foreign travellers as intermediaries between the two cultures was important in many respects. At the time when diplomatic relations between the Principality of Serbia and Great Britain had just been established (1837), British travellers were perceived as genuine representatives of their Empire and as potential promoters of Serbia back in their homeland.²³ However, what stood behind the revived interest in Serbia was the British policy of drawing her into a network of allies acting as a bulwark to Tsarist Russia's aspirations in the Balkans.²⁴

On the other hand, foreign travellers, including British, did much to help present Serbia to European publics. They fairly reliably described the state of the country, road conditions, the position of the cities and fortresses. Furthermore, their encounters with many prominent residents and description of various local customs are important records of everyday life, something that the locals deemed too insignificant to be recorded. Many travellers left fascinating accounts of the landscapes they saw and the people they met observing a rapid transformation of an Ottoman province into a modern European state. They were often fascinated by the mixture of Western

²² Momčilović, *Britanski putnici o našim krajevima u 19. veku*, 186.

²³ Mihailo Gavrilović, "The Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia", *The Slavonic Review* 1 (1922), 86–109; 2 (1922), 333–352.

²⁴ In 1837, the first British diplomatic representative, Colonel George Lloyd Hodges, presented his consular credentials to Prince Miloš Obrenović. For more see Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Serbia. The Mission of Colonel Hodges 1837–1839* (La Haye & Paris: Mouton & Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1961).

and Oriental cultures which marked the process of gradual modernisation, Europeanisation and eventually Westernisation that paved the way for Serbia's political development from an autonomous principality (1830–1878) within the Ottoman Empire to an independent country, Principality of Serbia (1878), to the Kingdom of Serbia (1882).²⁵

In spite of all the credits Serbia was given for her efforts to catch up with contemporary European institutions and her visible cultural advances, some still perpetuated the stereotype of “good savages” from the Balkans and wrote about Serbia in a distinctly negative, even belittling manner. A good example of this kind of attitude is associated with the regicide and the ensuing change of dynasty in Serbia in 1903. The coup organised in 1903 by a group of military and civilian conspirators brought about the end of the Obrenović dynasty's rule. It was the brutal murder of the royal couple (King Alexander and Queen Draga Obrenović) in the Palace that had a particularly devastating impact on Serbia's international image. The regicide reignited the negative stereotypes which would haunt Serbia, notably in Great Britain, for a long time to come. The assassination of King and Queen was described as a “despicable piece of medieval barbarism”.²⁶ The reappearance of certain stereotypes regarding the Balkans in general and Serbia in particular fortified the prejudices apparent in the writings of various British travellers: “A certain intolerance towards Christian Orthodoxy and Byzantine heritage, combined with aversion to the ‘wild peoples of the Balkans’, found its way into certain sections of the British press as a stereotype resistant to many significant changes that had occurred in the meantime”.²⁷

²⁵ The first official document submitted to Great Powers by the government of the Principality of Serbia in 1854 was published in the proceedings of the British Parliament: *Memorandum Addressed by the Servian Government to the Sublime Porte Respecting the Occupation of That Principality by Austrian Troops; Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in Pursuance of Their Address of June 22, 1854*. After the 1856 Treaty of Paris, Great Britain became one of the six powers that guaranteed the autonomous rights of the Principality of Serbia. Serbia's aspirations became better known after the publication of Vladimir Jovanović's essay *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question* (London: Constable, 1863). The first Serbian minister to the Court of Saint James was appointed in 1882, four years after Serbia's independence. For more see Vojislav M. Jovanović, *An English Bibliography on the Near Eastern Question, 1481–1906* (Belgrade: Serbian Royal Academy, Spomenik SKA Series XLVIII, 1909); second updated edition: Vojislav M. Jovanović, *Engleska bibliografija o Istočnom pitanju u Evropi*, ed. Marta Frajnd (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 1978).

²⁶ Robert Lafan, *Srbi-čuvari kapije* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruha, 1994), 69.

²⁷ Dušan T. Bataković, “Jedno britansko vidjenje srpskog pitanja”, in Robert Lafan, *Srbi-čuvari kapije*, 307. Typical examples of this approach are Harry de Windt, *Through Savage Europe, Being the Narrative of a Journey (Undertaken as Special Correspondent of the*

Although Orientalism was not a major feature of the way in which the British saw modern Serbia, the period between 1903 and 1906 witnessed a case of “re-Orientalisation” – Serbia was pulled back from Europe and placed into the Near East, i.e. Asia with all the negative connotations reserved for Orientalist discourse.²⁸ In a rare attempt to dispel such a negative image, the book *Servia by the Servians* by a British journalist endeavoured to convince suspicious British public opinion that Serbia was heading to economic progress, political stability and democratic order.²⁹

At any rate, the British travelogues drew attention of international publics to Serbia. Her image underwent considerable change over time: neutral and critical remarks turned into praises after the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. It was then that the rather pejorative name *Servia* was finally changed to *Serbia*. The famous author and journalist, Herbert Vivian (1865–1940), made a major contribution to British travel writing about Serbia due to his in-depth analysis and rather objective portrayal.

Herbert Vivian in Serbia

It is common knowledge that reporting on Serbia, apart from a few random travellers such as Herbert Vivian, originated with Viennese correspondents of various European newspapers and that it, therefore, reflected often tense relations between the two countries. Consequently, Serbia's reputation was often tainted by Austro-Hungarian propaganda. Serbia's international position at the end of the nineteenth century was affected by various internal problems (autocracy of the last two Obrenović rulers, the royal family's scandals) as well as by her growing difficulties in foreign relations. Austria-Hungary's dominance over both her internal and foreign affairs prevented Serbia from pursuing a more active and independent policy. Serbian historiography does not provide many details on Herbert Vivian's connection with the Kingdom of Serbia towards the end of the nineteenth century. Some authors (Dimitrije Djordjević, Slobodan G. Marković) have made mention of Vivian's impressions about Serbia in the reign of King Alexander Obrenović. Until recently, however, of all Vivian's works only the chapter on Belgrade from his famous and well-received travelogue *Serbia: A Poor*

“*Westminster Gazette*”) through the Balkan States and European Russia (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907).

²⁸ Slobodan G. Markovich, *British Perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans, 1903–1906* (Paris: Dialogue, 2000), 15.

²⁹ Alfred Stead, ed., *Servia by the Servians* (London: William Heinemann, 1909).

Man's Paradise was translated into Serbian:³⁰ a complete translation of the book was only published in 2010.³¹

His biography, however, clearly indicates that Vivian was a man of broad liberal horizons and vast multi-cultural experience. He was born on 3 April 1865 into a Cornish priest family. Having completed his elementary education, he went on to graduate from renowned Trinity College, Cambridge, where he majored in history, and finished his magisterial studies as *magna cum laude* in 1889. Vivian was an exceptional student, even by the standards of such a prestigious institution, as evidenced by the fact that he was vice-president of the Keriton Club as well as co-editor of the short-lived but well-received magazine, *The Whirlwind* (1890).³² His excellent education allowed him to embark on a political career.

After a failed candidature at the East Bradford elections (1891), Vivian dedicated himself to journalism. He was travelling around the globe depicting his travels and various experiences in the wide area between Russia and Africa. Vivian reported for prestigious London newspapers, such as the *Morning Post* (1898–1899), the *Daily Express* (1899–1900) and the very popular *Wide World Magazine*, from places such as Russia, Scandinavia, Morocco, Abyssinia etc. He did not wait long before trying to dabble in editorship as well, by briefly bringing back to life the esteemed magazine *Rambler*.³³

In 1902, Herbert Vivian was awarded the title of “Officer of the Royal Order of Takovo” for his first book on Serbia (*Servia: A Poor Man's Paradise*) which was extensively promoted in the Anglo-Saxon world.³⁴ He was immensely proud and often boasted about his prestigious decoration. As he often stated himself, Vivian stumbled upon Serbia during one of his wanderings. He found himself in Belgrade at a particularly festive moment in 1896 when the Serbian capital was preparing the most cordial welcome for the Montenegrin Prince Nikola Petrović-Njegoš. Having witnessed this solemn event, he decided to stay in Serbia for a few months, and he spent his time learning about the customs, the people, the political system, religious practices and the economic situation.

Vivian rightly pointed out that for almost thirty years prior to his travel book (i.e. from William Denton's book in 1862), nothing of rele-

³⁰ A Serbian translation of the chapter on Belgrade in Nada Andrić et al., *Beograd u XIX veku* (Belgrade: Muzej grada Beograda, 1967), 149–181.

³¹ *Srbija. Raj siromašnih ljudi* (Belgrade: Službenik glasnik, 2010).

³² *Who was Who*, vol. III, 1929–1940 (London 1967), 1393.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Herbert Vivian, M.A. (Officer of the Royal Order of Takovo), *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise* (London, New York & Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897).

vance had been published about contemporary Serbia in Britain.³⁵ In the foreword, Vivian stressed that Great Britain was wrong in its approach to Serbia, whose interests as well as political and economic potential had been inexplicably and inexcusably neglected in the past few decades of the nineteenth century. He was convinced that his book would draw attention to Serbia and have an important effect on the British attitude.

On his frequent travels through Serbia, Vivian became enamoured with the simplicity of life, the vitality and energy of Serbs who, as he often stressed, revived his faith in modern civilisation and motivated him to embark on an in-depth analysis of various aspects of life in this picturesque kingdom in the Balkans. He was impressed that all the Serbs that he met consented to his writing his impressions, which showed him that they wanted to be portrayed in as true light as possible: "The Servians have said to me, over and over again 'we want merely justice; relate only what you have seen.'" Vivian was particularly impressed by the frankness and simplicity of the ordinary people, from Belgrade to Pirot, from modest peasants to influential district prefects. He was also surprised by what he saw as a dark-humoured Serb view of the world and the hospitality of virtually everyone he met during his weeks-long travels across Serbia in 1896.

Before setting to write *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, Vivian did a meticulous and diligent background research, as any good historian should, unlike his predecessors who had merely laid out some general facts about Serbia and then stated their opinion. He studied all available literature in English, French and German, from Leopold von Ranke and William Denton to Edouard Labouleye, Auguste Dozone and Felix Kanitz; he also consulted the available reports in the Foreign Office. Vivian underlined that *Geschichte der Serben* by Benjamin von Kállay "gives one of the brightest and most sympathetic accounts of Servia to be found anywhere. But the author, having donned the livery of Austria, has repented to his conclusions and suppressed his book, which is now difficult to obtain."³⁶ Apart from the entire literature on Serbian culture and art in major European languages, he read the brochures written since the 1840's by Serbian intellectuals with the explicit purpose of informing foreigners, primarily Western Europeans, about Serbia's political and national aspirations. Vivian appears to have been in close contact with the Serbian Minister in London, Čedomilj Mijatović,

³⁵ A notable exception was Elodie Lawton Mijatovits, *History of Modern Serbia* (London: W. Tweedie, 1872).

³⁶ Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, xvi. As for William Denton, Vivian asserts that "Mr. Denton's visit is still remebered in Servia, and his book deserves most careful persual. He views the country mainly from the ecclesiastical aspect, but his reflections on all subjects are vivid and entertaining."

who probably influenced Vivian's view of Serbia, particularly her political scene and national politics.³⁷

Herbert Vivian encountered Serbia at the time when the three major political parties (Liberals, Progressives and Radicals) had already been formed and highly active: "Now, as heretofore in Servia, as always has been and always will be in all countries, the issue remains one between authority and faction, between loyalty and disorder. Party names are as misleading in Servia as elsewhere."³⁸

Very inclined to the King, and probably in contact with local political leaders, Vivian was quite accurate when describing the ideological and social profile of major political parties with opinion on leading political figures, their ideologies and their supporters. His favourite was the Progressive Party, the royal party with a strong influence on the young King Alexander Obrenović: "The Progressists were really a species of Conservatives, and made it their first principle to support the Crown against all comers. Their main strongholds were the towns, but they possessed an extensive organisation throughout the country, and had attracted the majority of the orderly and well-to-do."³⁹ The reasons for the dissolution of the Progressive Party were explained to Vivian by its former leader, Milutin Garašanin, "a man of culture and ability, more perhaps of the diplomat than the party man, and inclined to use *finesse* rather than force". Vivian shared his view that "the multiplication of parties was a mistake, and that the country could be better served by the various disciples of order sinking their minor differences and working together to defeat a common foe."⁴⁰

Vivian noted that some politicians close to the Court in fact had autocratic tendencies. "Other politicians more frankly conservative, though never openly admitting the name of Conservative, which causes alarm in a young country, are Mr. [Svetomir] Nikolajević who was Premier immediately before Mr. [Stojan] Novaković, and Mr. [Nikola] Hristić, or 'iron Hristić', who has again and again been called in, as *deus ex machina* , when affairs looked parlous. Either of these men may at any time be summoned to the helm, should the good ship threaten to prove too much for the young

³⁷ The book is actually dedicated to Mijatović and a few other friends: "To my kind friends, their Excellences MM. Steva D. Popović, and Chedo Mijatović; to my good *pobratim* , Captain Ljubisavljević; and to all the charming acquaintances who lavished countless courtesies upon me during my visit to smiling Servia, I most gratefully and affectionately dedicate these pages."

³⁸ Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise* , 15.

³⁹ Ibid. 15.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 18.

King's control. Of the two, M. Hristić is the more open advocate of autocracy, and is by no means popular."⁴¹

Liberals, as Vivian rightfully observed, "answer in numbers and influence to our own Whigs, and while concurring with other anti-Radicals in upholding authority, desire to be its only exponents. They have no very definite principles, unless it be to support their leader M. [Jovan] Ristić, through thick and thin, and further all his ambitions in the hope of one day sharing his triumphs. They would oppose King and people alike with something of a Venetian oligarchy."⁴² Vivian's weakness was that his information on certain personalities came from one-sided sources, usually his friends who saw eye-to-eye with the Progressives. Thus, Vivian took a dim view of Jovan Ristić, the former Regent and life-long leader of the Serbian Liberals: "As for the Liberal leader, M. Ristić, he is a man of parts and craft; but he has overreached himself, and is almost as unpopular with his own party as with the people at large. Many Liberals are in open revolt against him, and will continue to vote against their party as long as he remains leader." His stature and character, as portrayed by Vivian, were described as follows: "He is a stout, ill-favoured individual, wears 'Piccadilly weepers' and recalls the typical Englishman on the French stage. His manners are deplorable, and his undoubted abilities have invariably been confined to furthering his own personal interest."⁴³

As for the largest and best organised party in Serbia, the Popular Radical Party led by Nikola P. Pašić, Vivian's views reflected those of the Progressive Party: "The Radicals are the most elaborately organised, and have contrived to secure at least the nominal adherence of all the poorest, lasiest and the most ignorant peasants in the realm. Whenever their leaders desire to hold a great popular demonstration, they can always count upon the presence of several thousand peasants, who gladly accept a holiday at the expense of the party funds, and will carry by acclamation any resolution which may be submitted to them. A friend of mine, who was present at the great radical meeting in 1896, told me that out of some 14,000 demonstrators present, only thirty to forty listened to the speeches, while all the rest ate melons. He added that each demonstrator had received three dinars [francs] for his trouble."⁴⁴

This rather biased impression was further strengthened by his distaste for the Radical leader to whom he contrasted other prominent party

⁴¹ Ibid. 20. On Stojan Novaković see Mihailo Vojvodić, *Stojan Novaković u službi nacionalnih i državnih interesa* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2012), 230–242.

⁴² Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, 16.

⁴³ Ibid. 21.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 16.

members: "The Radical Party, as usual, is hydra-headed. The titular leader is M. Pashić, an engineer of small parts and no manners. The best of his colleagues or rivals is Mr. [Dimitrije] Katić, a real son of the soil, who returns as Cincinnatus or Kara George, to his plough in the intervals of action. In a great emergency, he might do great things. He is sure of himself, and, though impregnated with current theories about 'the voice of the people', is otherwise a model of moderation and good sense. So long as his authority is accepted by the masses, no excesses need be feared. [...] He is very different man from the ordinary Radical leaders. These, I am told, are men without visible source of income, and living from hand to mouth, and obtaining credit from their party coffee-houses, against the turn of the wheel which may one day bring them into office."⁴⁵ Influenced by the assessment of his friends and acquaintances, Vivian no doubt underestimated the impact of Pašić – still discredited in 1896 by his opportunist concessions to the Crown – and overestimated the impact of a peasant tribune such as Katić who fitted too well into his general perception of Serbia, a paradise for the poor but happy people whose leaders were simple villagers themselves.⁴⁶

True to his conservative principles, Vivian also underestimated the importance of the ideas within the Radical social movements. He is however right in the assessment that there was no real risk of classical socialism: "I do not think that Serbia has really much to fear from her Radicals. Socialism is almost non-existent and the small taint of it there may be exotic, being imported by Servian immigrants from Austria-Hungary taking no permanent roots. The disease of Radicalism assumes therefore a mild form in Serbia; and so long as the army remains faithful to the Crown and the cause of authority, there is little to be feared."⁴⁷

Herbert Vivian's main preoccupation during his prolonged visits to Serbia (in 1896 and 1903) was whether Serbia was self-sufficient in the agricultural sense, and whether her predominantly rural population were able to live in a relative prosperity from the land they tilled. Vivian's somewhat idealised portrayal of agrarian harmony in Serbia was supported not just by his thorough analysis of the peasantry, but also by his insight into the incomes, expenditures, customs, aspirations and lifestyle of the Serbian people.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 23–24.

⁴⁶ Cf. the only biography Pašić available in English: Alex N. Dragnich, *Serbia, Nikola Pašić and the Creation of Yugoslavia* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 23–55.

⁴⁷ Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, 24.

During his stay in Serbia, Vivian studied all the available statistical data and formed a reliable picture of the economic situation.⁴⁸ However, what surprised him most was the relatively humble lifestyle of Serbian farmers and their families and yet they lived in relatively happy communities whose basic needs were largely satisfied:

Servia is essentially an agricultural country, and it is more than doubtful whether she may wisely be advised to dabble in manufactures. At present the vast majority live upon the land in more or less patriarchal fashion, providing amply for all their needs by means of healthy outdoor pursuits, and poverty is practically unknown.⁴⁹

The pillar of society in modern Serbia was, of course, the Serbian peasant. However, Vivian did not view him as a bearer of revolutions and antibureaucratic rebellions, as most other Serbian apologists did at the time. To his mind, he was the perfectly preserved model of the medieval peasant. He was not, however, a humble peasant dependent on his feudal lord, but rather a free man with his small land holding content with what he possessed and focused on his own affairs.

Like most Westerners and despite his familiarity with the free Balkan peasantry, Vivian was under the strong influence of a romanticised view of the middle ages. In this view, patriarchal harmony and stable agrarian conditions were favourably compared to the harsh and cruel challenges of the modern world dominated by trade and industrial expansion, which thrived at the expense of economic interests and social status of the peasantry. Vivian's idyllic image of the Serbian peasantry must have been re-enforced by what was going on in his own homeland, where British peasants gave way to the rapid industrial growth:

To sum up the Servian peasant, who after all is the backbone of the nation: he is sturdy, good-looking, brave, healthy, hospitable and merry, devoted to the traditions of his race but careless of modern politics; rich in everything but money; simple, superstitious, thoroughly mediaeval. No one could dislike him, but he must be judged from a standpoint which is almost unattainable by the man of the West. If we could go back four or five hundred years and live among our forefathers, they would probably tax our forbear-

⁴⁸ Vivian (*Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, 111, fn. 1) was both accurate and detailed when presenting Serbia's economic data: "The Department of Krushevatz produces two-thirds of the tobacco of Serbia, but the Department of Vranje is more fertile and that of Uzhitce produces more valuable tobacco. In 1893 there were 1,527 hectares under cultivation, and 903,243 kilogrammes were sold to the factory at an average price of 78 paras the kilogramme ... The total receipts from the sale of tobacco during 1893 were 9,389,731 dinars, and more recent Budgets show scarcely any divergence from that figure down to October 1896..."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 110.

ance in much the same way as the Servians do today. Yet, if we could divest ourselves of the arrogance of our civilisation, we should probably concede to them many virtues which we certainly lack.⁵⁰

In order to paint a perfect picture of a self-sufficient farmer for his British public, Vivian appealingly described his mistrust of modern institutions such as banks. That was no wonder in a society where financial reserves were still made by keeping precious metals and gems in a storage, and peasants were rather reluctant to live and work in a town especially in the service sectors. This stemmed from their affection for their village estate, no matter how small, and freedom they were immensely proud of:

The Servian peasant nearly always has more land than he can cultivate; he can boast of savings, either banked in an old stocking, exhibited in the headgear of his women-folk, or capitalised in the form of gold embroideries; and nothing will ever induce him to go into dependence. There are no Servian servants. Belgrade must import from Hungary, Austria, Germany, and even Italy. If you find servants of Servian race, you may be sure that they are either foreign subjects or have been recently naturalised.⁵¹

Industrial production, as vital for modernisation, was still in its early stages: "Practically the only other serious factories in Servia are a tannery with 30 hands and a capital of 300,000 dinars, three foundries with a combined capital of over 110,000 dinars and 123 hands – all at Belgrade – a cement factory at Nish, and several pork-curing establishments in various parts of the country."⁵² Vivian thought that great potential lay in the exploitation of Serbia's mineral wealth and made a point of drawing attention to potential British investors: "Besides her industry and commerce, the mines of Servia afford a tempting field for British enterprise."⁵³

Vivian also observed the phenomenon of brigandage as another remnant of medieval times:

Servia, with mountains and inaccessible forests, is an ideal refuge for outlaws; and whole regiments may pursue a handful for weeks through pathless tracts in vain. During Turkish times the *hajdutsi* were deemed patriots by the Servians, many of them having been outlawed for insurrectionary acts. There is a large coffee-house in Belgrade dedicated to one of these historical hajdutsi. Anyone who spent his life in harassing the Turks had a

⁵⁰ Herbert Vivian, M.A. (Officer of the Royal Servian order of Takovo; Author of 'Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise'; 'Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates'; 'Abyssinia'; etc), *The Servian Tragedy with Some Impressions of Macedonia* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 252.

⁵¹ Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, 150–151.

⁵² Ibid. 116.

⁵³ Ibid. 138.

claim upon their sympathy. But since the political emancipation hajdutsi have grown rarer and rarer, and it is a frequent complaint that common criminals should usurp the old honoured title. [...] Very often they will salve their consciences by giving money to churches, or by helping their poorer neighbours in the approved Robin Hood fashion.⁵⁴

Military and the Church: moral and patriotism

Vivian rightfully noticed that the military profession was prestigious in Serbia and that, since the formation of regular armed forces, a huge effort had been made to bring this profession up to the standards obtaining in other European countries. Vivian's keen eye did not miss the enviable general education of the officer corps, with the exception of their unsatisfactory knowledge of foreign languages, nor the fact that most of the officers in the Serbian army were recruited directly from the countryside, which meant that they had the same outlook as their soldiers. However, Vivian did not notice that the rural origins of the officer corps made it inclined to democratic ideas:

I saw much of the Servian officers during my stay in the country, and found them, with scarcely an exception, excellent company, smart in appearance, and agreeable in manners. All of them understand, even if they do not speak, French, German, and Russian. They are ready to impart information on any subject, and do so with culture and intelligence. Like all their countrymen, they are lavish in their hospitality, and there are no limits to the trouble they will give themselves to serve a stranger.⁵⁵

Vivian perfectly understood the fact that the peasant, the soldier and the priest were the triad which had encompassed the traditional values of Serbia since the 1804 Serbian Revolution, and the values on whose base Serbia entered the modern epoch. "It is claimed for the Servian army that it is the Servian people under arms. Even more truly may it be said that the Servian Church is the Servian people in the ecclesiastical aspect. Assuredly, among the many blessings which Servia enjoys, not by any means the least is that she is not pestered by any dissenters. The Servian church is the National Church in the fullest sense of the words."⁵⁶

Vivian pointed out several times that the Serbian Church was a national institution rather than a proper religious organisation or the Western-like mixture of a religious and a social institution. With some typical Western critical remarks on the practices of Serbian Orthodoxy, and the

⁵⁴ Ibid. 178–179.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 58.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 65.

Christian Orthodox faith in general, Vivian acknowledged the unifying role of the Serbian Orthodox Church (i.e. Patriarchate of Peć, 1557–1766) as the main guardian of national and cultural identity under the Ottomans, and its integrative role in the national emancipation of Serbia after 1804: “A Church should be the soul of a nation, and it is so most emphatically in Servia. The whole history of the Servian Church bears out this contention.”⁵⁷ Not being particularly religious himself, Vivian had no interest in the doctrines of the Serbian Church, but he observed the popular elements in its daily rituals.⁵⁸

The Servians are proud of their Church, not because they deem acceptance of its doctrines a proof of superior shrewdness, but because they know it has been the most important factor in maintaining their national identity. Religions which have private judgment for their basis divide and weaken the national spirit, but Servian Orthodoxy has welded and kept Servia together as no other sentiment could do. It is in no sense corybantic Christianity; it is not an emotional religion, though a gorgeous ritual, jeweled icons, and incense are there to appeal to the imagination; it is perhaps, in a sense, not a spiritual religion. But it has a wonderful hold upon the people; not upon the women and children only, but equally upon the men. And it exercises a civilising influence without any of the terrors of priestcraft.⁵⁹

Vivian also noted that the relationship between the Serbian Orthodox bishop and the Islamic imam in the town of Niš was good, serving as an example of religious tolerance that he had rarely met in other, more developed, societies. Contrary to religion as a whole, his opinion on Serbian bishops was quite negative. He pointed to their corruption, but he also noted the following: “Servian bishops are poorly paid and live simply, but they have immense influence in the country and they appoint all the clergy in their dioceses.”⁶⁰

Modernisation vs. traditional way of life: “Delightful medieval country”

Vivian attached great importance to the improvements in the educational system which were a tangible sign that Serbia was well on her way to mod-

⁵⁷ Ibid. 93.

⁵⁸ “It is said that the Servian popes are ignorant, but that is to convey a wrong impression. No doubt they are not steeped in book learning, but they possess – what is far more important – plenty of common sense, and, I fancy, know as much as they need to know. All candidates for Orders are required to go through a four years’ course at the Belgrade Seminary, where they find ample opportunities of culture (*Servia. The Poor Man’s Paradise*, 71–72).

⁵⁹ Ibid. 66–67.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 93.

ernisation: "By the middle of this century the dawn of Servian letters had coloured the horizon; and now, with the feverish educational aspirations of the country, a full classical effulgence cannot be far off."⁶¹ Somewhat surprising was Vivian's impression about the quality and influence of the Serbian press, which, given the language barrier, he probably formed through his Serbian acquaintances. He certainly exaggerated when he claimed that, in accordance with tradition in patriarchal societies, personal attacks in political discussions were avoided:

There is an impression abroad that Servian newspapers are all of the *Skibbereen Eagle* complexion; but though they can give each other some hard knocks in the matter of politics, they set the press of other countries, not excepting our own, admirable example in their avoidance of personalities. There is a tacit understanding that the domain of private life shall not be invaded, and I was told that nothing more disagreeable can be said of a Servian lady than that she has even been spoken about in the newspapers'. The Servian journalists are among the most interesting and best informed of their countrymen.⁶²

With equal enthusiasm, Vivian wrote of the future of Serbian literature and its significance to her culture as a means of suppressing widespread superstitions and furthering national emancipation. Offering a representative list of modern Serbian authors and their works, which unsurprisingly included his dear friend Čedomilj Mijatović, Vivian drew the following conclusion: "Confidence in the future of Servian literature is justified by the dreamy poetic nature of the people on the one hand, and by the elaborate nature of the system of education on the other. All sorts of old superstitions die very hard in this delightful medieval country. All except a few lawyers and bagmen believe in vampires, who may be charmed with an amulet of garlic; and in the *vile* or spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth, and air."⁶³

During his weeks-long travels around Serbia, Vivian had ample opportunities to acquaint himself with popular customs, which, judging by the older travel guides (by Paton, Denton, Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby), had not changed much. Having travelled further to the south – to the regions integrated with Serbia after two successive Serbian-Turkish wars in 1876–1878 (the former Sanjak of Niš) – Vivian had the impression that he was in the Orient. These areas missed the decades of modernisation that the Principality of Serbia had undergone from 1830, in particular during the

⁶¹ Ibid. 185.

⁶² Ibid. 187.

⁶³ Ibid. 188. In his memoirs, Čedomilj Mijatović mentions his friendship with Vivian more than once. Cf. Chedomille Mijatovich, *Memoirs of Balkan Diplomatist* (London: Cassel & Co., 1917).

rule of the Constitutionals (1842–1858), and contrast with the northern parts of the country was conspicuous.

A certain difference could be found in the comparisons of the quality of life between villages and towns. The towns at the time were in fact little more than urbanised villages, while the main industrial hub of Serbia, Kragujevac, “seems like a garden” to Vivian.⁶⁴ The growth of towns in Serbia did not stem from their economic or military power, but rather depended on old customs and local tradition. That is why Vivian described Šabac, the central town of the wealthy region of Mačva, in an unflattering fashion:

I probably learned more about Serbia, her institutions, her agriculture, and her commerce during my tour in the Machva [Mačva] and western Serbia generally; but I shall always look back upon my travels in the eastern and central districts with keener satisfaction. This is probably because I saw them first, and found them less sophisticated.⁶⁵

Towns in the country were semi-urbanised areas due to the structure of their agrarian population and the dominant egalitarian mentality of their inhabitants which characterised the entire Serbian society in the nineteenth century:

There is little luxury in Servian home-life, and the lack of servants makes comfort out of the question. As Servians are too independent to enter domestic service, servants have to be imported beyond the Sava, and they possess or quickly acquire impossible notions or equality. I imagine it cannot be very much worse in America. And the ladies of a Servian household spoil their servants by doing much of work themselves.⁶⁶

Vivian especially noted handicraft in the town of Pirot, in south-eastern Serbia, where entire families, including the youngest members of the household, were engaged in manufacturing Serbian woven carpets: “Nearly every woman and child in the place is engaged in weaving the bright red carpets which adorn every Servian home. There are no factories, but each family, or group of families, has its own private loom, which six or eight females work in little recesses or cupboards within view of the streets. The carpets are extraordinarily durable and very cheap. I wonder that some enterprising contractor does not go over and buy up the whole stock every year.”⁶⁷

An analysis of life in rural areas indicated that there was no considerable economic improvement or change in worldview, which was, according to Vivian, still unfazed by modern civilisation and grounded in the old

⁶⁴ Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, 198.

⁶⁵ Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, 202.

⁶⁶ Vivian, *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, 221.

⁶⁷ Vivian, *Servian Tragedy*, 201.

patriarchal values with the Kosovo tradition as the main pillar of national identity:

The Servians love simple pleasures. They are always ready for a dance, and impart mysterious expression to the measures of the *kolo*. They are intensely musical and can always while away an evening with interminable songs, generally of a sad, dreamy strain. The favourite topic of their songs is some episode in the history of their old [Stefan Dušan's medieval] Empire: either the prowess of Marko Kraljević (king's son), or a narrative of the great battle of Kosovo, where their last Tsar [Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović] was defeated by [Ottoman] Turks. History is their one passion and replaces the interest in politics, which we find further west.⁶⁸

While praising the hospitality of the Serbian people as their best quality, Vivian was in fact praising the traditional, patriarchal culture, a remnant of the Ottoman period. Another feature of the patriarchal way of life was an absence of privacy, which was so important in urban areas of the Western world. In general, Vivian observed both the major improvements in the quality of life and the remaining difficulties with which a traveller had to contend:

In 1896, when I overran Serbia, I had to find compensation in the natives' overflowing hospitality for rugged roads, bridgeless rivers and some unsavoury inns. Since then the corvée has been out and there are excellent highways everywhere; the streams have all been spanned by neat viaducts and the sanitary authorities have insisted upon the extermination of unnecessary smells. Now, as hitherto, good substantial fare is to be found in villages as well as towns. The only remaining drawback is the absence of baths. Even in a big town like Kragujevats [Kragujevac] or a thriving one like Šabats [Šabac], they stare in the best hotels if you hint at a hip bath. They are quite ready to spend thousands of dinnars on buildings and servants and such luxuries as they understand; but it does not occur to them, even in the dog days, that a traveller might crave a cold plunge.⁶⁹

Vivian also pointed out that Serbs did not have understanding of the exploitation of natural resources, nor could they grasp the necessity of making priorities by Western standards. Like most foreign travel writings of the time, special attention was paid to the description of accommodation for travellers:

Food is abundant here, and the expenditure of two or three pounds by each hotel would supply a sufficiency of tubs. Water is already abundant and the Servians drink it recklessly, but their facilities for its external use are mediocre. Until this deficiency can be remedied a traveller must have recourse to tin or India rubber. Then he may treat himself, at an absurdly low cost,

⁶⁸ Ibid. 249–250.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 184.

to an acquaintance with a smiling people which possesses all the Oriental instinct of hospitality, to a sight of historical scenes and wondrous scenery and marvelous monasteries; in fact, to all the delights of the Middle Ages crystallised amid modern aspirations and a headlong prosperity.⁷⁰

Vivian also spoke of proneness to superstition in the Serbian countryside. The fear of sorcery and vampires was far from unusual in the Serbian villages in the nineteenth century: "Stories of vampires are innumerable, and all except a few lawyers and bagmen believe in them implicitly. The vampires assume human form and are remarkable for their grace and beauty."⁷¹

Scrutinising the national character of the Serbs, and in accordance with the widespread impression, Vivian noted a certain surge of aggression in tough times, which could transform one's dedication to work into a strong will to fight and do great deeds. Vivian's opinion on this matter bore the imprint of the dramatic 1903 coup and its brutal regicide: "Servian is full of devoted enthusiasm for his friends, but so soon as his enmity has been aroused he sticks at no enormity. Most of his national heroes are swashbucklers, who, in peaceful times, would be called brigands."⁷²

Among the many books about the Balkans, Turkey-in-Europe and the Ottoman Empire at large written by British travellers and historians, Vivian's first book on Serbia, a mixture of detailed political and economic analysis and appealing travel writing, presented Serbia as a new European state emerging from the decaying Ottoman Empire. There is, however, a distinct difference between his idealisation of Serbs as poor and hard-working people, full of energy, enthusiasm and confidence in the future typical of his writing in 1896 and his sharp, at times bitter criticism in 1903 when the reputation of the Serbs suffered a heavy blow due to the assassination of the royal couple. On the whole, in his acclaimed book *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, Herbert Vivian provided a quite interesting and, apart from some idealised passages on the peasantry, mostly objective review of Serbian society at the turn of the century.

The 1903 Coup drama

The 1903 Coup, condemned by the whole of monarchist Europe as a despicable act, degraded Serbia in Vivian's eyes. He considered the regicide an act of political madness, a product of conspirators who had little or no influence and respect amongst the people. Therefore, Vivian's description of

⁷⁰ Ibid. 185.

⁷¹ Ibid. 251.

⁷² Ibid. 252.

the causes and culprits of the assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga was very personal, biased and singularly sympathetic to the unfortunate royal couple.

According to Vivian, the question of succession to the throne sealed the royal couple's fate. Rumours were rife that one of Queen Draga's brothers would be designated an heir since the royal couple was childless. Hence, Vivian spared no effort to dispel all doubts that such a solution was ever considered, although he did not have much evidence to prove his point, apart from his personal experience.

In his attempt to defend the knightly virtues of the Serbian people that he portrayed so passionately in his *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise*, Vivian blamed foreign influence for the series of unfortunate events which had befallen Serbia since May 1903. In doing so, he was obviously mistaken.⁷³ The conspiracy led by army officers and several, mostly Liberal, politicians, such as Djordje Genčić, was an exclusively Serbian affair. Vivian seems to have overlooked the fact that there was neither civil unrest, nor any public protests following the regicide and change on the throne. In fact, the murder of the last Obrenović was met with an overall sense of relief. Vivian, who remained very close to the circle of Alexander's supporters amongst the Serbian elite, and kept contact with Čedomilj Mijatović, became very one-sided in his approach to post-1903 developments in Serbia. It remains unclear to what extent Mijatović influenced Vivian's views.⁷⁴ Being the Serbian Minister in London, Mijatović was an avid supporter of the Obrenović dynasty and a close friend of Vivian's. There is no doubt, however, that the sharpness of Vivian's criticism also stemmed from his personal sympathy for the late King Alexander as well as from the outrage which the regicide stirred in Great Britain. Mijatović most probably co-authored with Mrs. F. Northesk Wilson a rather bitter account of the tragic events in Serbia published some weeks after the regicide under the title *Belgrade. The White City of Death, Being A History of King Alexander and Queen Draga*.⁷⁵ It has been noted ever since that "if the metaphor for Serbia before 1903 was *Poor*

⁷³ The chapter "Treason and Plot" in *The Servian Tragedy with Some Impressions of Macedonia*, 88–103.

⁷⁴ Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy, Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga of Servia* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1907). For an excellent biography see Slobodan G. Markovich, *Grof Čedomilj Mijatović. Viktorijanac među Srbima* (Belgrade: Dosije & Pravni fakultet, 2006); cf. also Slobodan G. Markovich, "Count Čedomilj Mijatović, a Leading Serbian Anglophile", *Balcanica* XXXVIII (2008), 105–132.

⁷⁵ Mrs. F. Northesk Wilson, *Belgrade. The White City of Death Being A History of King Alexander and Queen Draga* (London: R. A. Everett & Co., 1903).

Man's Paradise [...] the metaphor for the country's capital after 1903 became *White City of Death*".⁷⁶

During the first few months of King Peter I Karadjordjević's reign, Vivian added new details to his dim view of the new regime in Serbia: he described in detail the royal tragedy through vivid description of the chambers of the assassinated King Alexander, and the hectic search of the military conspirators for a royal couple hidden in the secret room. He portrayed the new King, Peter Karadjordjević, as an intruder who allegedly liked to dress up as a peasant and mingle amongst the people in order to find out their opinion on the new government. Comparing sarcastically king Peter I of Serbia to Harun-al-Rashid, Vivian concluded that the new ruler surely had the chance to hear many uncomfortable truths about himself during these excursions. Yet, Vivian failed to acknowledge that the ousted dynasty had lost sympathies among the population on account of its autocratic rule and family scandals which had harmed the international image of Serbia. Vivian thus joined several British authors, to mention but Mary Edith Durham, who, after having been disappointed with Serbia for one reason or another, became inimical to their former object of affection.⁷⁷ In contrast to Mary Edith Durham, however, who came to depict Serbia as such as a symbol of whatever was going wrong in the Balkans, Vivian blamed the wrong policy of the post-1903 regime for numerous difficulties in the region.

Conclusions

Through his analysis of political and cultural developments in Serbia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Vivian put forward some characteristic views. In both books on Serbia – *Servia. The Poor Man's Paradise* and *The Servian Tragedy with some Impressions of Macedonia* – Vivian admired the patriarchal way of life of Serbian rural communities, their simple worldview and traditional values, but his views on the Serbian political elite and the future of the country differed greatly. In the years between the publication of the two books the 1903 Coup took place with a devastating effect on Serbia's reputation in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Britain was not particularly interested in the Balkans throughout the nineteenth century, but nevertheless the books of A. A. Paton, Muir-Mackenzie and Irby, Rev. Denton and Vivian helped elicit some sympathy

⁷⁶ Markovich, "Count Čedomilj Mijatović", 119.

⁷⁷ Mary Edith Durham wrote a sympathetic book *Through the Land of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), but in 1910 she moved to Albania and became a fervent supporter of that country and intensely hostile to Serbs and Serbia. Cf. Rebecca West, *The Black Lamb and the Grey Falcon* (London: Penguin, 1984).

for the Serbs and their national aspirations. A mixture of history, geography and travel writing, Vivian's extensive study was long considered the most complete work on Serbia available to the British public.

The reputation of the author, as well as his affection for the country and the people he was writing about, made this book a significant step forward in presenting a more complete picture of the Kingdom of Serbia. At the same time, it counteracted the effects of the venomous Austro-Hungarian propaganda, which seized on every opportunity to take advantage of family and political scandals during the reign of King Milan Obrenović. Apart from his affection for Serbia, Vivian had a very good opinion about the young monarch, King Alexander Obrenović, King Milan's son. He respected King Alexander's intellect and believed his policy to be imperative for a country undergoing massive social changes.

Vivian's change of heart came on the heels of the 1903 Coup, when the young Serbian ruler and, in his view, symbol of modernisation, was assassinated. From that moment, Vivian saw Serbia as a thoroughly problematical political entity, a country whose throne was usurped in blood by an impostor from a rival dynasty.⁷⁸ Vivian even suspected that the coup had been planned abroad (alluding to some unspecified companions of Prince Peter Karadjordjević and the involvement of one of the Great Powers, probably Tsarist Russia) and that, apart from a handful of upstarts, conspirators and politicians, there was not much support for the coup among the people.

Such interpretation, unsupported by evidence, was imperative for Vivian in order to explain the marked difference in his views on Serbia that existed in his two books. Nevertheless, Vivian's first book was a major contribution to the spread of a quite positive image of Serbia in the influential Anglo-Saxon world. He seems to have needed to stand for a cause, which is quite visible in his two other books, the one that campaigned for the restoration of the defunct Austria-Hungary and the other in which he recounted his decade-long adventures in various parts of the world.⁷⁹

Both Vivian's books on Serbia as well as his numerous articles abound in astute observations, accurate facts and picturesque details, and serve to

⁷⁸ Herbert Vivian, "The King of Servia and his Court", *The Pall Mall Magazine* 29 (April 1903), 509–518; idem, "Glorious Revolution", *The Fortnightly Review* 74 (July–December 1903), 65–75; idem, "The Future of Balkistan", *The Fortnightly Review* 74 (January–June 1904), 1038–1047.

⁷⁹ Herbert Vivian, *The Life of the Emperor Charles of Austria* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932); this book dedicated to Otto von Habsburg, the last Emperor of Austria-Hungary. See also Herbert Vivian, *Myself not Least, Being the Personal Reminiscences of "X"* (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1925).

this day as a rich source of information regarding different aspects of life in Serbia and the perception of Serbia in the British press at the turn of the twentieth century.

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The New Territories of Serbia after the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 The Establishment of the First Local Authorities

Abstract: In the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, the Kingdom of Serbia wrested Old Serbia and Macedonia from Ottoman rule. The process of instituting the constitutional order and local government institutions in the liberated and annexed areas was phased: (1) the building of provisional administration on the instructions of government inspectors and the head of the Military Police Department; (2) implementation of the Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas of 14 December 1912; and (3) implementation of the Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas of 21 August 1913. Finally, under a special royal decree issued in 1913, implementation began of some sections of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia. In late December 1913, the interior minister, Stojan M. Protić, submitted the bill on the Annexation of Old Serbia to the Kingdom of Serbia and its Administration to the Assembly along with the opinion of the State Council. The bill had, however, not been put to the vote by the time the First World War broke out, and the issue lost priority to the new wartime situation until the end of the war.

Keywords: Serbia, Ottoman Empire, Balkan Wars, local government, Old Serbia, Macedonia

The establishment after the Balkan Wars of local government in the areas acquired by Serbia underwent three military, legal and political phases. In the liberated areas of Old Serbia (Ras-Polimlje Area,¹ Kosovo, Skoplje Area) and Vardar Macedonia, the possession of which was acknowledged to Serbia, these phases were as follows:

(1) the establishment of an interim administration based on the instructions given by inspectors assigned by the relevant ministries and the chief of the police department of the Supreme Command of the army;

(2) the implementation of the *Decree on the Organisation of Liberated Areas* of 14 December 1912;

(3) the implementation of the *Decree on the Organisation of Liberated Areas* of 21 August 1913.

This process was not finalised for at least two reasons. One was the struggle between the military and civil authorities for primacy in the liberated areas, and the other was the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. These

¹ The Ras-Polimlje area largely overlapped with the former Ottoman Sanjak of Novi Bazar and Sanjak of Sjenica, both within the Vilayet of Kosovo (1877–1912), as will be discussed later.

circumstances hindered the consolidation of the freshly established and still very fragile local authorities in the Ras-Polimlje Area, Kosovo, Area of Skoplje (Uskub until 1912) and most of Vardar Macedonia after almost five centuries of Ottoman occupation.

However, to understand the political situation in the Balkans in general, and in the areas that were the theatre of military operations during the Balkan Wars in particular requires at least a brief overview of the overall administrative-territorial organisation of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and how it functioned. This will provide a background to the structure and functioning of those vilayets of which Old Serbia and Macedonia formed part before the Balkan Wars.

The organisation of Ottoman government in Old Serbia and Macedonia on the eve of the Balkan Wars

At the beginning of the twentieth century the administrative-territorial division of the Ottoman Empire into *vilayets*, *sanjaks* and *kazas* was still in force.² Such division was established by the Constitution of 1876, which was abolished the same year and then reinstated during the Young Turk revolution in 1908.³ Vilayets were the largest subdivisions, and on the eve of the Balkan Wars the territory of the Ottoman Empire was divided into twenty-eight such units. Its European part, known as Rumelia since the middle ages, consisted of six vilayets: Kosovo, Scutari, Monastir, Salonica, Janina and Adrianople. The capital city of Constantinople (*şehir-e-manati*) had a special status equivalent to that of a sanjak. All vilayets were subdivided into sanjaks or *mutesarifiks* (districts). Kazas were divided into: 1) *mudirliks* (which were traditionally called *nahiyes* although the former *nahiyes* were larger than *mudirliks*; this territorial unit is often termed “county

² On the administrative-territorial division of the Ottoman Empire (1878–1912) see J. Nikolić, “Upravne oblasti Turske do 1912”, in *Spomenica dvedesetpetogodišnjice oslobođenja Južne Srbije* (Skoplje 1937); N. Rakočević, “U Turskom carstvu. Političke i društvene prilike”, in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. VI-1 (Belgrade, 1983), 263–290; R. Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 2003). Very detailed information on the administrative-territorial organisation of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans can be found in the reports of military representatives of the Kingdom of Serbia in Constantinople submitted to the General Staff in mid-1903 (Belgrade, Military Archives, p. 14, f. 2, d. 4/1).

³ For more on this Constitution and its reinstatement during the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 see H. Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire 1908–1918* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1997), 75; M. Mazower, *The Balkans: From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day* (Phoenix Press, 2003), 106.

department" or "bigger municipality" in the traditional Serbian scholarly literature); and 2) *yaftas* (smaller municipalities), which consisted of one larger or several small villages.⁴ In addition, urban municipalities (*belediyes*) consisted of smaller units (*mahalles*). There were also autonomous ecclesiastical-educational municipalities.⁵

However, this administrative-territorial division of the Ottoman Empire was not uniform. In some cases, the structure of a *kaza* (*kaymakamlık*) was different: it included only *yaftas* and no *mudirliks*. For instance, there were 65 *yaftas* in the Sanjak of Pljevlja in 1909; on the other hand, the *Mudirlik* of Priboj existed along with the *kazas* of Prijepolje and Pljevlja in the same sanjak.⁶

However, the administrative-territorial and legal-technical structure of the Vilayet of Kosovo was particularly important. This vilayet was created in late January 1877, amidst the Eastern Crisis. Its seat, originally in Priština, was transferred to Uskub in 1888. A rigid pyramidal system of hierarchical organisation was established in all administrative-territorial units in the Vilayet of Kosovo. Practically, such a system of local government was similar to that which had been established by the 1839 *Law on the County Prefectural System and the District Prefect Office* in the Principality of Serbia under the Constitutionalists regime (1842–1858).⁷

The Vilayet of Kosovo comprised six sanjaks: Skoplje, Priština, Sjenica, Pljevlja, Peć and Prizren. The Sanjak of Skoplje had ten *kazas*: Skoplje, Kačanik, Štip, Peševo, Kumanovo, Kratovo, Radoviš, Palanka, Veles and Kočani; the Sanjak of Priština comprised the *kazas* of Priština, Gnjilane, Preševo, Vučitrn, Mitrovica and Novi Bazar; the Sanjak of Sjenica consisted of the *kazas* of Sjenica, Donji Kolašin, Nova Varoš and Bijelo Polje; the Sanjak of Pljevlja had two *kazas*: Pljevlja and Prijepolje; the Sanjak of Peć comprised the *kazas* of Peć, Djakovica, Berane, Gusinje and Trgoviste (Rožaje); and the Sanjak of Prizren consisted of the *kazas* of Prizren, Teto-vo, Ljum and Gostivar.

There is some confusion in the usage of the names of individual sanjaks within the Vilayet of Kosovo in international academic and popular history writing. A characteristic example concerns the inaccurate and tendentious usage of the term Sanjak of Novi Bazar. The famous Serbian geographer, Jovan Cvijić, wrote about this issue as early as 1904:

⁴ Rakočević, "U Turskom carstvu", 265.

⁵ Nikolić, "Upravne oblasti", 979–995.

⁶ Rakočević, "U Turskom carstvu", 265–266.

⁷ Contained in the collection of laws and regulations enacted in the Principality of Serbia published in Belgrade in 1840 (*Sbornik zakona i uredbe i uredbeni ukaza*), 78–83.

There stands out, by its relief and communications, the north-western part of Old Serbia, which since the Congress of Berlin has been commonly but inaccurately called – Sanjak of Novi Pazar; due to its political position this region has recently become even more distinctive. It is the south-easternmost portion of the Dinaric Alps system; the most favourable central region of highland and woodland areas between the Tara and the Zapadna [West] Morava [river]; it was only natural that it should become the centre of a mountainous state like Raška [*Rascia*; the medieval Serbian state]. It was there, moreover, that the famous Bosnian road intersected with the caravan routes which led from the Ibar and Kopaonik areas to the Zeta coast via Novi Pazar and Peć [...] In recent times, the Sanjak of Novi Pazar has become politically important as well, because, since the Treaty of Berlin, it largely plays the role of a region inserted between three countries with similar political aspirations: Serbia and Montenegro on the one hand, and Austria-Hungary on the other. This political isthmus, by means of which the Treaty of Berlin left Serbia and Montenegro separated from one another, is about 50 kilometres wide in a straight line. This is why it is now the area of Old Serbia and Macedonia that is second only to the central region in political importance.⁸

To better understand political-territorial terms relating to this former part of the Ottoman Empire, one should look back to the history of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar and the Vilayet of Kosovo.

In 1872 the administrative-territorial structure of the Vilayet of Bosnia was recomposed. The Sanjak of Novi Bazar was detached from it and joined with the Mudirlik of Pljevlja and Sanjak of Niš to form the short-lived Vilayet of Novi Bazar. In 1877, the Vilayet of Novi Bazar was dismantled and the Sanjak of Novi Bazar was incorporated into the newly-created Vilayet of Kosovo.

Shortly after the Congress of Berlin and the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in 1880, the administrative area of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar was once again reorganised. Its western part was incorporated into the newly-established Sanjak of Pljevlja together with the kazas of Pljevlja and Prijepolje and the Mudirlik of Priboj. This unit existed until the outbreak of the First Balkan War in 1912. The rest of the former Sanjak of Novi Bazar was organised as a separate sanjak whose seat was in Sjenica. The Sanjak of Sjenica existed until the beginning of the Balkan Wars; in the early twentieth century it included the kazas of Sjenica, Bijelo Polje, Nova Varoš and Donji Kolašin. On the other hand, only the kaza of Novi Bazar was attached to the Sanjak of Priština. The Sanjak of Novi Bazar thus ceased to exist as a separate Ottoman administrative-territorial unit but its name survived and remained in use. In the period between the Congress of Berlin (1878) and the Balkan Wars (1912) the area of the for-

⁸ J. Cvijić, *Govori i ilanci* (Belgrade: Napredak, 1921), 144–145.

mer Sanjak of Novi Bazar was distributed among several sanjaks and the use of this term for the whole area was not legitimate any more.

The organisation of Serbian local government in the liberated areas of Old Serbia and Macedonia

1) The establishment of an interim administration

After the Serbian army entered Old Serbia and Macedonia, the Supreme Command, seated in Skoplje since 26 October 1912, took first steps to form a new local government by appointing civil authorities.⁹ The Supreme Command immediately appointed special inspectors from all the ministries of the Serbian government. Judicial officers were appointed at the Supreme Command headquarters in Skoplje in January 1913. Then a police department was set up which was responsible for the organisation of civil administration in the newly-liberated areas,¹⁰ and Milorad Vujičić, senior official of the Ministry of the Interior, was appointed as its head. The initial and temporary administrative division of the liberated areas concerned the organisation of new municipalities, districts and counties on the model of those in the pre-war Kingdom of Serbia. Ten counties were formed: Prijepolje, Novi Bazar, Priština, Prizren, Kumanovo, Skoplje, Tetovo, Debar, Bitolj (Monastir) and Adriatic. Officials in counties and districts were appointed by the Supreme Command's decree at the suggestion of the Police Department in accordance with the military regulations and Article 6 of the *Law on the Organisation of the Army* of 1901. This means that district and county officials did not have to meet the requirements prescribed by the civil law of the Kingdom of Serbia (*Law on the Organisation of Districts and Counties*) of 1905.¹¹

These officials operated on instructions from the Chief of Police Department Milorad Vujičić. Their main duties were: 1) to secure personal safety and property of the population in cooperation with local military commanders; 2) to ensure the equality of all citizens regardless of their religious or ethnic background; 3) to secure the real property owned by the Ottoman state and other legal entities. They were ordered to investigate crimes and to adjudicate sentence on offenders on the spot in the spirit of Serbian laws. One of their most important duties was to group villages into municipalities and municipalities into districts. District prefects were given

⁹ R. Guzina, *Opština u Srbiji (1830–1918)* (Belgrade: Rad, 1976), 445; M. Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti 1912–1914. Pravni okvir* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2010), 11.

¹⁰ Guzina, *Opština u Srbiji*.

¹¹ Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 11–12.

the authority to appoint town and village mayors and the required number of municipal councillors.¹²

However, Vujičić was aware that the established organisation of local authorities was limited in scope and temporary in character. For that reason, on 8 November 1912, he submitted a proposal to the Serbian government to issue a decree on the organisation of the newly-liberated areas in the same manner as it had been done by the introduction of the *Provisional Law on the Organisation of Liberated Areas* of 3 January 1878 (or 15 January New Style) on the territory liberated in the Second Serbian-Turkish war.¹³ However, before the adoption of Vujičić's proposal, the commander of the Third Army (covering mainly the area of Kosovo and Prizren), General Božidar Janković, had issued the *Temporary Police Decree and Decree on Municipality Courts in the Area of Responsibility of the Third Army* on 16 November 1912.¹⁴ This was a temporary act which was to be applied until the final formation of the Serbian state administration. The Decree consisted of two sections and 62 articles. The first part regulated the organisation of municipal courts but, unlike in the rest of Serbia, the principle of elective municipal officers (town or village mayors, municipal councillors) was not introduced. Municipal officers were appointed and recalled by the police. Article 7 stipulated that mayors and other civil servants in towns had to be ethnic Serbs. The second section of the Decree listed the crimes within the jurisdiction of municipal courts as well as penalties for those offenses. Milorad Vujičić was not satisfied with the fact that the Decree concerned only a part and not all of the newly liberated areas. In addition, he considered that the provision of Article 7 of the Decree of the Third Army seriously undermined the principle of equality of citizens in the process of establishing new local authorities. Probably at his suggestion, the newly-appointed chief of the District of Priština, Dimitrije Kalajdžić, drafted a decree on the organisation of the entire liberated area. However, Vujičić was not satisfied with this draft either, because it was a slightly modified text of the *Provisional Law on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* of 3 January 1878. That was why Vujičić drafted his own version, which he submitted to the Interior Minister, Stojan Protić, in November 1912.¹⁵

¹² Ibid. 13.

¹³ Ibid. 48.

¹⁴ See *Zbornik zakona i uredaba. Prečišćeno i sistematski uređeno izdanje* (Belgrade 1912), 268–298.

¹⁵ Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 16.

2) *The implementation of the Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas of 1912*

On 14/27 December 1912, King Peter I promulgated the *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas*, which was based on the *Law on the Army*.¹⁶ This Decree, which included a preamble and 88 articles divided into four chapters, seems to have been made on the basis of Kalajdžić's draft.¹⁷ It was very similar to the *Provisional Law on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* of 1878 in both content and structure. This showed that the Serbian government's legal approach to the newly-liberated areas was essentially the same as it had been in 1878.

The first chapter of this Decree (Art. 1–14) concerned the organisation of municipalities. The size of a municipality was determined by the district prefect and could be changed only by decision of the Minister of the Interior. As in pre-war Serbia, municipal authorities were town and village mayor, municipal council and municipal assembly. There were no elective municipal authorities; they were appointed by the district prefect instead. Municipal authorities were in charge of all municipal affairs – police and executive and to a lesser extent financial and judicial.

A municipal mayor maintained the order in his municipality. He also adjudicated in all disputes regarding chattel as well as lawsuits relating to immovable property and minor disputes concerning crops damaged by livestock (20–50 dinars worth). Village mayor was authorised to settle all disputes in which fines did not exceed 20 dinars. In these disputes adjudication was verbal and short on the spot and in accordance with “the soul and justice”. A town mayor also adjudicated crimes stipulated in the third part of the Criminal Code of the Kingdom of Serbia, for which offenders could be sentenced to no more than 10 days in prison or fined 100 dinars in cash. Appeals to town mayor's verdicts were submitted to the district prefecture.

The Decree did not specify whose duty was to prepare a municipal budget, but the overall context leads to the conclusion that town and village mayors were entrusted with that task. Budgets of village municipalities were approved by the county prefecture, and budgets of county towns were approved by the Minister of the Interior. Salaries of all municipal officers were financed from local, municipal taxes.¹⁸ A municipal council had only an advisory role and no clearly defined responsibilities. Its members were

¹⁶ Arhiv Srbije, fond Ministarstvo finansija [Archives of Serbia, Finance Ministry Fonds], F. 41, p. 41, 1912. This Decree was not countersigned by any minister or published in the *Srpske novine* (which served as the official gazette), just like the decrees on the appointment of civil servants in the newly-liberated areas.

¹⁷ Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 17.

¹⁸ Ibid. 17–19.

appointed and replaced by the district prefect at the municipal assembly, consisting of all citizens with the right to vote, after having consulted prominent local household heads. Municipal assemblies had no real authority, and their role was only advisory.

The provisions of the second chapter of the Decree (Art. 15–30) concerned the exercise of authority in administration of districts. The territorial scope, name and seat of a district as well as of the municipalities and villages within it, were determined by the Minister of the Interior. The district prefect and scribes were appointed by the Supreme Military Command at the proposal of the Minister of the Interior. Practitioners working in district prefectures were appointed by county prefect.¹⁹ The district prefecture was authorised to maintain law and order in its area and, most importantly, it supervised the work of municipal authorities. If there was no military commander in a district prefecture, the district prefect was required to perform his duties. A district prefecture was also authorised to investigate all crimes and offenses, and to bring perpetrators before the district court for a trial. It investigated and adjudicated in all criminal cases and lawsuits that were beyond the jurisdiction of the town mayor. In order to meet district prefecture financial requirements, both ordinary and extraordinary expenses, there was a district tax. The district budget was compiled by the district prefect in consultation with town mayors, and approved by the county prefect. Emergency military needs were met in the same way as at municipal level.²⁰

The third chapter of the Decree (Art. 31–72) dealt with the organisation of counties and county courts. The territorial scope, name and seat of a county were approved by the Minister of the Interior. The county prefect, secretary and scribes were appointed by the Supreme Military Command at the proposal of the Minister of the Interior. The county treasurer and the required number of financial officials were appointed at the suggestion of the Minister of Finance.

District, county and municipal police authorities were subordinate to the Minister of the Interior regarding the maintenance of law and order, but acted upon orders from the other relevant ministries in all other matters. In military matters – in the event of war – all officials were at the disposal of military authorities.

In each county there was a district court which consisted of a judge, a secretary, and the required number of scribes. They were appointed by the Supreme Military Command at the proposal of the Minister of Justice. For a trial of a criminal case to be valid, the presence of a judge, secretary and scribe was required, and for lawsuits, of a judge, a secretary or a scribe, and

¹⁹ Ibid. 19.

²⁰ Ibid. 19–21.

a lay judge. The municipal council of a county elected five lay judges and three deputy-jurors every year. A district court adjudicated in all lawsuits beyond the jurisdiction of municipal authorities, misdemeanours and all committed by the county government and all military offenses committed by military authorities. A district court also performed all other duties of the first instance courts in the Kingdom of Serbia with the exception of real estate ownership matters. Sales contracts concluded before the declaration of war between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Ottoman Empire (October 1912) – and not approved by the responsible authorities – as well as mortgage loans were not considered valid (and therefore could not be the subject of legal proceedings) until the conclusion of a peace treaty after the war. In the meantime, the police had the authority to settle disputes concerning possession (de facto authority over things) in order to maintain law and order. The trial was public unless public morality or general public interests required otherwise. Verdicts were reached by majority vote. Criminal offenses were sentenced according to the Criminal Code of the Kingdom of Serbia. Death sentences had to be submitted to the Great Court for approval within five days. The Great Court with jurisdiction over the entire newly-liberated area was established in Skoplje. Its trial chamber consisted of three judges and the required number of secretaries and scribes. They were appointed by the Serbian government at the proposal of the Minister of Justice. This court had the authority as court of cassation and appeal. Its verdicts were immediately executed, with the exception of death sentences which had to be submitted to the “supreme authority” for approval. Salaries of the court staff were financed from extraordinary military loans.²¹

The fourth chapter (Art. 74–88) contained transitional and final provisions. These provisions provided for the equality of all citizens, freedom of religion and a strict ban on proselytism. The Eastern Orthodox religion of the “autocephalous Serbian church” was proclaimed state religion. The Minister of Finance was authorised to levy state and municipal taxes independently of the existing laws of the Kingdom of Serbia.

Finally, the Decree reintroduced the regulations from the *Law on Arrest and Persecution of Outlaws* of 1895 (which had not been in force in Serbia since 1905).²² This shows that there still was in Old Serbia and Macedonia banditry and similar violent behaviour.

²¹ District and county prefects were allowed to use personal firearms in case their lives were threatened by other persons using firearms or other weapons. Cf. Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 20.

²² Ibid. 21–22.

3) *The implementation of the Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas of 1913*

After the conclusion of the Peace Treaty in Bucharest on 10 August 1913, demobilisation of the Serbian Army was ordered, and the King's decree suspended the work of the Supreme Military Command. Therefore, the *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* of 1912 could not remain in force any more. The new *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* was passed on 21 August 1913 (Old Style).²³ The Decree was amended three times: twice in late 1913 and once in early 1914.²⁴ This Decree was very similar to that of 1912 in structure and content – it did not have the preamble as the previous one. It was also introduced by the King at the proposal of the Council of Ministers (government), and it was countersigned by all the cabinet members.²⁵

The purpose of this act was twofold: 1) to resolve the tensions between military and civil authorities in favour of the latter; 2) to increase the level of efficiency of civil authorities in the newly-liberated areas.

According to Art. 1 of the Decree, “every village or small town, which had been a municipality, i.e. a basic administrative unit will remain so henceforth unless the new administrative authorities find it necessary to make changes either by merging several villages in a single municipality or by distributing [several villages] in several municipalities”.

As has been seen, the new Decree obliged the new Serbian authorities to respect the boundaries of the earlier municipalities (which typically comprised a number of villages) if there were no particular reasons for a change. In case of change (according to Art. 2), the boundaries between municipalities were laid down by the district prefect and, once established, could be further changed only with the approval of the Minister of the Interior.

A municipality was headed by a town mayor, who was assisted by village mayors in the performance of his duties. A town mayor was also assisted by scribes and other personnel (Art. 4).

Town and village mayors and scribes were appointed by the district prefect from the pool of municipality citizens. He could also replace them “whenever necessary”. However, other “competent people from other municipalities” could also be appointed provided that they became residents of that municipality (Art. 5). When appointing town and village mayors,

²³ Ibid. 23.

²⁴ See *Zbornik zakona i uredaba*, 266–268.

²⁵ *Srpske novine*, no. 181, 21 August/3 September 1913.

district prefects preferred “more reliable people”, i.e. those who were loyal to the new Serbian government.

Art. 6–10 of the Decree stipulated the following competencies of municipal authorities:

- (1) conducting all municipal affairs and managing municipal property;
- (2) performing police and administrative duties as well as other duties allotted to them;
- (3) adjudicating civil lawsuits for which the fine ranged from 20 to 50 dinars (mayor village adjudicated in civil lawsuits for which the fine was up to 20 dinars);
- (4) a town mayor sentenced for the crimes stipulated in the third part of the Criminal Code; he could not sentence to more than 10 days in jail or for crimes punishable with greater maximum penalties (he could fine the offender with up to 100 dinars or two days in jail);
- (5) a municipal court could not adjudicate lawsuits on real estate ownership (it could only deal with an issue of possession) – due to the existing Ottoman feudal land tenure system which was to be resolved by a special law in the near future;
- (6) a municipal court could not affirm documents on the purchase of real estate or registered real estate – for the same reason; these acts could not be performed by district prefectures, county courts and prefectures either (Art. 21 and 37).

The judicial proceeding was stipulated by Art. 8. It proclaimed that town and village mayors should judge in accordance with “soul and justice” (they referred to the *Police Decree* of 18 May 1850 and the *Criminal Law* of 29 March 1860).

Appeals against the verdict of a village mayor were submitted to the town mayor. Appeals against the verdict of a town mayor were submitted to the district prefect, and his decision was final.

Each municipality compiled its own budget. For a county prefecture, it was approved by village municipality, and for county towns, by the Minister of the Interior. All municipal expenditures were covered from the “municipal surtax and income” which were collected by “municipal authorities” (Art. 11).

There were also municipal councils which were appointed by the district prefect at a municipal assembly after the consultation with household heads. Municipalities with up to 100 households elected ten council members, those with up to 200 households – fifteen council members, and those

with more than 200 houses – twenty council members. The municipal council was elected for a term of one year. The district prefect was authorised to dissolve it if necessary.

Finally, the Decree stipulated that all local taxes – at the county, district and municipal levels – be levied in consideration of the size of municipalities, material conditions of its citizens and in agreement with the municipal council (Art. 43).

One of the most important duties was assigned to the tax council. The tax council assessed the financial situation of each inhabitant of a municipality and prescribed the amount of tax to be paid in accordance with “soul and conscience”. Its members were the chief of the tax department, the town mayor and the scribe (and three citizens appointed by the municipal council in town municipalities).²⁶ The following year, 1914, the composition and competencies of the tax council were somewhat changed on the basis of special government decisions.²⁷ In order to control the work of tax collectors, four inspections were formed in the newly-liberated area.²⁸

The Decree established the division of the newly-liberated area into 11 counties: Prijepolje, Novi Pazar, Priština, Prizren, Kumanovo, Skoplje, Tetovo, Štip, Kavadarci, Debar and Bitolj, subdivided into 46 districts. A district administration was run by a district prefect. He was assisted by a secretary, treasurer, scribe, practitioners and other civil servants. County prefects were appointed by the King at the proposal of the Minister of the Interior, and treasurers were appointed by the Minister of Finance. Practitioners and other civil servants in counties were appointed by the county prefect. There were special forestry and tax departments within county prefectures. District prefectures were organised in the same way. Their chiefs were district prefects and they also had their own tax departments.²⁹

Finally, each county had its own court of the first instance. In addition, there were special courts for Muslims which dealt with marital, family and inheritance disputes. The highest court in the area of Old Serbia and Macedonia was the Supreme Court seated in Skoplje. However, despite the establishment of the state administration and judiciary, subordinate to the respective ministries, the supreme power still belonged to the Skoplje-based Military Command. The entire civil administration was under the control of army officers, and every civil official could be dismissed without prior notice

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ “Izmene i dopune poreske uredbe o razrezu i isplati poreza u oslobođenim oblastima”, *Srpske novine* no. 109, 17 May 1914.

²⁸ Guzina, *Opština u Srbiji*, 451.

²⁹ Ibid. 448.

and replaced by military personnel. The principle of electiveness was not implemented even in municipalities.³⁰

As has been shown, the 1913 *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* introduced the strict centralisation of local government in the newly-liberated lands. Local authorities were entirely dependent on the central government, and could easily be dismissed for whatever reason. They mainly performed those duties transferred to them through delegation of authority. In such an inflexible system of state administration based on the principle of bureaucratic centralism and subordination there was no room for true local government (county assembly and county council, district assembly and district council). This was justified by the distinctive economic and cultural underdevelopment of the newly-liberated areas as well as by the lack of security. A high-handed police regime was believed to be best suited to facilitate their progress and painless integration into the legal and political system of the Kingdom of Serbia based on the 1903 Constitution. At any rate, the *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* of 21 August 1913 established the primacy of civil over military authorities in Old Serbia and Macedonia. However, it remained a temporary bylaw. Art. 92 stipulated that the Decree would be in force “until the National Assembly incorporates the liberated area into the Kingdom by means of a legal act which will be done at the first regular session [of Parliament]”.³¹

4) *The 1913 proclamations of King Peter I Karadjordjević*

King Peter I Karadjordjević issued two proclamations on 7 September 1913. His *Proclamation to the Serbian People* declared the unification of the newly-liberated areas with the Kingdom of Serbia. This proclamation was countersigned by all cabinet members and published in the official gazette (*Srpske novine*).³² The Kingdom of Serbia's new borders with Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro and Albania were determined at the Bucharest Peace Conference in 1913 and confirmed by bilateral agreements between these countries.

As for the legal-political system in the newly-liberated areas, the King's proclamation stated that certain Serbian laws would be introduced through royal decrees and governmental decisions. This state of affairs would last until the special law stipulating the form of administration in

³⁰ Guzina, *Opština u Srbiji*.

³¹ Ibid. 452.

³² *Srpske novine* no. 186, 27 August/9 September 1913; the same issue brought the text of the Peace Treaty of Bucharest, see Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 32–34.

the newly-liberated areas was adopted. Provisional measures facilitated the gradual integration of these areas into Serbia's legal and political system.³³

On the same day, the King also issued the *Proclamation to the People* (citizens) of the newly-liberated areas, also countersigned by all government members and published in the official gazette. The Proclamation especially emphasised that Serbia realised her historical right to the new territory owing to the Serbian army. It also announced that local administration would be regulated through decrees until the introduction of Serbia's legal and political order in these areas.

5) Bill on the Annexation of Old Serbia to the Kingdom of Serbia and her Administration of 1913

After the King's proclamations, the Serbian government presented its programme for the establishment of the legal status in the newly-incorporated areas – it was announced in the King's speech of 17 October 1913. The *Bill on the Legal Basis of the Organisation and Administration of Old Serbia* was said to be in preparation for submission to the National Assembly; it was stressed that it would provide for a somewhat different kind of government from that in pre-war Serbia in the first few years.³⁴ The term *Old Serbia* used in the Bill referred to all newly-liberated areas, i.e. both the areas of Old Serbia and Macedonia.

On 12 December 1913, the Minister of the Interior, Stojan Protić, submitted the *Bill on the Annexation of Old Serbia to the Kingdom of Serbia and her Administration*, together with the relevant opinion of the State Council.³⁵ According to this bill, the process of annexing the newly-liberated areas involved the implementation of a number of laws of the Kingdom of Serbia and full or partial implementation of constitutional provisions in accordance with the government's decision.³⁶ Such decisions were duly published in the official gazette.

According to Art. 2 of the Bill, the newly-liberated areas were administratively divided into 12 counties (Prijepolje, Ras, Zvečan, Kosovo, Prizren, Kumanovo, Skoplje, Tetovo, Ohrid, Bitola, Bregalnica and Tikveš) and 45

³³ Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 33.

³⁴ *Stenografske beleške o sednicama Narodne skupštine 1913–1914. godine* [Records of the National Assembly Proceedings 1913–1914], 4; Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 35.

³⁵ *Stenografske beleške*, 446–447; Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 35–43.

³⁶ Art. 7 of the Bill stipulated that: "The constitutional provisions, laws and decrees of the Kingdom of Serbia will be gradually and partially implemented in the liberated areas of Old Serbia."

districts. The administration of the towns of Skoplje and Bitolj was similar to that of Belgrade and Niš. These towns were subdivided into smaller units (quarters) that were under the supervision of the district prefect (Art. 3). The greatest importance was attached to Art. 5, 13, 15, 16 and 21, which determined the character of the state administration in the newly-liberated areas. Art. 5 authorised the Minister of the Interior to change boundaries between districts and counties and their names if necessary, but only with the approval of the State Council. According to Art. 13, municipal mayors in counties and districts were appointed by royal decree. All other municipal mayors were appointed by county prefects. Art. 15 stipulated that all officials and officers were only required to pay direct tax, and no state or local taxes, during their service in the liberated areas of Old Serbia. According to Art. 16, civil officials and officers serving in the newly-liberated areas enjoyed benefits in respect of their years of service. Every third year of their service was counted double.

And finally, according to Art. 21, officials in Old Serbia received a bonus of up to ten percent of their salaries; apart from this, they had other benefits such as: free accommodation, reimbursed expenses for electricity and heating etc. The submitted text of the Bill was accompanied by written explanation. The explanation and the opinion of the State Council clearly indicated that the administration established in the newly-liberated areas was highly centralised. The institutions had no autonomy in their work and were directly subordinated to the central government. There was no local self-government whatsoever. The Bill also envisaged the appointment of military, judicial and administrative officials from the Kingdom of Serbia to posts in the newly-liberated areas.³⁷

The Legislative Committee of the National Assembly submitted its report on 14 March 1914 which recommended the passing of the Bill, but also proposed an important amendment (which would later be adopted): Art. 9 reduced the duration of the “extraordinary regime” in the newly-liberated areas from ten to six months. However, the National Assembly did not vote on the Bill due to the outbreak of the First World War. After the war, on 30 June 1919, Regent Alexander Karadjordjević decreed the application as from 1 August 1919 of the Serbian Constitution and laws to the areas annexed to Serbia and Montenegro after the Balkan Wars.³⁸

³⁷ *Stenografske beleške*, 513–516.

³⁸ Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 42–43.

6) *The implementation of the 1903 Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia in the newly-liberated areas*

Despite the temporary organisation of local government, the application of Serbia's regulations in the newly-liberated areas started after the passing of the government decree of 21 August and the royal decree of 7 September 1913. Most of the laws were implemented in September 1913 either partially or entirely. They were introduced on the basis of a governmental decision.³⁹

The implementation of certain parts of Serbia's Constitution in the newly-liberated areas started on the basis of the Decree of King Peter I Karadjordjević of 20 November/3 December 1913 – at the proposal of the government.⁴⁰ The purpose of this measure was to demonstrate that the provisional legal order in the newly-liberated areas had its constitutional basis. The full or partial implementation of constitutional provisions related to the form of government, state religion and national territory, constitutional rights of Serbian citizens, state administration, King, Ministerial Council (government), Council of State, the judiciary, state finances, national economy and state property, civil service, churches, schools, charitable institutions and the army.⁴¹

Special regulations for the newly-liberated areas were also applied in the form of King's decrees from September 1913 to May 1914:⁴² a total of sixteen decrees, among which a few had a special significance for the organisation and work of local administration: *Decree on Public Security in the Newly-Liberated Areas* of 23 September/6 October 1913,⁴³ which was amended on 15 October of the same year;⁴⁴ *Tax Decree, Relating to Tax Assessment and Collection in the Liberated and Annexed Areas of the Kingdom of Serbia* of 30 January/11 February 1914;⁴⁵ *Decree on the Organisation of Courts and Judicial Proceedings in the Annexed Areas of Old Serbia* of 2 March 1914⁴⁶ (slightly modified on 7/20 June 1914); *Decree on Settlement in the Newly-*

³⁹ For a list of the laws implemented in the newly-liberated areas see *Stenografske beleške*, 516–517.

⁴⁰ See *Ustav za Staru Srbiju* (Belgrade: Drž. štamp. Kralj. Srbije, 1913).

⁴¹ For more detail see Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 59–61.

⁴² For a list of all decrees with a more detailed explanation of their content see Jagodić, *Uredjenje oslobođenih oblasti*, 63–110.

⁴³ *Srpske novine*, no. 208, 23 September/6 October 1913.

⁴⁴ *Srpske novine*, no. 227, 16/29 October 1913.

⁴⁵ *Srpske novine*, no. 26 2/15 February 1914.

⁴⁶ *Srpske novine*, no. 40, 19 February/5 March 1914.

liberated and Annexed Areas of the Kingdom of Serbia of 20 February/5 March 1914⁴⁷ (amended on 9/22 May 1914).

The *Decree on Settlement* related to the existential questions of the population, both in the newly-liberated areas and in pre-war Serbia. Its implementation opened the complex problem of agrarian relations in the newly-liberated areas, but the outbreak of the First World War delayed the solution to this delicate social and political issue. The agrarian reform would be dealt with by the new state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929), during the entire interwar period.

The implementation of constitutional provisions and legal regulations in the newly-liberated areas and their incorporation into the constitutional system of the Kingdom of Serbia had not been completed due to a new war and the ensuing occupation of the country (1914–1918). Under the combined onslaught of Serbia's enemies – Austria-Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria – the governmental institutions had to be evacuated from the country. They found refuge and temporarily functioned on the Greek island of Corfu.⁴⁸ In such a difficult war situation the issue of the legal regime in the newly-liberated areas lost priority until the end of the Great War.

7) The conflict between the Serbian military and civil authorities regarding the organisation of local government in the newly-liberated areas

The Balkan Wars showed that an inspired mobilisation of an entire society – from ordinary citizens to highest officers – could result in a magnificent military triumph. Regardless of its losses the Serbian army demonstrated its ability to confront the considerable military force of the Ottoman Empire, and to liberate the areas to which Serbia laid her historical claim. However, these wars also revealed a latent conflict between civil and military leaderships, discernible since the Annexation Crisis of 1908.

Military circles emerged strengthened from the Balkan Wars, taking credit for their successful completion. But the officer corps did not constitute a monolithic bloc in terms of their views on civil authorities, state policy and the dynasty. On the one hand, there were the Supreme Command officers who led military operations. They were loyal both to the King and to Crown Prince Alexander Karadjordjević, who had proved his talent and personal bravery in the First Balkan War. They later split with

⁴⁷ *Srpske novine*, no. 44, 23 February/8 March 1914.

⁴⁸ From 7 April 1916 to 31 November 1918 the *Srpske novine* were published on the island of Corfu and announced the laws, decrees and other official documents of the Kingdom of Serbia. See M. Luković, *Razvoj srpskog pravnog stila* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 1994), 74–75.

the government over the question of policy on the newly-liberated areas. Field-Marshal Radomir Putnik, Chief of the General Staff of the Serbian Army, and General Živojin Mišić, were in favour of a five-year military rule in Old Serbia and Macedonia as a transitional phase towards their full incorporation into the legal-political order of the Kingdom of Serbia.⁴⁹ Their proposal was justified primarily by security considerations, having in mind especially the frequent incursions of armed Albanians from Northern Albania. For that reason, the highest military circles demanded the primacy of military over civil authorities in the newly-acquired areas.

The most militant officers were gathered in the semi-secret organisation *Unification or Death* founded in 1911.⁵⁰ It included about ten percent of the officer corps and had a very powerful organisational structure headed by a central council.⁵¹ This organisation did not shrink from overt threats to politicians and legitimate civil authorities in Serbia if these were not willing to follow its policy. Most of its members were former conspirators who had assassinated King Alexander Obrenović and Queen Draga in the May Coup of 1903. The most prominent members of the organisation were: Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis (Head of the Military Intelligence of the General Staff), General Damjan Popović, Colonel Čedomilj Popović, Major Velimir Vemić, chetnik (voluntary guerrilla forces) Major Vojislav Tankosić, chetnik Captain Vojin Popović (*vojvoda* Vuk) and others. This organisation was better known under the name of *Black Hand*. The Black Hand published its newspaper *Pijemont* (Piedmont) which clearly indicated its political aim: the unification of all Serbs under the Kingdom of Serbia.⁵²

⁴⁹ V. J. Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije i Prvi svetski rat", *Istorijski časopis* XIV–XV (1965), 182–183.

⁵⁰ In detail on this organisation in D. MacKenzie, *Apis: The Congenial Conspirator. The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević* (New York: Columbia University Press, East European Monographs, 1989), 64–75; D. T. Bataković, "Nikola Pašić, les radicaux et la 'Main noire'. Les défis à la démocratie parlementaire serbe 1903–1907", *Balcanica* XXXVII/2006 (2007), 144.

⁵¹ MacKenzie, *Apis*, 67–68.

⁵² Crown Prince Alexander at first supported the Black Hand with a donation, but he soon came into sharp confrontation with Apis and other prominent members of the organisation, which had its epilogue in the so-called Salonika Trial in 1917, when Apis and his closest associates were sentenced to death on conspiracy charges. Cf. S. Jovanović, "Apis", vol. 11 of *Collected Works* (Belgrade 1991), 299; Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize", 173–229; Bataković, "Nikola Pašić, les radicaux et la 'Main noire'", 145; D. MacKenzie, *The "Black Hand" on Trial. Salonika 1917* (Boulder & New York: East European Monographs, 1995).

Members of the Black Hand increasingly interfered in the country's internal and foreign affairs. The intentions of these officers had been apparent since the formation of the organisation and committed to paper in its "Statute". The Black Hand intended to arbitrate in the forthcoming events, and was determined to come down on those who resisted its political agenda, the Serbian government included. Art. 4 of their statute emphasised that by its nature it was bound to have an influence on official factors in Serbia – and Serbia had the role as the Piedmont among the Serbs and South Slavs – as well as all social classes and the entire social life in Serbia.⁵³ In fact, the Black Hand expected at least unofficial support from civil authorities.

However, not all of the May Coup plotters joined the Black Hand. A number of former conspirators, who were at loggerheads with Colonel Apis, formed their own organisation in 1912, before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, as a counterweight to the Black Hand. It was named the *White Hand*. Since its inception, this organisation enjoyed the support of civil authorities. Its most significant members were three colonels: Petar Živković, Petar Mišić and Josif Kostić.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the government was headed by the Radicals who had the parliamentary majority. After the death of Prime Minister Milovan Milovanović in 1912, Nikola Pašić became Prime Minister, but the Black Hand took a dim view of him. The Radical government also took credit for the success in the Balkan Wars, and made it clear to the military. The conflict between the Black Hand and the Serbian government grew in intensity. While Nikola Pašić avoided overt clashes with the Black Hand members, although they made threats to his life, the Interior Minister Stojan Protić took a very different stand. As a consistent supporter of constitutionalism and parliamentarianism, Stojan Protić loathed military interference in politics, and in particular the role that the Black Hand bestowed upon itself. For this reason, he constantly emphasised that the Black Hand posed the greatest threat to democracy. Therefore the Black Hand considered Protić its formidable opponent and Protić, for his part, placed the most influential members of the Black Hand under police surveillance. The membership of the People's Radical Party also extended full support to the government, and to Protić in particular, but this backing was primarily motivated by party interests rather than by concern for national and state interests.

Another stumbling block in relations between the military and the government was the organisation of administration in the newly-liberated

⁵³ The full text of the Statute in Ž. V. Zirojević, *Istina o Apisu* (Priština: Stručna knjiga, 1998), 39–42.

⁵⁴ MacKenzie, *Salonika* 1917, 79; D. T. Bataković, "Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti u Srbiji u proleće 1914. godine", *Istorijski časopis* XXIX–XXX (1982–1983), 480.

areas. The Radicals, viewing the newly-liberated areas as their sphere of influence and a new source of the party's political and economic power, advocated the institution of civil authorities, which would ensure their supremacy over the army and other political parties; last, but not least, it would also ensure their victory in the forthcoming parliamentary elections. Feeling somewhat threatened by the Independent Radicals in pre-war Serbia, the Radicals saw the region of Old Serbia and Macedonia as "new agitation dough for great Radical scone".⁵⁵ Essentially, the Radical government acted in the same way as Jovan Ristić⁵⁶ had after 1878, when civil authorities had been established in the liberated districts of Niš, Pirot, Toplica and Vranje. The opposition (Independent Radical Party and the National Party) saw through the Radicals' intentions. Anxious that the Radicals might politically entrench themselves in the new-liberated areas through the agency of "their" district and county prefects, the opposition supported the military circles. The leader of the National Party, Stojan Ribarac, went so far as to call for the establishment of a strict military regime in the newly-liberated areas.⁵⁷

The Black Hand vigorously opposed the Radical government's plans and the measures carried out in the newly-liberated areas. Their conflict culminated in the spring of 1914. The leadership of the Black Hand took a firm stance that a very strict but fair military regime must be established in the newly-liberated areas. The measures undertaken by the government were sharply criticised and the entire system of administration that was about to be implemented was labelled as "not thought-through" and "inopportune". The Black Hand especially opposed the exercise of authority by the police rather than the army. On that, the *Pijemont* wrote:

If we want this volcanic soil to be brought into harmony with the interests of Serbia as soon as possible, the whole government there has to be permeated with such aspiration. The army alone could introduce such administra-

⁵⁵ Bataković, "Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti", 445.

⁵⁶ Jovan Ristić (1831–1899) was one of the most important politicians in nineteenth-century Serbia, a historian, diplomat and statesman, the unquestionable leader of the Liberal Party. He was a member of the Regency for underage Prince Milan Obrenović (1868–1872), and underage Prince Alexander Obrenović (1889–1893). He successfully worked on the Constitution of 1869. He served as foreign minister at the time of the Congress of Berlin, and the international recognition of Serbia was largely his doing. His historical writings include: *Spoljašnji odnosi Srbije 1848–1872* [Foreign Relations of Serbia 1848–1872] and *Srpska diplomatija i srpski ratovi za oslobodjenje i nezavisnost 1875–1878* [Serbian Diplomacy and the Serbian Wars of Liberation and Independence 1875–1878]. See in detail in D. MacKenzie, *Jovan Ristic: Outstanding Serbian Statesman* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2006).

⁵⁷ Guzina, *Opština u Srbiji*, 446.

tion [...] by itself, the army is a guarantee of the security of citizens. Under the army influence, the disturbed national tranquillity and the torn civil peace will be restored much quicker [...] the military rule in these parts is the supreme requirement stemming from the past of this people. To ignore it is to fall into error.⁵⁸

Conclusions

In the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 Serbia – along with her Balkan allies (Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro) – finally liberated Old Serbia and Macedonia from Ottoman rule. The Balkan Wars showed that an inspired mobilisation of entire society, from ordinary citizens to highest officers, can bring about a magnificent military triumph.

The process of establishing the constitutional order and local authorities in Old Serbia and Macedonia passed through several stages: (1) the period of provisional administration based on the instructions of the relevant ministries, the Chief of the Police Department of the Supreme Command of the Army; (2) the period of implementation of the *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* of 14 December 1912; (3) the period of implementation of the *Decree on the Organisation of the Liberated Areas* of 21 August 1913. Finally, certain parts of the Serbian Constitution of 1903 were implemented at the suggestion of the government and on the basis of a royal decree. In late December 1913, the Minister of the Interior, Stojan Protić, submitted the *Bill on the Annexation of Old Serbia to the Kingdom of Serbia and her Administration* to the National Assembly. However, the National Assembly never voted on it due the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The question of administration of Old Serbia and Macedonia had to be removed from the agenda until the end of the war.

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⁵⁸ *Pijemont*, 11 August 1913.

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Storm over Serbia The Rivalry between Civilian and Military Authorities (1911–1914)

Abstract: As a new force on the political scene of Serbia after the 1903 Coup which brought the Karadjordjević dynasty back to the throne and restored democratic order, the Serbian army, led by a group of conspiring officers, perceived itself as the main guardian of the country's sovereignty and the principal executor of the sacred mission of national unification of the Serbs, a goal which had been abandoned after the 1878 Berlin Treaty. During the “Golden Age” decade (1903–1914) in the reign of King Peter I, Serbia emerged as a point of strong attraction to the Serbs and other South Slavs in the neighbouring empires and as their potential protector. In 1912–13, Serbia demonstrated her strength by liberating the Serbs in the “unredeemed provinces” of the Ottoman Empire. The main threat to Serbia's very existence was multinational Austria-Hungary, which thwarted Belgrade's aspirations at every turn. The Tariff War (1906–1911), the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1908), and the coercing of Serbia to cede her territorial gains in northern Albania (1912–1913) were but episodes of this fixed policy. In 1991, the Serbian army officers, frustrated by what they considered as weak reaction from domestic political forces and the growing external challenges to Serbia's independence, formed the secret patriotic organisation “Unification or Death” (*Black Hand*). Serbian victories in the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) enhanced the prestige of the military but also boosted political ambitions of Lt.-Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević Apis and other founding members of the Black Hand anxious to bring about the change of government. However, the idea of a military putsch limited to Serbian Macedonia proposed in May 1914 was rejected by prominent members of the Black Hand, defunct since 1913. This was a clear indication that Apis and a few others could not find support for their meddling in politics. The government of Nikola P. Pašić, supported by the Regent, Crown Prince Alexander, called for new elections to verify its victory against those military factions that acted as an “irresponsible factor” with “praetorian ambitions” in Serbian politics. This trial of strength brings new and valuable insights into the controversial relationship between the Young Bosnians and the Black Hand prior to the Sarajevo assassination in June 1914.

Keywords: Serbia, internal strife, King Peter I Karadjordjević, army, Austria-Hungary, Black Hand, Balkan Wars, Nikola P. Pašić, Dragutin T. Dimitrijević Apis, Bosnia

The restoration of democracy and Serbia's Piedmont role among South Slavs

In her “Golden Age” (1903–1914) during the reign of King Peter I Karadjordjević, Serbia was capable of resisting manifold internal and external crises due to her functioning democracy and internal consensus on both foreign policy orientation and wider national goals. The external challenges were mostly resolved by spectacular victories in the Balkan Wars, while the internal strife, marked by military-civilian rivalries, mirrored the intensive

regrouping of the social forces struggling to further the democratic system, recover the country's crippled economy and redefine the position of Serbia as a developing country.

During the reign of the two last sovereigns of the House of Obrenović, from 1881 to 1903, Serbia was under the predominant influence of Austria-Hungary.¹ After the 1903 Coup and the change on the throne, Serbia pursued an independent foreign policy which was manifested in her orientation towards Russia and France. With the new regime recognised and the main protagonists of the 1903 regicide sent into retirement by 1906, Serbia gradually came to rely politically and economically on the Franco-Russian Alliance, which eventually evolved into the Triple Entente.²

In 1903 the Kingdom of Serbia had an area of 48,500 sq. km and a population of 2,922,058 inhabitants. Immigration from the neighbouring Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires grew steadily. There were roughly two million Serbs in the Dual Monarchy and one million in Turkey-in-Europe (Old Serbia and Slavic Macedonia). The Serbs, scattered in various provinces of the two empires, were deprived of their basic human and collective rights. Throughout Turkey-in-Europe, and particularly in Old Serbia (Vilayet of Kosovo), they were subjected to continuous terror by Albanian *kaçaks* and blackened by Austro-Hungarian propaganda since Viennese diplomacy openly supported Albanian claims in the whole area. The Christian Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina struggled to preserve their national and cultural identity denied by the imposed pan-Bosnian policy of the Austro-Hungarian governor, Benjamin von Kállay (1883–1903), and those in the region of Vojvodina (Banat, Bačka, Baranja) opposed the assimilation policy of the Hungarian government. Not surprisingly, all of them were looking to Serbia as their potential protector. Serbia's sister state, tiny Montenegro, with roughly 317,000 valiant highlanders, was the only reliable ally in the region, although the rivalry between the Montenegrin Prince, Nicho-

¹ Independent since 1878, Serbia became a client state of the Dual Monarchy under the stipulations of the 1881 Secret Convention that was renewed in 1889. Although she was proclaimed Kingdom in March 1882, Serbia was obliged to conform her foreign policy to Austria-Hungary's requirements, including the disavowal of any aspiration towards Bosnia-Herzegovina occupied by the Dual Monarchy in 1878. In return, Vienna was expected to facilitate Serbia's expansion in the south towards the Skoplje area in Old Serbia. English translation of the 1881 Secret Convention is published in Alfred Francis Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary 1879–1914*, vol. I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 51–63. Grégoire Yakchitch [Grgur Jakšić], *Le Traité secret austro-serbe du 28 janvier 1881 et du 9 février 1889* (Paris: R. Pellerin, 1938).

² Dimitrije Djordjević, "The Serbs as an integrating and disintegrating factor", *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 3, Pt. 2 (1967), 72–82.

las Petrović Njegoš (King from 1910), and his son-in-law, King Peter I Karadjordjević, often made this collaboration difficult.³

The social and political situation in post-1903 Serbia was quite appealing to the Serb compatriots abroad: roughly seventy percent of Serbia's male population enjoyed voting rights as opposed to less than twenty percent in the Serb- and South Slav-inhabited provinces of Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, Serbian peasants (roughly eighty-seven percent of the population) were owners of their small and medium-size land holdings, whereas most of their compatriots in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Turkey-in-Europe were feudal serfs of Muslim beys. Freedom of the press and the development of democratic institutions in Serbia amplified her cultural impact on the Serbs living in the neighbouring empires. Out of 218 Serbian dailies in 1911, more than a half were published in Serbia (125). In 1912, out of 302 Serbian newspapers and journals, 199 were published in Serbia, of which 126 in Belgrade alone (24 dailies, 20 periodicals which mostly published literary texts and scholarly articles, and 82 publications devoted to commercial, business, agrarian and other topics).⁴

King Peter I Karadjordjević, who had published his own Serbian translation of John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty" in 1867, was a French-educated liberal genuinely committed to the rules of constitutional monarchy. He was the grandson of Kara George (Karadjordje Petrović), the leader of the 1804 Serbian Revolution, and the son of Prince Alexander Karadjordjević (1842–1858), the ruler of Serbia in her initial phase of modernisation and Europeanisation. A graduate of the French Saint-Cyr military academy, Peter I excelled in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and became widely known as a guerrilla leader of the Bosnian Serbs in their insurrection against the Ottoman Empire (1876–1878), during which he became known under the *nom de guerre* Petar Mrkonjić. Unlike the last Obrenović monarchs, King Peter I was not an authoritarian ruler, which was often interpreted as his weakness and lack of resolve. During his four decades in exile, Peter I had experienced the real values of parliamentary democracy and political liberties, and he understood their advantage for a developing country such as Serbia was at the beginning of the twentieth century. In spite of the initial diplomatic boycott

³ D. Djordjević, "Srbija i Balkan na početku XX veka (1903–1908)", in *Jugoslovenski narodi pred Prvi svetski rat*, Monographies de l'Academie serbe des Sciences et des Arts, vol. CDXVI, Classe des sciences sociales, No. 61 (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1967), 207–230.

⁴ Jovan Skerlić, *Istorija nove srpske književnosti* (Belgrade: Izdavačka knjižara S. K. Cvijanovića, 1914), quoted from the reprinted edition (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1967), 436. Cf. also Jovan Skerlić, *Istorijski pregled srpske štampe 1791–1911* (Belgrade: Izdavačka knjižara S. K. Cvijanovića, 1912).

he had to endure (1903–1906) – due to the unfulfilled demands for the punishment of the main organisers of the 1903 Coup – King Peter I soon became a symbol of democracy and national freedom. Praised as the future king of Yugoslavia by the liberal youth in Vienna in 1903, Peter I epitomised an appealing mixture of pan-Serbian and pan-Yugoslav expectations.⁵

Two dominant post-1903 political parties – Old Radicals led by Nikola P. Pašić and Independent Radicals headed by Ljubomir Stojanović – successfully combined the doctrine of French Radicalism with the domestic traditions of local self-government, and pursued a highly popular Russophile course in foreign policy. Pašić's Old Radicals, however, proved to be more successful: in eight years they formed eight homogeneous cabinets and victoriously ended the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). The Independent Radicals were able to form just one short-lived homogeneous cabinet (1905–1906). There were also several coalition cabinets consisting of the two rival Radical factions – such cabinets were favoured by the King.⁶

The political programmes of both Radical factions advocated the unification of all Serbs in the Balkans into a single state. The Independent Radicals emphasised the need to foster “Yugoslav cooperation” in their 1905 programme.⁷ South Slavic cooperation and the Yugoslav idea, in particular, based on cultural and linguistic kinship and common national interests, were an enlightened alternative to centuries-long foreign domination with the attendant discrimination against and repression of the South Slavs. Both Radical parties were, however, aware of the importance of Serbia's democratic transformation for the unification of Serbs. Democracy revived hopes that both Serbian and Yugoslav unification were possible within the liberal and democratic framework. In his programmatic speech at an Old Radical rally in November 1911, Pašić laid emphasis on democracy as a main pillar of national unification: “It is earnestly expected that a Serbia with constitutional and parliamentary order could become the Piedmont of Serbs; only an open-minded Serbia can attract Serbs, and only by being armed and well prepared can she fulfil her Piedmont-like pledge.”⁸

⁵ Alfred Stead, “King Peter I of Serbia”, *Review of Reviews* (September 1906), 245–250; Alex N. Dragnich, “King Peter I. Culmination of Serbia's Struggle for Parliamentary Government”, *East European Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1970).

⁶ D. Djordjević, “Parlamentarna kriza u Srbiji 1905. godine”, *Istorijski časopis*, vol. XIV–XV (1963–1965), 157–172.

⁷ See the programmes of the political parties in Serbia in Vasilije Krestić and Radoš Ljušić, *Programi i statuti srpskih političkih stranaka do 1918. godine* (Belgrade: Književne novine, 1991).

⁸ *Spomenica Nikole P. Pašića, 1845–1925* (Belgrade: Pavlović & Co., 1926), 175. For more on Pašić see Nikola Pašić, *Život i delo. Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa u Srpskoj akademiji nauka i umetnosti 1995*. (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1997).

The policy of Croat-Serbian cooperation (1905–1906) in the Hungarian province of Croatia-Slavonia and in the Austrian province of Dalmatia – both provinces with a high percentage of Serb population – was warmly welcomed in Serbia, in particular among the pro-Yugoslav Independent Radicals. Their leader, Ljubomir Stojanović, met with the leader of the Dalmatian Croats, Frano Supilo, in the town of Rijeka. The latter visited Belgrade in 1905 and, with Prime Minister Pašić and some prominent Independent Radicals, discussed the possibilities of intensifying cooperation.⁹

The coronation of King Peter I in Belgrade in 1904, along with the celebration of the centennial of the First Serbian Insurrection under Kara George (1804), was attended by many representatives of the intellectual and political elites from all the Serb-inhabited and Yugoslav lands.¹⁰ The King himself received various delegations, including that of the pro-Yugoslav youth from Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia, expressing lively interest in Serbo-Croat rapprochement. Belgrade emerged as an ambitious cultural hub and meeting place for various liberal, pro-Yugoslav gatherings: in September 1904, the Serbian capital hosted the first congress of the Yugoslav youth and the first congress of Yugoslav writers and journalists (with representatives of the Serbian, Bulgarian, Croatian and Slovenian societies). Various Yugoslav-inspired conferences and artistic meetings were organised in Belgrade, Niš and other Serbian towns, attracting numerous intellectuals, from teachers and painters to journalists and writers.¹¹ As early as 1904, a group of young intellectuals and students founded a Belgrade-based association, the “Slavic South” (*Slovenski jug*), which advocated the unification of all Yugoslavs (the heading of their journal contained two mottos: “Southern Slavs unite!” and “A revolution in the unredeemed lands!”). Special Yugoslav evenings were regularly held on the promenade of the fortress of Belgrade. The goal of the “Slavic South” was to “spread the Yugoslav idea and cooperation in the Balkans”. The impact of this intensified interaction between Serbia and the Yugoslav movement in Austria-Hungary raised additional concern in Vienna.¹²

⁹ More in Mirjana Gross, *Vladavina hrvatsko-srpske koalicije 1906–1907* (Belgrade: Institut za društvene nauke, 1960).

¹⁰ The term Yugoslav lands refers to the provinces in Austria-Hungary inhabited by the Serbs and other South Slavs (Croats, Slovenes and Bosnian Muslims).

¹¹ Cf. Jovan Skerlić, “Omladinski kongresi”, *Srpski književni glasnik*, vol. IX (1904), 123–127.

¹² Dragoslav Janković, “Jugoslovenstvo u Srbiji 1903–1912”, *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, vol. XVII (1969), 523–535.

Belgrade assumed the leading role in a movement for wider understanding between Serbia and the other Yugoslav nations. The most eminent Serbian scholars, such as geographer Jovan Cvijić, historians Stojan Novaković and Slobodan Jovanović, literary historians Jovan Skerlić and Bogdan Popović, and linguist Alexander Belić, were fairly successful in explaining to the public, in a convincing and politically reasonable manner, that the wider Yugoslav framework would be the best basis for a permanent solution of the Serbian question, i.e. pan-Serbian unification.¹³ The scholarly basis for the Yugoslav idea was formulated by Jovan Cvijić: he expounded the theory that the Dinaric Alps in the Balkans constituted a distinctive geopolitical unit with an almost uniform ethnic composition formed through countless historical migrations. Professor Cvijić identified several related cultural and civilisation patterns (“cultural belts”), among which the strongest was that of patriarchal culture in the vast area of the Dinaric Alps stretching through most of Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Dalmatia and the Croatian littoral.¹⁴

A number of French-educated Serbian intellectuals were ardent promoters of civil liberties, universal suffrage, and French-inspired doctrines of the sovereign rights of every single South Slav nation, contrary to the notion of Habsburg-inspired historic privileges.¹⁵ Through their activities, the national model for resolving the Serbian question slowly started to develop into a new, cultural, model: as the basis for national unification, Skerlić suggested the adoption of the Serbian ekavian (*ekavski*) dialect and Latin (instead of Cyrillic) script in order to overcome the differences between several dialects of the common Serbo-Croat language.¹⁶ The model of a unified Yugoslav nation fitted well into the historical experience of the Serbs, for whom the state and the nation were one and the same thing.¹⁷ Serbian intellectuals combined

¹³ Probably the most famous text is Stojan Novaković's prediction on the common future of Yugoslavs in the century to come: “Nakon sto godina. Beograd, 15. maj 2011”, in *Hrvatsko-srpski almanah* (Zagreb-Belgrade 1911), 9–19; cf. more in Dimitrije Djordjević, “Stojan Novakovic: Historian, Politician, Diplomat”, *Serbian Studies*, vol. 3, nos. 3–4 (1985), 39–67.

¹⁴ Jovan Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi Balkanskog poluostrva* (Belgrade: chez l'auteur 1902); Émile Haumant, *Le pays dinarique et les types Serbes d'après Mr. Jovan Cvijić* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1915).

¹⁵ D. T. Bataković, *Les sources françaises de la démocratie serbe, 1804–1914* (Paris: CNRS, 2013), 357–383.

¹⁶ On Skerlić see Midhat Begić, *Jovan Skerlić et la critique littéraire en Serbie* (Paris: Institut d'Études slaves, 1963).

¹⁷ The one-sided portrayal of post-1903 Serbia in Christopher Clark's *The Sleepwalkers. How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books, 2012), in particular the chapter “Serbian Ghosts” (a reference to Kaplan's “Balkan Ghosts”),

the usual pan-Serbian programme, which was popular in the army ranks and among most of the urban and rural population, with the Yugoslav programme, by explaining that the unification of Serbs would at the same time bring about a union with “our brothers” from the mixed South Slav areas.

is biased and often misleading. Viewing Serbia's political ambitions as extremely nationalistic, Clark entirely neglects Serbia's role as an attractive model of democratic development, the offspring of liberal ideas, the main cultural hub and a meeting point of all liberal-minded intellectuals among the South Slavs, including, in many cases, Bulgarians. Equally disappointing, and even more inaccurate, in depicting Serbia's role in the Balkans prior to the Great War is Margaret MacMillan, *The War that Ended Peace. How Europe Abandoned Peace for the First World War* (London: Profile Books, 2013), 511–539. Her comparison, for instance, of post-1904 Serbian guerilla in Macedonia with present-day Iran and the smuggling of arms to Hezbollah in Lebanon is out of any rational historical context (p. 514). Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 48–52, 172–175, also shows little, if any, understanding of Serbia's position. Lacking the knowledge of the Serbian language, political mentality and relevant historiography concerning the Western Balkans in general, and Serbia in particular, these authors embrace age-old stereotypes as a genuine historical framework. A scholarly analysis of Serbia's impact as a democratic model and cultural hub can be found in Michael Boro Petrovich, *History of Modern Serbia 1804–1918*, vol. II (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 534–604; Dušan T. Bataković, ed., *Histoire du peuple serbe* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 2005), 185–200; cf. also Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War* (London: Hurst & Co., 2007). At least a dozen books and many articles written mostly by French intellectuals, scholars, travel writers and journalists who visited Serbia between 1903 and 1914, show how they were pleasantly surprised by the intensity of intellectual life, the level of education among the political elite and the military as well as by the democratic spirit of Serbia's population at large. See e.g. Joseph Mallat, *La Serbie contemporaine*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie orientale et américaine J. Maisonneuve, 1902); André Chéradame, *L'Europe et la question d'Autriche au seuil du XX^e siècle* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1903); Louis Leger, *Souvenirs d'un slavophile (1863–1897)* (Paris: Librairie Hachette 1905); Gabriel Louis Jaray, *Chez les Serbes, Notes de voyage* (Paris: Bureau des Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, 1906); Alphonse Muzet, *Aux pays balkaniques. Monténégro, Serbie, Bulgarie* (Paris: Pierre Roget et Cie, 1912); Louis Leger, *Serbes Croates et Bulgares. Études historiques, politiques et littéraires* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1913); Gaston Gravier, “L'émancipation économique de la Serbie”, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie commerciale de Paris*, vol. 33, no. 6 (June 1911), 417–431; Gaston Gravier, “Le développement économique de la Serbie”, *Annales de Géographie*, vol. 21, no. 115 (1912), 50–56; idem, “La nouvelle Serbie”, *Revue de Paris*, 15 novembre 1913; Henry Barby, *Les victoires serbes* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1913); Jean Pélissier, *Dix mois de guerre dans les Balkans* (Paris: Perrin, 1914); Pierre De Lanux, *La Yougoslavie. La France et les Serbes* (Paris: Payot et Cie, 1916). An analysis in Elisabet Joël, “Les intellectuels françaises et la Serbie à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale”, in *La France et la Serbie de Congrès de Berlin à la crise de juillet 1914*. Actes du Colloque franco-serbe de Strasbourg (Decembre 1996), *Revue d'Europe Centrale*, vol. VII, no. 1 (Strasbourg 1999), 115–126.

The growing cultural prestige of Belgrade was reflected in the leading literary journal in the Slavic South, *Serbian Literary Herald* (*Srpski književni glasnik*) founded in 1901 by a group of younger, Western-educated intellectuals. Under the prevailing influence of the Independent Radicals and the leftist faction of the Liberals (Ljubomir Stojanović, Jovan Skerlić, Bogdan Popović, Vojislav Veljković), *Serbian Literary Herald* – based on liberal and democratic convictions, in an open dialogue with European values and various cultural models – was a sophisticated promoter of Serbian culture and scholarship as well as the Serbian democracy and South Slav cooperation.¹⁸ The Belgrade literary style, inspired by the elegant and clear French style, soon set the standard for South Slav intellectuals.¹⁹ The University of Belgrade, with 1,600 students in 1910 and its internationally renowned professors (including mathematicians Mihailo Petrović and Milutin Milanković, geologist Jovan M. Žujović, archaeologist Miloje Vasić, chemist Sima Lozanić), attracted many students from Bosnia, Dalmatia and Bulgaria. Furthermore, various publications of the Serbian Royal Academy (including multi-volume monographs by Jovan Cvijić and other prominent geographers, anthropologists, historians, art historians etc.), along with the work of Serbian-American scientists, such as inventor Nikola Tesla and Mihailo Pupin, professor at the Columbia University, were an encouragement for the Serbian academic community and enhanced their prestige on a broader Balkan scale.²⁰

On the political level, however, the open pro-Yugoslav orientation meant the worsening of the conflict with the Dual Monarchy. The Serbian Foreign Minister, Milovan Dj. Milovanović, concluded that “Austria-Hungary is right when she accuses Serbia of pursuing Yugoslav policy; but she is forgetting that she [Dual Monarchy] has channelled Serbia, that she in fact has forced Serbia onto this path.”²¹

¹⁸ Miloš Ković, “Politička uloga *Srpskog književnog glasnika* (1901–1914)”, in *Sto godina Srpskog književnog glasnika*, eds. Staniša Tutnjević and Marko Nedić (Belgrade: Matica srpska & Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2003), 363–378.

¹⁹ Radovan Samardžić, “La langue littéraire serbe et l’influence française à la fin du XIXème et au début du XXème siècle”, in *Relations franco-yougoslaves. À l’occasion des 150 ans de l’ouverture du premier consulat français en Serbie* (Belgrade: Institut d’histoire, 1990), 85–90.

²⁰ Petrovich, *History of Modern Serbia*, vol. 2, 576–592; *University of Belgrade 1838–2005. The Centennial of the first Serbian University Law* [1905], ed. Dejan Popović (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2005).

²¹ Dimitrije Djordjević, *Milovan Milovanović* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1962), 72.

The Serbian military in pursuit of political and national goals, 1903–1908

In Serbia, a predominantly agricultural country with egalitarian traditions, the army was founded later than other state institutions. The professional army founded in the 1880s had not yet turned into a self-sufficient caste like elsewhere in Central Europe, where the officer corps consisted mostly of aristocrats, landed gentry and lesser nobility. In Serbia, army officers were something of a substitute for the middle class. With the growing number of cadets coming from the modest rural and urban areas in the late 1890s, the younger generations of the officer corps were, in general, sympathetic to democracy and gradually became the privileged layer of Serbian society.²²

As a new force on the political scene of Serbia after the 1903 Coup that brought the Karadjordjević dynasty back to the throne and restored democratic order, the Serbian army led by a group of conspiring officers considered itself as the main guardian of the country's sovereignty and the principal executor of the sacred mission of national unification of the Serbs, a goal which had been abandoned after the conclusion of the 1878 Berlin Treaty. By re-introducing the full-fledged parliamentary system, the military conspirators, often sympathisers of the Liberal Party, showed their commitment to constitutional monarchy and democratic form of government, which were highly popular among the electorate. Breaking away from the unpopular patronage of Austria-Hungary, Serbia sought the support of Tsarist Russia in pursuit of her national cause i.e. the unification of all the Serbs in the Balkans. An obvious challenge to Austro-Hungarian domination in the Balkans, the unification of Serbs was viewed in Vienna not just as the creation of a "Greater Serbia", but also as a first step towards Yugoslav unification at some point in the future.²³

Foreign observers, under the spell of the highly negative image of Serbia after the 1903 regicide and relentless anti-Serbian propaganda emanating from Austria-Hungary, were often doubtful about the real capacity of

²² D. T. Bataković, "Nikola Pašić, les radicaux et la 'Main noire'. Les défis à la démocratie parlementaire serbe 1903–1917", *Balkanica* XXXVII (2006), 146–149. For more on the proceedings and promulgated laws of the National Assembly of Serbia see Georges Pavlovitch, "Serbie. Notice générale sur les travaux de l'Assemblée nationale en 1905", *Annuaire de législation étrangère* (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1906); idem, "Serbie. Notice générale sur les travaux de la Skoupchtina et les lois promulguées en 1907", *Annuaire de législation étrangère* (Paris: Librairie de droit et de jurisprudence 1908); "Serbie. Notice générale sur les travaux de la Skoupchtina et les lois promulguées en 1908", *Annuaire de législation étrangère* (Paris: Librairie de droit et de jurisprudence 1909).

²³ D. T. Bataković, "The Balkan Piedmont. Serbia and the Yugoslav Question", *Dialogue* no. 10 (1994), 25–73; idem, *Yugoslavie. Nations, religions, idéologies* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1994), 91–99.

“rural democracy” in Serbia.²⁴ Unsympathetic Viennese Balkan correspondents were convinced that the insufficient level of political culture among the rural electorate as well as heated partisan politics were an impediment to a proper democratic order, but the post-1903 parliamentary system in Serbia was functioning surprisingly well. Parliamentary democracy in Serbia was fully restored by the 1903 Constitution which was a slightly revised version of the very liberal Constitution of 1888.²⁵ Within such constitutional framework, governments were formed from the parliamentary majority resulting from quite free and fair elections. At the same time, the military groups involved in the 1903 Coup increasingly interfered in politics. Once an important prop of the personal regimes of the last Obrenović rulers, the former conspirators within the officer corps were now praised as the restorers of democracy, and they sought to exploit this favourable situation by carving out their own share of influence, beyond the control of the freely elected members of parliament and cabinet ministers.²⁶

After having been absent from Serbia from 1858 and without wider support in Serbian society despite his family background, Peter I, the new sovereign of Serbia, was dependent on the army as the mainstay of his rule. The conspirators who had taken control over the Serbian army in 1903 banked on the prestige derived from their role in the change of dynasty and the restoration of constitutional order: they were officially praised by

²⁴ A major reason for virulent anti-Serbian propaganda in Austria-Hungary was the change in Serbia's foreign policy. Formerly a client state of the Dual Monarchy, Serbia turned to St. Petersburg and Paris: “C'est pourquoi Vienne résolut de noircir ce pays, de le charger de crimes, d'en détacher progressivement ses amis et d'en faire une sorte de paria. Laborieuse campagne d'accusation, d'insinuation, de calomnies comme on n'en vit jamais, malaisée à mener, mais qu'entreprend avec une adroite obstination le *Correspondenzbureau* de Vienne, à la solde du ministère des Affaires étrangères. Nul n'était mieux qualifié pour distiller le poison. On sait comment elles s'arrondissent et sont artificiellement gonflées. Celle-ci furent soufflées au point qu'elles crevèrent tôt après qu'elles eussent été lancées vers les foules curieuses, comme des bulles de savon trop grosses. Des hommes de bon sens, cependant, ont entendu cette voix perfide qui venait sur un rythme cajoleur de valse, porter la calomnie jusqu'au fond de l'Europe.” Quoted from Rene Chambry, *Pierre I^{er}. Roi de Serbie* (Paris-Barcelone: Bloud et Gay, 1917), 16–17.

²⁵ Dimitrije Djordjevic, “Serbian Society, 1903–1914”, in Bela A. Kiraly & Dimitrije Djordjevic, eds., *East Central European Society in the Balkan Wars* (Boulder & New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 227–239; cf. also: D. T. Bataković, “O parlamentarnoj demokratiji u Srbiji, 1903–1914. Stranke, izbori, političke slobode”, *GLAS*, vol. CDXX de l'Académie serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Classe des sciences historiques, no. 16 (Belgrade: Académie serbe des Sciences, 2012), 391–408.

²⁶ For a more detailed analysis see Wayne S. Vucinich, *Serbia between East and West. The Events of 1903–1908* (Stanford: Stanford University Publications, 1954), 61–87.

the National Assembly on two occasions for having put an end to an autocratic regime. Not surprisingly, they soon became increasingly involved in domestic politics.²⁷ The older conspirators were quick to install their own supporters to key positions in the army. The King's aides-de-camp, chiefs of the General Staff, commandants of military schools and other military institutions, brigade and division commanders, were exclusively recruited from the military personnel loyal to the conspirators regardless of their rank, experience and skills. Operative duties were performed by an echelon of younger conspirators, with Dragutin T. Dimitrijević Apis, Velimir Vemić, Antonije Antić, Božin Simić, Vladimir Tucović, Milan Gr. Milovanović, Peter Živković and Josif Kostić constituting the core of the group.²⁸

Some eighty active officers did not conceal their ambition to take full control over the main army posts and then exert their behind-the-scenes influence on the political decision-making process in matters concerning not just the armed forces but also vital national interests. While the conspirators promoted their own supporters, the King was mostly relying on highly respected senior officers with impeccable careers and no connection with the 1903 conspiracy. His favourites were Radomir Putnik, the first officer promoted to the rank of general under King Peter I, and Colonel Stepa Stepanović, who became commander of the Šumadija Division (*Šumadijska divizija*) and was promoted to the rank of general in 1907. Their military qualities were considered exceptional. In the years to come, they were, Putnik in particular, considered to be close to the ruling Old Radicals, but still protective of the conspirators and strongly against any pro-Obrenović (i.e. pro-Austrian) stream in the officer corps. Yet another outstanding officer was Colonel Živojin Mišić, an open critic of the conspirators' role in the army: having been retired, he was reactivated through the mediation of the Old Radicals' leader Nikola Pašić in 1907.²⁹

Under the post-1903 Radical governments, the Serbian army, despite all praises and the influence it exerted on public opinion, was profoundly dissatisfied with its funding and equipment. The purchase of modern can-

²⁷ Dragiša Vasić, *Devetstotreća. Majski prevrat* (Belgrade: Štamparija "Tucović", 1928), 183–193; Ljiljana Aleksić Pejčević, *Odnosi Srbije s Francuskom i Engleskom 1903–1914* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1965), chapters I–IV; Vladimir Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1978), vol. II, chapters XVII–XVIII; Dimitrije Djordjević, "The Role of the Military in the Balkans in the Nineteenth Century", in Ralph Melville & Hans-Jürgen Schroeder, eds., *Der Berliner Kongress von 1878* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1982), 317–347; D. T. Bataković, "Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti u Srbiji u proleće 1914", *Istorijski časopis* XXIX–XXX (1982–1983), 477–492.

²⁸ Vucinich, *Serbia between East and West*, 102–112; Dragoljub R. Živojinović, *Kralj Peter I Karađorđević*, vol. II *U Otadžbini 1903–1914* (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1990), 237–243.

²⁹ Živojin Mišić, *Moje uspomene* (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1978), 239–240.

nons from the French company *Schneider-Creusot*, a first phase of rearmament, was perceived as an important step towards political independence from the Dual Monarchy. The contract with *Schneider-Creusot* was signed on 7 November 1906, and five days later, a loan agreement for ninety-five million francs at the interest rate of 4.5 percent was concluded in Geneva with a financial group dominated by French banks. This agreement meant that Serbia was emancipating herself from Austria-Hungary not just politically, but also financially, which was one of the army's priorities. The Old Radical cabinet's decision to purchase cannons in France was supported by the patriotic wing of younger conspirators, while only few of the older conspirators (Colonels Damnjan Popović and Peter Mišić), who still hoped to obstruct the Old Radical government and prevent their own retirement, insisted on the purchase of military equipment from the Austrian *Škoda*.³⁰ The temporary alliance between the Old Radical government and the younger conspirators proved to be beneficial: it facilitated the retirement of six senior officers involved in the 1903 regicide – a gesture required by the British King – which ended the three years' long "diplomatic strike" against Serbia. The older conspirators identified by Sir Edward Grey were: General Jovan Atanacković, Head of the Bureau of Decorations; Colonel Damnjan Popović, Commander of the Danube Division; Colonel Peter Mišić, a tutor to the Crown Prince; Aleksandar Mašin, Acting Chief of Staff; Colonel Luka Lazarević, Commander of the Belgrade Garrison; Colonel Leonida Solarević, Head of the Military Academy; Major Ljubomir Kostić, Commander of the Palace. Apart from Solarević, they were all retired and "with a fine appreciation for historic dates, diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Serbia were renewed on June 11, 1906, the third anniversary of King Alexander's assassination".³¹

The military elite's sense of the national mission that was to be carried out – taken as a self-evident patriotic duty after the 1903 regicide – did not reflect the general political climate in Serbia. Suddenly caught in the vortex of day-to-day politics, the military in general, and the former conspirators in particular, had little understanding for the frequent compromises that politicians were willing to make in order to gain the trust and sympathy of the vacillating electorate, public opinion and the Crown. Influential military circles believed that the change of dynasty, carried out at the cost of many officers' lives, would only be justified if the struggle for

³⁰ Aleksić-Pejković, *Odnosi Srbije*, 110–113. For more detail see Dimitrije Djordjević, *Carinski rat između Austro-Ugarske i Srbije 1906–1911* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1962).

³¹ Petrovich, *History of Modern Serbia*, vol. II, 541. See also Aleksić-Pejković, *Odnosi Srbije*, 184–185; Živojinović, *Kralj Peter I Karadjordjević*, vol. II, 280–281.

the national cause (i.e. national unification) began soon. The foreign policy orientation towards Russia was welcomed by the common people and the military alike. Given the division of Great Powers in two rivalling blocs, the reliance on St. Petersburg was supposed to counterbalance the mounting pressures and threats from Vienna during the Tariff War (1906–1911), which saw the embargo on Serbian exports to Austro-Hungarian markets. Moreover, with the political situation in the Balkans gradually aggravating – from the Great Powers’ failed reforms in Turkey-in-Europe (Old Serbia and Macedonia, 1903–1908) through the Annexation Crisis (1908–1909) to the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) – the role of the Serbian army as the guarantor of the country’s independence grew in importance.

Counter-conspiracies: Opposition to the active role of the military in political life

The officer corps was increasingly disgruntled with the behaviour of the leading figures among the former conspirators. Many Serbian officers who had not been involved in the 1903 conspiracy justified their act believing that the motives behind it had been profoundly patriotic, but they also believed that the military had to remain strictly within the limits defined by the constitution – an armed force that recognised the political institutions of a parliamentary democracy and was subject to civil control. On the other hand, the opponents of the conspirators, whose number was not insignificant, argued that the conspirators had broken the oath of allegiance to the Crown and disgraced the entire officer corps. They believed that the military had no place in politics: the conspirators should be expelled from the army in order to prevent legitimisation of a dangerous precedent which would pave the way for further meddling in politics on the part of the army. Favouritism towards the conspirators in the promotion through army ranks added to the embitterment of the officers who disapproved of the 1903 regicide either for dynastic reasons or in principle.

The rift over the role of the military in politics was growing, but there was never a danger of the militarisation of the entire Serbian society, which on the whole remained committed to its hard-won democracy and generally satisfied with the level of political freedoms. As reported by the British Minister at Belgrade in 1906 “[...] the spirit of the nation, once it had attained self-government was, and remains, distinctly democratic. When King Peter came to the throne, therefore, it was evidently considered the wisest course to appease the outraged sentiments of the great majority of the nation, who had no part in the [1903] conspiracy, by reverting to the most liberal constitution, that of 1889 [22 December 1888, Old Style], which had been granted by the previous dynasty. Under the Constitution

the monarchy is strictly limited, and the Skupshtina is carried on by Ministers who are responsible to the National Assembly (Skupshtina), which consists of a single Chamber.”³²

Furthermore, political liberties created the atmosphere which encouraged the growing dissatisfaction of the military personnel who had not been involved in the 1903 Coup with the former conspirators’ privileged status in the army. This led to a conflict between the supporters of the conspirators and their opponents, known as the “contras” (*kontraći*). The internal division in the army led to a revolt in the second largest garrison, in Niš, as early as 1903. Another anti-conspirators movement arose among the non-commissioned officers and the reserve force in the Kragujevac Garrison in 1906. Both movements were severely suppressed by military authorities and their ringleaders were heavily sentenced. Nevertheless, these anti-conspirators movements revealed the unwillingness of the majority of the officer corps to engage in politics. The frequency and scale of these revolts revealed that most officers were convinced that the army should not overstep the limits of its constitutional role. The opponents of the conspirators (“contras”), who included some of the finest officers (e.g. Vojin Maksimović, Milivoje Nikolajević, Uzun-Mirković), were led by Captain Milan Novaković, a brave, strong-willed officer, who had returned from his training in France a month after the 1903 Coup. Unrest in the army and the conspirators’ ambition to control the entire officer corps caused Novaković to draw up a public manifesto “Greatcoats down, us or them!” (*Mundire dole, mi ili oni!*), condemning the officers who had been involved in the regicide. His manifesto denounced sixty-eight conspirators for violence, self-interest and anarchy and demanded their dishonourable discharge in the interest of the King, the country and the army. In mid-August 1903, Novaković began to collect signatures among the discontented officers of his own Niš Garrison. Frequent rumours to the effect that King intended to send the conspirators away from Belgrade helped Novaković in his effort to sway more officers to sign the manifesto. According to the initial reports, there were about three hundred discontented officers. It was expected that they would demand that the King remove or punish at least 1,590 protégés of the conspirators, and threaten with mass resignation if their demand was not met.³³

³² The National Archives, London, Foreign Office Records, General Correspondence [hereafter TNA, FO], General Report on the Kingdom of Serbia [Serbia] for the year 1906, no. 2. Confidential, Belgrade, April 11, 1907.

³³ Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris [hereafter M.A.E.], Nouvelle Serie [N.S.], Serbie, vol. 3 (1903), no. 76, Belgrade, 13 August 1903; no. 88, Belgrade, 5 September 1903; see also Vucinich, *Serbia between East and West*, 71–73.

The anti-conspirators movement was not anti-dynastic, as its participants claimed before the military court, but aimed solely against the 1903 plotters. Although most of its participants supported the overthrown Obrenović dynasty, there was little prospect of success given the fact that there was no rightful heir to the throne from the House of Obrenović.³⁴ The action of Captain Novaković and his comrades mostly remained limited to the Niš Garrison. The exact number of dissatisfied officers in other regiments was a matter of speculation. Captain Novaković spoke before the court about 250 of them, and according to other unverified sources there were as many as 800 disgruntled officers. Two articles in the London *Times* offered differing estimates. The first one drew on the official report which gauged that 800 out of 1,300 officers had joined the revolt against the conspirators, while the second one, published a few weeks later, estimated that 1,000 out of 1,500 officers had been involved. However, other similar actions, such as that in the Kragujevac Garrison in 1906, assembled a rather small group of followers.³⁵

It was not until the five highest-ranking participants of the 1903 Coup were retired by the Pašić government in May 1906 – in order to appease Great Britain which had suspended diplomatic relations with Serbia after the assassination of King Alexander – that the interference of the conspirators and their supporters in politics was curtailed, at least for some time. Although he remained close to the army until the outbreak of the war in 1914, the King alienated some of the conspirators from the Palace on account of his resolve not to overstep his constitutional powers.³⁶

The 1908 Annexation Crisis: A trigger for the formation of National Defence and Black Hand

Due to the increasing importance of the Yugoslav movement in the South Slav provinces of Austria-Hungary after 1903, with Serbia as its potential Piedmont, the Viennese government started planning for the future war

³⁴ A subsequent attempt of some officers from the Niš Garrison to make contact with the ex-King Milan's illegitimate son, Djordje, failed and the mass distribution of his pictures in 1904 was not favourably received among common people.

³⁵ Quoted from Slobodan G. Markovich, *The British Perception of Serbia and the Balkans, 1903–1906* (Paris: Dialogue, 2000), 104–106. Cf. also André Barre, *La tragédie serbe* (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1904), 140–148.

³⁶ Nevertheless, there were some doubts regarding the death of Captain Milan Novaković, the convicted leader of the anti-conspirators movement in the army. After his daily *Za Otadžbinu* (For Fatherland) had been confiscated by the police, Novaković was arrested and killed during an attempt to escape from prison, along with another gendarmerie officer, on 27 January 1907. Vucinich, *Serbia between East and West*, 70–74.

against Serbia as early as 1907. In the summer of 1908, a military plan was drawn up envisaging complete dismemberment of Serbia and the partitioning of her territory between the Dual Monarchy and Bulgaria. The abolishment of Serbia's independence was meant to be a kind of internal "cleansing" for Austria-Hungary, seen as a prerequisite for the Monarchy's future consolidation. In Vienna, the future war was referred to as the "sweeping" of Serbia with "a steel brush". Conrad von Hötzendorf, Chief of the General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian army, was obsessed with the idea of a preventive war against Serbia: "Conrad first advocated preventive war against Serbia in 1906, and did so again in 1908–1909, in 1912–13, in October 1913, and May 1914: between January 1913 and 1 January 1914 he proposed Serbian war twenty-five times."³⁷ Later plans of Austria-Hungary for the partitioning of Serbia envisaged the division of her territory between Bulgaria and Romania, and after the 1912 Balkan War some regions of Serbia were supposed to be granted to newly-created Albania, another Austro-Hungarian client state.³⁸

In October 1908, Austria-Hungary proclaimed the annexation of the occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a gift to Emperor Francis Joseph I for the fifty years of his reign. This move was designed to eliminate what had long been condemned in Vienna as "a Greater Serbian danger". In the strategic planning of Austria-Hungary, the annexation was but a transitional measure until the final abolishment of Serbia's independence and the permanent liquidation of the Yugoslav question.³⁹ Count Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, explained to the German government in the autumn of 1908 the rationale behind Vienna's Balkan policy:

With [the Ottoman] Turkey growing weaker and being pushed back to Asia, the process of state reorganisation on our south-eastern borders has once again been initiated. We have to take a stand in this matter. Thirty years ago this was resolved by occupation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and this time by annexation. Both acts meant dispelling the dreams about the creation of a Greater Serbian state between the Danube, the Sava and the Adriatic. There is no need for me to point out that this new factor, if created, would receive instructions from the outside, from the north-east and the West, so that it would not be an element contributing to a peace-

³⁷ Hew Strachan, *The Outbreak of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 86–87.

³⁸ Andrej Mitrović, *Prodor na Balkan: Srbija u planovima Austro-Ugarske i Nemačke 1908–1918* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1981), 72–88.

³⁹ *La Bosnie-Herzégovine à la Skoupchtina nationale du Royaume de Serbie. Discours des députés prononcés aux séances du 2 octobre et 2 et 3 janvier 1909* (Belgrade: Imprimerie de l'État, 1909); Jovan Cvijić, *L'Annexion de la Bosne et la question serbe*, avec une préface d'Albert Malet (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie 1909).

ful course of events in central Europe. In such a crucial phase of our state reorganisation which, from our point of view, is better to be called 'the development of the Reich', one must, when nothing else helps, think about applying the *ultima ratio* in the life of a nation.⁴⁰

Aehrenthal, as many other Austro-Hungarian policy-makers, believed that Serbia, once conquered and divided, would become another obedient province under Habsburg rule, another colonial entity just as Bosnia-Herzegovina had been since 1878.⁴¹ Bosnia-Herzegovina was indeed the key to Austro-Hungarian domination in the Balkans. In 1876, the insurgent Serbs in Herzegovina had proclaimed unification with the tiny Serbian Principality of Montenegro, while the Serb insurgents in Bosnia proclaimed, on more than one occasion (on St. Vitus Day, 28 June 1876 and in 1877), unification with Serbia. The Serb representatives across Bosnia-Herzegovina demanded in their petitions to the Great Powers at the Congress of Berlin to be eventually united with Serbia. The expansion of the two Serbian principalities into Bosnia-Herzegovina was halted by Austrian military occupation, authorised by the Berlin Treaty of 1878. The Austro-Hungarian occupation and, in particular, the policy of Benjamin von Kállay, the governor of the occupied provinces, caused strong opposition among the Bosnian Serbs. Kállay proclaimed the existence of a single Bosnian nation and adopted the Croat dialect as the "state language". This policy was eventually abandoned after Kállay's death in 1903.⁴² The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with its relative Serb majority, shattered all hopes that this province would unite with Serbia.⁴³ Under the combined pressure of Vienna and Berlin,

⁴⁰ Quoted in *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914* [hereafter ÖUA] (Vienna & Leipzig 1930), vol. I, 2–3. More in Vladimir Ćorović, *Odnosi Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u XX veku* (Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda, 1992), 206–212, 357–366.

⁴¹ Olof Hoijer, *Le comte d'Aehrenthal et la politique de violence* (Paris: Plon 1922), 161–164.

⁴² Cf. D. T. Bataković, "Prelude to Sarajevo. The Serbian Question in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878–1914", *Balkanica* XXVII (1986), 122–136, and his, *The Serbs of Bosnia & Herzegovina. History and Politics* (Paris: Dialogue, 1996), 64–78. In Serbian language, an excellent in-depth analysis is offered by Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882–1903* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987).

⁴³ In 1910, according to the official Austro-Hungarian census, the Christian Orthodox Serbs were the largest national group within the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Out of 1,898,044 inhabitants, 825,918 or 43.49 percent were Serbs, in spite of the fact that some 40,000 Serbs emigrated from 1908 to 1914. There were 612,137 (32.25%) Bosnian Muslims and 434,061 (22.87%) Roman Catholics, mostly Croats. However, due to the high birth rate, and with the large agrarian population which amounted to 87.92 percent, the Serbs had the highest population growth. The Bosnian Muslim

without Russia's support and the backing of France and Great Britain, the Serbian government was compelled to recognise the annexation in March 1909 and thus officially renounce any political aspirations towards Bosnia-Herzegovina. Through the newly-founded patriotic organisation *Narodna Odbrana* (National Defence), Serbia fostered cross-border educational and propaganda activities. However, the National Defence was soon reduced to maintaining a network of agents who remained in constant contact with both civil and military intelligence in Belgrade.

In the aftermath of the Annexation Crisis, a group of political activists and some of the younger officers who had participated in the 1903 coup, all of whom had gained experience in guerrilla warfare in Ottoman Macedonia after 1904, began to discuss the founding of a new patriotic organisation which would play a more active role in the pursuit of national policy in both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey-in-Europe. The intensive post-annexation national propaganda in Bosnia died out in March 1909. In parallel, national activity in Old Serbia and Macedonia was halted after the Young Turks had seized power in 1908: the Serbian government disbanded all guerrilla units and turned its efforts to political struggle in the Ottoman parliament.

The *spiritus movens* of the more active national policy was the journalist Ljubomir S. Jovanović Čupa, one of the editors of the *Slavic South* (*Slovenski jug*). Apart from him, who used his masonic connections to promote Serbian and, subsequently, Yugoslav unification, an important role was played by Bogdan Radenković, a Serb native of Kosovo and the main organiser of Serbian political action in both Kosovo and Slavic Macedonia. When the Serbian government rejected his demand for the renewal of guerrilla activities in Old Serbia, Radenković, another free mason with excellent connections in the region, turned to military officers. Together with Lj. S. Jovanović and several officers, Radenković devised a plan for the creation of a new organisation, "a club with a revolutionary orientation", which would coordinate all secret activities in the Serb-inhabited provinces under foreign rule. This organisation was officially founded on 22 May 1911 under the name "Unification or Death", but the public soon dubbed it the Black Hand (*Crna Ruka*) after a popular conspiracy novel. Besides Jovanović and Radenković, the founding

population was diminished due to growing emigration (140,000 from 1908 to 1914) while the Roman Catholic Croats as well as other Roman Catholics (Czechs, Poles, Germans) from various areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were systematically settled in Bosnia-Herzegovina – roughly 230,000 by 1914. Cf. Bataković, "Prelude to Sarajevo", 121.

document was signed by five officers, including the undisputed leader of the younger conspirators, Major Dragutin T. Dimitrijević Apis.⁴⁴

The statute and the programme of the organisation were drawn up by Jovanović on the pattern of the nineteenth-century Italian Carbonari, similar German societies and some ideas of Russian nihilists. The initiation ceremony for new members was largely modelled on masonic initiation rituals. The initial programme was focused on foreign policy. Intelligence operations were to be carried out on the soil of the two neighbouring empires – Austria-Hungarian and Ottoman – for the purpose of shaping a long-term political strategy to which military rather than political factors were essential. The ultimate objective was the unification of the Serbs into a single state with Serbia, but there were also certain Yugoslav overtones.⁴⁵ When in 1912 Major Milan Vasić became secretary of the *Narodna Odbrana*, the “Black Hand made an attempt to become its unofficial revolutionary wing”.⁴⁶ The pro-Yugoslav youth was controlled through the agency of Ljubomir Jovanović Čupa, and the Serbian *comitadjis* (former guerrilla fighters in Macedonia) were dealt with by Major Vojislav Tankosić. The well-informed British Minister at Belgrade noted such tendencies and he was quick to anticipate an imminent armed confrontation with the Dual Monarchy.⁴⁷ Yet, it seems safe to assume that ninety-five percent of the Black Hand membership were attracted to the organisation by its patriotic goals, and that just a small faction, roughly five percent, including the founders themselves, was inclined to interfere in domestic political affairs.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ David MacKenzie, *Apis. The Congenial Conspirator. The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević Apis* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 1989), 60–65.

⁴⁵ David MacKenzie, “The ‘Black Hand’ and its Statutes”, *East European Quarterly*, vol. XXV, no. 2 (June 1991), 179–206.

⁴⁶ The two organisations were quite similar in their social composition; their members came from the urban and rural middle class which, to a certain extent, accounts for the similarity in their views on the protection of national interests. Č. A. Popović, “Rad organizacije ‘Ujedinjenje ili smrt’: pripremanje za balkanski rat”, *Nova Evropa* XVI/10 (26 November 1927), 314.

⁴⁷ TNA, FO, 371/328, no. 74, Belgrade, 3 October 1907, and no. 16, Belgrade, 5 March 1908; Bataković, “Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti”, 478–479; Oskar Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik. Moje uspomene iz borbe protiv crno-žutog orla: u dva dijela*, with a preface by Niko Bartulović and Ante Tresić-Pavičić (Zagreb–Split: C. Albrecht, 1928), 26–28.

⁴⁸ The clandestine organisation was also inclined towards Yugoslavism: the complex relations between its members (Ljubomir Jovanović-Čupa, Milan Vasić, Vladimir Gaćinović, etc.) and the pro-Yugoslav youth from the Habsburg Monarchy and the organisation and the journal *Slavic South*, remained rather strong before the death of Lj. S. Jovanović and M. Vasić. From 1913, the remaining faction of the Black Hand preferred Greater Serbia to Yugoslavia. See Dragoslav Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski atentat* (Sarajevo: Muzej Grada Sarajeva, 1964), 34–38.

Although it endeavoured to attract a wider circle of young patriots, intellectuals and even some members of parliament, the Black Hand remained a military organisation largely consisting of senior officers, the most prominent of whom was Major Dragutin T. Dimitrijević Apis. The organisation favoured revolutionary over cultural action without regard for the consequences. The essential prerequisite for successful national policy, the Black Hand members believed, was a centralised government and a strong army. The proclaimed goal was “to create a united Yugoslav [South-Slav] kingdom through a war with Austria-Hungary”.⁴⁹ However, the initial analyses of Austro-Hungarian informers and diplomats focused on its role in Serbia’s internal policy:

Indeed, the greatest danger for Pašić and Radicalism in general are the officers’ society [the former conspirators], which under the name Black Hand increasingly gains ground, and all the discontented elements including those who favour the removal of King and his replacement by the Crown Prince, join in it.⁵⁰

The purpose of the daily *Pijemont* (Piedmont), published since 1911 with the support of the highest military circles and the Crown Prince Alexander himself (who made a considerable financial contribution), was to propagate the secret organisation’s ideas, stress the necessity for coherent national action and prepare the political framework for pan-Serbian unification. These highly popular goals were seen by many as a supplement to day-to-day politics and a new manifestation of solidarity among various factions of the Serb population in Serbia and abroad.⁵¹

The ideological matrix of the Black Hand, which comprised army officers, free masons, ardent patriots and pro-Yugoslav youth, was rather incoherent: it ranged from fostering internal solidarity for national issues and expounding highly patriotic goals in the field of foreign policy to authoritarian militarism that questioned parliamentary democracy as a political system. The articles published in the *Pijemont*, whose several editors (Lj. S. Jovanović Čupa, Kosta Luković and Branko Božović) and some of the contributors were free masons, offered a broad spectrum of different views on various political issues. Among its frequent contributors the *Pijemont*

⁴⁹ *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1896–1914* [hereafter: B.D.], eds. G. P. Gooch & Harold Temperley, vol. X/1 (London: His Majesty Stationery Office, 1933), Doc. 326, Crackenthorpe to Grey, 17 January 1914; Č. A. Popović, “Organizacija ‘Ujedinjenje ili smrt’”, *Nova Evropa* XVI/12 (Zagreb, 11 June 1927).

⁵⁰ Barbara Jelavich, “What the Habsburg Government Knew about the Black Hand”, *Austrian History Yearbook* XXII (1991), 136.

⁵¹ Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski atentat*, 40; Vojislav J. Vučković, “Unutrašnje krize Srbije i Prvi svetski rat”, *Istorijski časopis* XIV-XV (1965), 179.

had several Serbian, Croat and Jewish journalists of both pan-Serbian and Yugoslav persuasion, the two being, after all, considered as compatible political objectives.⁵²

An analysis of the editorials and front-page articles often reveals open hostility towards the institutions of parliamentary democracy. From the very first issue, released on 16 September 1911, all political parties in Serbia were denounced as allegedly “immoral, uncultured and unpatriotic”. The *Pijemont* pointed out that the “state administration is not good. The reputation of state officials, the monarch, the government, the National Assembly, has declined [...] few are doing their duty. We need to start to cultivate a cult of the state. Without such a cult, Serbia cannot feel like a proper state [...] On the whole, until the people become educated enough, the principle of statism should be abided by, and centralism given precedence to decentralisation in all matters.” Also, according to the *Pijemont*, “the parliamentary system is not the last word of political wisdom. It has been shown that not even in this system are the masses the source and issue of power. Demagogy has discredited and abused political freedoms. To let it do that any further means to prepare a political reaction; for disorder, laxity and insecurity cannot be considered the signs of freedom and democracy. When it comes to political freedoms, they should be rather moderate, which will match our level of general culture and civilisation; only then will political strife cease.”⁵³

Rumours about the existence of the Black Hand, a Serbian version of the Young Turk Organisation, crossed the borders of Serbia and became a matter of discussion throughout Europe, which feared further trouble in the volatile Balkans. The rumours were detrimental to King Peter I's standing because he was considered to be unwilling or unable to put an end to the dissent within the army. The authority of the King and the Karadjordjević dynasty was much strengthened by the King's official visit to the Russian Court in March 1910. Pašić won a solid parliamentary majority in the 1910 elections, concluded a new loan agreement in Paris for military purposes, and sought Russia's support for establishing closer ties between Serbia and the Triple Entente. The royal visit to St. Petersburg was arranged through the mediation of Pašić himself, who believed that the King's strengthened

⁵² Arhiv Srpske Akademije nauka i umetnosti, Belgrade [hereafter ASANU], no. 14.434/6, Velimir Vemić, “Dnevnik”, 2–5. See also Ivan Mužić, *Masonstvo u Hrvata* (Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1983), 77–89. D. MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians* (Boulder & New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 111–131. Some of the contributors to *Pijemont*, like Moša Pijade, became senior communist officials in Tito's Yugoslavia. Božin Simić, another Black Hand officer, became a close collaborator of the Titoist government in 1945–46.

⁵³ *Pijemont*, 23 August (3 September N. S.) 1911.

authority would enhance the prestige of the parliamentary system. The warm welcome and respect showed to the King, along with indications that Russia would provide a substantial financial aid to Serbia, did much to stabilise the position of the Karadjordjević dynasty. The openly expressed political support of the Russian Emperor was particularly helpful in this respect. On the occasion of King Peter I's second visit to Russia in August 1911, Emperor Nicholas II expressed his concerns over the rumours about the existence of "praetorians" in the Serbian army. It was suspected that those who had eliminated the Obrenović dynasty in 1903 might resort to the same methods again. The Russian Emperor was also anxious about the republicans among the conspirators. He feared that they might apply in Serbia the same strategy as the Young Turks had in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴

"Unification or Death" was a clandestine organisation, but some information about it reached the public, especially on occasions when the wilful behaviour of some of its members caused an open confrontation with civilian authorities.⁵⁵ Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1911, Milovan Dj. Milovanović, resisted their pressure to "activate" Serbia's foreign policy in the direction they saw fit. Flexible and skilful, Milovanović managed to tie the Black Hand to himself and to channel their energy into the revived guerrilla fighting in Old Serbia and Macedonia, where the showdown with the Ottoman Empire was approaching fast.⁵⁶ There was some information to the effect that Apis encouraged Milovanović to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of an alliance between Serbia and Bulgaria in order to prepare their common action in Turkey-in-Europe. On the whole, the common goal of national liberation kept peace between the Milovanović cabinet and the clandestine organisation.

When the leader of the Old Radicals, Nikola Pašić, resumed premiership after the sudden death of Milovanović in July 1912, he became the main target of Black Hand's political attacks. The memoirs written by persons sympathetic to the Black Hand clearly show the organisation's hostile attitude towards the political views and methods of Pašić who, along with Stojan M. Protić, the Interior Minister, was singled out as a personification of all aberrations of parliamentary democracy which were so passionately

⁵⁴ Juri A. Pisarev, *Obrazovanje jugoslovanskoga gosudarstva* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), 52; MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, 177.

⁵⁵ Arhiv Srbije, Ministarstvo inostranih dela, Beograd [Archives of Serbia, Belgrade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs], str. pov. no. 498, Belgrade, 23 August 1912, M. S. Djuričin to Jovan M. Jovanović.

⁵⁶ Additional information in the unpublished notes of Č. Tucović, a close friend of Apis; ASANU, no. 14434/7, Čedomir Tucović, "Beleške"; Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 179–182

reviled on the pages of *Pijemont*.⁵⁷ The discrepancy between the modest equipment of the army and the ambitious national goals aggravated the tension between the military and Pašić's cabinet. This tension stemmed from the reluctance of the Old Radicals to increase the military budget up to the level requested by the senior officers and justified by the needs of the 28,000-strong standing army.⁵⁸

A serious conflict within the officer corps took place in January 1912 following the reassignment of some officers from Belgrade to less attractive posts in the country. The reassigned officers, who were close to the Crown Prince, were transferred after having been suspected of spreading rumours about the Black Hand, which caused tensions in the Belgrade Garrison. The reassignment was ordered by the War Minister, General Stepa Stepanović, at the suggestion of General Miloš Božanović, the influential commander of the Belgrade Garrison known for his close connections with the Black Hand. It was carried out in the teeth of Crown Prince Alexander's opposition. The Crown Prince was ambiguous about supporting the Black Hand despite the fact that Apis tried to persuade – in vain – the ailing King Peter I to abdicate in favour of his son. He seems to have considered Apis's group, often critical of the Karadjordjevićs, too independent and self-willed to be fully trusted.⁵⁹

The young Crown Prince – who took after his maternal grandfather Nicholas I of Montenegro rather than his prudent and moderate father – relied on the support of the officers who pledged their allegiance to him personally. This group of officers, which included some of the former conspirators (Colonel Peter Mišić, Majors Peter Živković and Josif Kostić), constituted the core of the military clique that would later become known as the “White Hand” (*Bela ruka*). Alexander requested the War Minister, General Stepanović, one of the main protectors of the Black Hand, to reverse his decision. King Peter I, on the other hand, signed the reassignment order and, on Apis's advice, asked his son to apologise to Stepanović. In an attempt to reconcile the two rival groups of officers, Prince Alexander convened a meeting, but the leaders of Black Hand refused reconciliation and warned the Crown Prince that he was dealing with a group of intriguers which was trying to turn him against a genuinely patriotic organisation.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the friendly farewell for the reassigned officers in which some fifty fellow officers took part made it obvious that many garrison officers

⁵⁷ D. T. Bataković, “La Main noire (1911–1917): l’armée serbe entre démocratie et autoritarisme”, *Revue d’histoire diplomatique*, no. 2 (Paris 1998), 94–144 (esp. 127–136).

⁵⁸ Vojislav I. Gojković, “Radikali i vojska”, *Nova Evropa* XVIII/10–11 (1928), 324.

⁵⁹ Bataković, “Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti”, 480.

⁶⁰ Živojinović, *Kralj Peter I Karadjordjević*, vol. II, 332–333.

were openly hostile to the Black Hand.⁶¹ The outbreak of the First Balkan War in October 1912 postponed the final showdown between the government and the Black Hand. The rift reappeared in 1913, during the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute over Macedonia, and again in the spring of 1914.

The Balkan Wars: From bravery to open rivalry

The Balkan Wars boosted the self-confidence of the Serbian military. The heroism and bravery of the members and open supporters of Black Hand, who bore the brunt of planning and carrying out military operations, dispelled the suspicions that political dissension within the officer corps might be fatal for military efficiency. As evidenced by their high casualty rate, the former conspirators, despite being high-ranking officers (majors, lieutenant-colonels and colonels), had fought bravely and self-effacingly, which earned them considerable moral prestige in the Serbian army as a whole. For his brilliant strategy during the wars, General Putnik was promoted to the rank of field-marshal (*vojvoda*), the first in the Serbian army. The Pašić cabinet, for its part, sought to capitalise upon the military success for the purpose of promoting the interests of the Old Radical Party. The Old Radicals filled most administrative posts in the newly-acquired territories.⁶²

Within the officer corps, however, there soon emerged dissatisfaction at the government's inability to ensure diplomatic recognition of the spectacular military victories over the Ottomans in the battles of Kumanovo (in Old Serbia or the *vilayet* of Kosovo) and Monastir (modern Bitolj, in Slavic Macedonia or the *vilayet* of Monastir). The Pašić cabinet was also expected to verify further military triumphs in northern and central Albania, which would have been the realisation of another war aim – Serbia's territorial access to the Adriatic Sea, a major precondition for her political and economic independence from the Dual Monarchy. Instead, the Pašić cabinet yielded to the combined pressure of Great Powers and agreed to withdraw troops from the areas conquered at such an enormous cost in human life: the strategic ports and cities on the Albanian coast and its hinterland (San Giovanni di Medua, Durazzo, Alessio, Tirana etc.), as well as the Scutari fortress, seized by allied Montenegrin troops at the cost of heavy losses. From March 1913, the Dual Monarchy, the protector of newly-created Albania, had been demanding the withdrawal of Serbian troops from the Adriatic coast in northern Albania. Serbian troops eventually withdrew across the Crni Drim (Black Drin) river in early October 1913. Some 15,000 Albanians

⁶¹ Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 180; Bataković, "Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti", 480–481.

⁶² Bataković, "Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti", 481.

then raided into Serbian territory, instigating local Albanians to rebellion in the towns of Ohrid, Struga, Gostivar and Debar (Dibra). The Serbian army was again forced to act and, in doing so, crossed into Albanian territory, which caused another diplomatic dispute with Austria-Hungary.⁶³

Furthermore, the prospect of losing most of Slavic Macedonia to Bulgaria through Russian arbitration ("the contested zone") caused an outrage among the Serbian officer corps. They looked at the situation in simple military terms: what was won by the sword (the disputed area of Macedonia) must not be relinquished. Thus, some formerly covert disagreements between the military and the government came into the open.⁶⁴

In June 1913, on the eve of the Second Balkan War, initiated by Bulgaria on account of the disputed region in Macedonia, the Serbian government acted with particular caution, fearing Austria-Hungary's intervention at the moment when Serbian troops were concentrated deep in the south, leaving Serbia's northern border on the Sava, Danube and Drina rivers virtually undefended. On the other hand, Pašić's cabinet could not ignore Russia's insistence on a peaceful solution to the dispute with Bulgaria. Contrary to the will of St. Petersburg, the General Staff and the Black Hand officers were resolutely in favour of military action that would forestall Bulgaria's attack and ensure Serbia's full control over the newly-acquired region of Slavic Macedonia.⁶⁵

The *Pijemont* openly threatened the government, should it cede some of the disputed territory to Bulgaria, with treason charges, while the owner of the Black Hand daily allegedly threatened to kill Prime Minister Pašić on the spot.⁶⁶ During June 1913, Pašić submitted his resignation twice over disagreements with cabinet ministers and military circles with regard to the Russian Emperor's arbitration in the dispute. When the Serbian army repulsed the Bulgarian attack in July 1913 and won the Second Balkan War, its prestige, propelled by the overwhelming national euphoria, reached its zenith.

The King's praise for the amazing efforts of the Serbian army was perceived by the Black Hand leadership as a strong sign of political support. This somewhat resembled the event that had taken place a year before: the Secretary-General of the Paris-based *Office Central des Nationalités*, Jean

⁶³ D. T. Bataković, "La Serbie et son accès à l'Adriatique (1912-1913)", *Etudes Danubiennes*, vol. 29, no. 1-2 (2013), 1-15.

⁶⁴ More in Dimitrije Popović, *Balkanski ratovi*, ed. D. T. Bataković (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994).

⁶⁵ Jurij V. Vishnyakov, *Voennij faktor i gosudarstvennoe razvitie Serbii nachala XX veka* (Moscow: MGIMO-Universitet, 2012).

⁶⁶ Jovan M. Žujović, *Dnevnik* (Belgrade: Arhiv Srbije, 1986), vol. II, 32.

Pélissier, had visited Belgrade and met with both Prime Minister Milovan Dj. Milovanović and Apis.⁶⁷ The Black Hand leaders interpreted these contacts as France's direct support not just for the Serbian cause in general but also for their assertive approach as well. Serbian war aims, after the outbreak of the war against the Ottoman Empire, were supported by many foreign journalists (such as Henry Barby), who were impressed with Serbia's military successes and, in particular, the exceptional qualities of army commanders.⁶⁸

However, the Black Hand turned out to be collateral damage of the Balkan Wars. Since its founder and main ideologist Ljubomir Jovanović Čupa, its president, General Ilija Radivojević, and Major Milan Vasić, the secretary of National Defence, perished during and after the military operations, it ceased to exist as a coherent and functional organisation. Apis was absent from political and military life for more than a year, fighting off the Maltese fever he had contracted in Kosovo during the negotiations with the local Albanian chieftain Isa Boletini. Many valiant Black Hand officers had been killed in action. Most of those who survived believed that their generation had won the laurels of "avengers of Kosovo" and fulfilled the national mission by liberating the medieval Serbian capitals, Prizren, Skoplje and Prilep.

In spite of the fact that the Black Hand – with several hundred members prior to the Balkan Wars – ceased to exist as a functional organisation with organised membership, some of the officers of the former organisation remained politically active and were still perceived as influential. His health restored, Apis – the leader of the remnants of the Black Hand (an informal group of around 20 to 25 officers) – was appointed Head of the General Staff Intelligence Department in 1913. This made it possible for a group of some twenty officers around him to maintain their influence in the army and continue their activities in neighbouring Austria-Hungary. An admirer of Apis and his efficiency, executive skills, loyalty and utter dedication to the interests of the army, Field-Marshal Radomir Putnik, Chief of the General Staff, considered him a great patriot and a top counterintelligence officer. For that reason, Apis felt himself protected and free to pursue his own political and national agenda, often contrary to the prevailing opinion within the army. Besides, there was a sense of solidarity among army officers in the matters of internal policy, regardless of their sympathy for or disapproval of

⁶⁷ Georges-Henri Soutou, "Jean Pélissier et l'Office des Nationalités, 1911–1918: un agent du gouvernement français auprès des Nationalités", *Recherche sur la France et le problème des Nationalités pendant la Première Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1995), 16–17.

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. Henri Barby, *Les victoires serbes* (Paris: Grasset, 1913).

the Black Hand, and it was manifested on every occasion when there was a conflict with Pašić's Old Radical cabinet. Since the army had been instrumental in adding 39,000 sq. km to the Kingdom of Serbia's 48,500 sq. km and 1,290,000 new inhabitants to its population of roughly three million, senior officers were increasingly aware of their social importance – even those who had no close relations with the Black Hand.⁶⁹ The argument between military leaders and cabinet ministers over funding of the army and the policy to be pursued in the New Territories acquired in the Balkan Wars escalated after the Interior Minister Stojan M. Protić replied arrogantly to Field-Marshal Putnik, the main architect of the military victories: "You are just a government clerk!"⁷⁰

The prestige of Serbia after the spectacular victories in the Balkan Wars had a resounding echo in the Yugoslav provinces of the Dual Monarchy, notably among the Serbs in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia, and among the liberal and pro-Yugoslav Croat youth. Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy – encouraging Albanians to confront Serbian troops in Kosovo (e.g. the Prochaska Affair in Prizren in 1912), promoting Albanian maximalist territorial demands at the London Conference of Ambassadors (1912–1913) and, finally, threatening with military intervention in order to force the Serbian army to withdraw from the Albanian littoral in October 1913 – was utterly hostile to Serbia and her political and national aspirations. In the opinion of Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Leopold von Berchtold, expressed in August 1913, the antagonism between the Dual Monarchy and Serbia was irremediable (*unüberbrückbar*) and it would, he predicted, soon lead to a war.⁷¹ Viennese policy aroused the Serbian officer corps' profound dislike for Austria-Hungary, which was perceived as the main threat to Serbia's independence and survival as a sovereign state in the Balkans. As the military attaché of Austria-Hungary in Belgrade observed, this stance of the Serbian military was, in turn, perceived as a serious threat to the Dual Monarchy's interests in the Balkans.⁷²

The New Territories under scrutiny

The central political issue in the territorially enlarged post-Balkan wars Serbia – the form and organisation of government in the liberated, newly-

⁶⁹ Panta M. Draškić, *Moji memoari*, ed. D. T. Bataković (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1990), 45–67.

⁷⁰ Quoted in MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, 146.

⁷¹ F. R. Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815–1918* (New York, Oxford & Munich: Berg, 1990), 326.

⁷² Mitrović, *Prodor na Balkan*, 97.

incorporated areas – became a bone of contention between the military and the government. In the areas of Old Serbia (the former *vilayet* of Kosovo with Skoplje as its seat) and Serbian Macedonia, the government decided to act in the same manner as it had been done with the regions liberated from the Ottomans in the past – the six districts (*nahiyes*) integrated into Serbia in 1833 and the four districts of the former *sanjak* of Niš in 1878: in both cases, Serbia's Constitution was implemented in stages.⁷³ Military circles, on the other hand, insisted on military rule in the unsettled border areas for reasons of national security until their definitive integration into the state system was possible. Field-Marshal Radomir Putnik and General Živojin Mišić proposed a five-year military administration. Unlike the majority of the Opposition (Independent Radicals, Progressives, Socialists), only the former Liberal Party argued for placing the newly-liberated areas under a strict military regime.⁷⁴

The Old Radical cabinet of Nikola Pašić also capitalised on the military successes in the Balkan Wars and, sharing the glory with the army, was intent on exploiting the fruits of victory for the benefit of the governing party. The Old Radicals considered the new southern areas as a sphere of their own influence and a new source of their political and economic power. Their leadership, feeling somewhat threatened by the Independent Radicals in pre-war Serbia, saw the newly-liberated areas as “fresh dough for the big Radical bread loaf”.⁷⁵ As a result, the Pašić government established a special civilian administration in the newly-acquired areas. But the need for frequent military actions, due to constant incursions of armed brigands (*kaçak*) from Albania, sponsored and armed by both the Austro-Hungarian and Young Turk governments, led to overlapping of responsibilities between civilian and military authorities. Furthermore, the civil servants' proclivity to bribery and the poor selection of local officials often resulted in abuse of power and corruption.⁷⁶ The army officers, committed to securing the borders and providing peace and security for the population in the New Territories, were determined to suppress corruption and abuses for both private and political reasons.

⁷³ Vasa Čubrilović, *Istorija političke misli u Srbiji u XIX veku* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1958), 413.

⁷⁴ Vučković, “Unutrašnje krize Srbije”, 182–183.

⁷⁵ Vojni Arhiv Srbije, Belgrade [Military Archives of Serbia; hereafter VAS], XVI-46-1, Dragutin K. Mičić, “Srpski oficiri, njihova uloga i značaj u političkom životu Srbije do ujedinjenja” [Serbian officers, their role and importance in the political life of Serbia until the unification], Zagreb 1939, manuscript.

⁷⁶ Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 101.

In parallel with growing discontent with military-civilian relations in the southern areas, another commotion in the ranks of the officer corps was caused by the conflict between the War Minister, General Miloš Božanović, and the Pašić cabinet, which ended in the Minister's resignation. The government rejected his military budget and refused to grant pardon to Major Velimir Vemić, a well-known Black Hand member, charged with the murder of a disobedient soldier during the 1912 war campaign. At the request of the remaining Black Hand members, Božanović included his name into the pardon candidates list. Since Major Vemić's pardon met with the approval of the officer corps, the whole affair was made public by the Old Radical press, which also announced a firm attitude of the Pašić cabinet towards the military.⁷⁷ The British Minister at Belgrade saw this as the government's first palpable attempt to thwart the influence of the Black Hand.⁷⁸

Following General Božanović's resignation, the government intended to appoint a civilian to the office. According to a reliable source, Miloš Božanović was to be replaced by Stojan M. Protić, a staunch opponent of the conspirators, but open threats made by the Black Hand leaders, Major Vojin Popović (aka *Vojvoda Vuk*) and Voja Tankosić, prevented the government from appointing Protić. More than thirty senior officers were then approached, all of whom laid out their conditions for accepting the post. Finally, it was the Military Attaché in Romania, Colonel Dušan Stefanović, who became War Minister. He had agreed to carry out all government's plans without regard for the attitude of the military.⁷⁹

It was in such an atmosphere that the interpellation regarding the retirement of General Mišić, who was held responsible for the inadequate reaction to Albanian incursions in the autumn of 1913 and the pardoning of Major Vemić, occasioned a heated parliamentary debate. The statement of Stojan M. Protić, Interior Minister, to the Old Radical daily *Samouprava* (Self-government) that "there are impermissible praetorian ambitions in our Army", drew a fierce response from the Opposition. The leader of the Independent Radicals, Milorad Drašković, accused the Old Radical cabinet of instigating divisions in the Army and rebuked it for focusing on the Vemić case even though, according to him, there were some fifty or sixty similar cases. Minister Protić replied by reproaching the Opposition for attacking the government in the *Pijemont* and thus encouraging the frustrated

⁷⁷ B.D., vol. X/1, no. 326, Crackenthorpe to Grey, 17 January 1914; ÖUA, vol. VII, no. 9260, Hoflehner to Giesl, Niš, 28 January 1914.

⁷⁸ B.D., vol. X/1, no. 326, Crackenthorpe to Grey, Belgrade, 17 Jan. 1914.

⁷⁹ Ibid.; VAS, XVI-46-1, Mičić, "Srpski oficiri, njihova uloga i značaj".

military officers' disobedience to the government.⁸⁰ A series of government actions, undertaken with the aim of exposing the unlawful activities of Apis and the remaining faction of the Black Hand, curbing their influence on political developments and forestalling their further anti-government activity, were also intended to discredit those military circles that were unwilling to accept the administration introduced in the newly-incorporated areas.⁸¹ The sharp tone of the conflict was set by Protić's polemical style; he called upon the public to stand up in defence of the constitutional order from "irresponsible military factors".

The Old Radical organ *Samouprava* brought a series of articles by the Interior Minister Protić openly accusing the Black Hand of harbouring "praetorian ambitions" incompatible with the constitutional order. In the National Assembly, Protić claimed that a "handful of officers who have their own newspaper [*Pijemont*] wants to keep in check not only the entire officer corps but also to put a bridle on the government and the legislature".⁸² Warning about the "influential and powerful officers who want the state to dance to their tune", the *Samouprava* admitted that the Old Radical cabinet was under pressure by Black Hand officers and stressed that there were moments in this struggle "when it was at risk of succumbing and letting the praetorians rule the roost". The Opposition (notably the Independent Radicals) was accused of actively collaborating with "irresponsible factors in the country" in their opposition to the government's decisions.⁸³

The Priority Decree and a failed plan for a military coup, May–June 1914

The relationship between the legislative, executive and military authorities in the newly-incorporated areas was not clearly defined because of the tension caused by sporadic expressions of discontent among the Albanian minority and the incursions of paramilitary groups from Albania and Bulgaria. Moreover, the local administrative system, continually supplemented with new laws and decrees, gave the Pašić cabinet free rein to pursue the interests

⁸⁰ *Stenografske beleške Narodne skupštine Kraljevine Srbije*, XXXVIII red. sastanak, 14 January 1915; Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 184–185.

⁸¹ The discovery of an embezzlement of Officers Cooperative funds (*Oficirska zadruga*) in May 1914 coincided with a flare-up of the tension between the military and civilian authorities over the implementation of the "Priority Decree" in the liberated areas and thus came in handy for the Radical press to blow up the affair out of proportion, cf. Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 185.

⁸² Quoted in *Pijemont*, 15 (28) February 1914.

⁸³ Quoted in Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije i Prvi svetski rat", 184–185.

of the governing party to the exclusion of the Opposition and the Army from decision-making process.

Foreign diplomatic reports indicated that the friction between civilian and military authorities in the New Territories threatened to escalate into an open confrontation. The rivalry took a turn for the worse after the incident in Skoplje between General Damnjan Popović, the army officer in charge of the New Territories, and District Governor Novaković, over the order of precedence at a church celebration.⁸⁴ This incident was connected with Protić's *Decree on Celebrating National Holidays and Popular Festivals* (known as "Priority Decree") released on 21 March 1914 which gave precedence to civilian officials as opposed to an earlier decree favouring military officials. The purpose of the Decree was to demonstrate the government's resolve to thwart the attempts of the Black Hand and the entire officer corps to rise above civilian authority. However, the Decree had the opposite effect. Dissatisfied with the Old Radical administration of the liberated areas and the status of the military there, the officer corps aligned with the Black Hand. General Damnjan Popović, one of the most influential among the former Black Hand members, seized the first opportunity to violate the Priority Decree, and was promptly retired in consequence. A somewhat provocative retirement celebration that the officers in Skoplje organised for their otherwise little-loved commander was a telling sign of the rising discontent in their ranks, which had been simmering since the retirement of General Živojin Mišić for his allegedly inadequate dealing with the incursions from Albania in September 1913. Due to the influence of Black Hand, Popović was promptly and defiantly elected President of the Management Board of the Officers Cooperative (*Oficirska zadruga*). Popović's arrival in Belgrade, and Field-Marshal Putnik's election for President of the Supervisory Board of the Cooperative, further encouraged the dissent within army ranks in general, and among Black Hand supporters in particular.⁸⁵ The officer corps' strongly expressed unanimity on the "Priority Decree" softened up their cautious attitude towards the remnants of Black Hand and their meddling in domestic politics. Since the Priority Decree crisis, the actions of the officers corps undertaken "in defence of the honour of the Army" were quite synchronised.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Ibid.; Bataković, "Sukob vojnih i civilnih vlasti", 483.

⁸⁵ Cf. Mičić, "Srpski oficiri, njihova uloga i značaj"; M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, nos. 139 and 147, Descos to Doumergue, Belgrade, 4 and 14 May 1914 respectively; TNA, FO, vol. 371/2099, Peckham to Crackenthorne, Skoplje, 5 May 1914; OUA, vol. VIII, no. 9649, Giesl to Berchtold, Belgrade, 8 May 1914.

⁸⁶ An act of disobedience occurred in Valjevo, where the commander of the Drina Division refused to greet Minister of the Economy Velizar Janković. Several leading senior

The Opposition got involved in the Pašić cabinet's conflict with the Black Hand and the Army with a view to bringing down the former. By establishing ties with the Black Hand, the Opposition bloc, dominated by the Independent Radicals, deepened the crisis and fuelled it further by siding openly with the Army and by embarking on parliamentary obstruction.⁸⁷ Although the Old Radical majority in the National Assembly was a narrow one, dependent on two Social Democratic votes, it left Pašić some room for manoeuvring. He seized the favourable moment to split up the Opposition bloc.⁸⁸ The Opposition nonetheless succeeded in obstructing the passage of some already prepared bills. In the view of the French Minister at Belgrade, the crisis caused such a public stir that even foreign policy issues such as that of Durazzo (an important maritime port in Albania still under Serbian control) were temporarily pushed into the background.⁸⁹

All political parties expected King Peter I to resolve the crisis but, as observed by the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade, neither "the King's well-known sympathies for the conspirators nor those of the Crown Prince prevail at the moment, because the downfall of Pašić's cabinet would entail a serious internal crisis".⁹⁰ The King tried to find an acceptable solution in consultation with Old Radical leaders and military commanders. Peter I was pressuring Pašić to revoke the controversial Priority Decree, while promising him in return the mandate to conduct new elections. Pašić seems to have favoured this solution, but his Interior Minister was inflexible in the matter of the Priority Decree. Dissatisfied with the stubborn position of the Old Radical cabinet, King Peter I decided to side with the army and even

officers were embittered to the point of being ready to resign. The Pašić government had the most disgruntled officers transferred from Belgrade, but the King refused to sign retirement decrees for D. T. Dimitrijević Apis, V. Tankosić and some other Black Hand members. Cf. M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 139; Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 101.

⁸⁷ ÖUA, vol. VIII, no. 9702, Giesl to Berchtold, Belgrade, 21 May 1914; Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 187.

⁸⁸ TNA FO, vol. 371/2098, Crackenthorpe to Grey, Belgrade, 26 May 1914. The friction provoked by the Priority Decree led the government to ask its Minister at Berlin to report on the German order of precedence on formal occasions involving both civilian and military officials. The Serbian Minister in Berlin Bogićević reported that the military had precedence in most cases (the commander of a corps with the rank of general had precedence over a district governor), but if a civilian and a military official had the same rank, precedence was given to the one appointed first. Cf. *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903–1914*, vol. VII/1, eds. V. Dedijer and Ž. Anić (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1980), doc. nos. 646, 802 and 803.

⁸⁹ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 180, Descos to Doumergue, Belgrade, 26 May 1914.

⁹⁰ ÖUA, vol. VIII, no. 9702, Giesl to Berchtold, Belgrade, 8 May 1914.

promised Field-Marshal Putnik to get rid of Pašić.⁹¹ The Russian Minister at Belgrade reported that the King had demanded that Field-Marshal Putnik and War Minister Stefanović take vigorous steps against the activity of the Black Hand. On the other hand, the Pašić cabinet, with the assistance of the War Minister, sought to sow dissent among its opponents in the army.⁹²

Leaders of the former Black Hand also sought support against the government. Apis was consulting the Opposition leaders in May 1914 and he did not exclude a military coup as the last resort solution to the crisis.⁹³ Some leaders of the Independent Radicals, including Milorad Drašković, seem to have consented to a coup that would be limited to the New Territories – and hopefully cause the fall of Pašić's cabinet.⁹⁴ It was because of these consultations that Apis instructed his trusted officers in Skoplje and other cities in Serbian Macedonia "to drive out a couple of district governors [appointed] in the New Territories and send them to Belgrade complete with their suitcases, and here in Belgrade it will be our [Black Hand's and Independent Radicals'] concern to smooth things over".⁹⁵ Slobodan Jovanović, a legal historian and a witness of this conflict, believed that Apis had probably counted on the support of the local population in Serbian Macedonia.⁹⁶ However, the senior officers to whom the instruction was dispatched in

⁹¹ Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 188; Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 101.

⁹² A group of officers from the Belgrade Garrison (mostly consisting of Old Radicals supporters), expressed to the War Minister Stefanović their disapproval of the conduct of their fellow officers (Black Hand supporters). Among the officers serving outside Belgrade, their protest was supported by only two officers from the Ohrid Garrison. After that, a few senior officers serving at the Ministry of War and military schools were retired, among them Field-Marshal Putnik's son-in-law, Commandant of the Non-Commissioned Officer School. Putnik himself was sent out of Belgrade on an assignment, and the distribution of the *Pijemont* and *Zvono* (Bell) in the *Nove Oblasti* (New Territories) in the south was banned. At that point *Pijemont* had roughly 14,000 subscribers in the New Territories. Cf. M.A.E, no. 203, Descos to Doumergue, 26 May 1914; Marco [Božin Simić], "Državna kriza juna 1914 i juna 1928", *Nova Evropa* XVIII/9 (11 September 1928), 266).

⁹³ Borivoje Nešković, *Istina o Solunskom procesu* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1953), 158–160.

⁹⁴ Drašković's denial at the Salonika Trial in 1917 that he had consented to the coup is understandable, but he did not deny that he had discussed with Apis the issue of potential overthrow of the Pašić government. Cf. Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 181.

⁹⁵ Ibid.; see also Milan Ž. Živanović, *Solunski proces 1917. Prilog za proučavanje političke istorije Srbije od 1903. do 1918. godine* (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1955), 219.

⁹⁶ Slobodan Jovanović, *Moji savremenici* (Windsor, Canada: Avala Printing and Publishing Company Ltd., 1962), 406 and 433.

May 1914 (among others, Colonel Milutin Lazarević, Chief of Staff in the Troops in the New Territories, and Colonel Dušan Plazina, Commander of the Non-Commissioned Officer School at Skoplje), were not in favour of such a drastic move, having assessed that most officers and soldiers were less than enthusiastic about the possible coup, even if restricted to the New Territories.⁹⁷ Apis and a group of his closest supporters were clearly rejected by their fellow officers. It was not only a major setback to the remnants of the Black Hand and Apis himself, but also a clear indication that senior army officers, including the former Black Hand members, firmly rejected Apis' authority to issue orders that ran against the army's constitutional role. The courageous "no" to Apis in fact proved that loyalty to the democratic system and constitutional order had prevailed among the top military officers.

Although this was not the end of the whole affair, it was certainly not a coincidence that the *Pijemont* wrote that King was informed that an outbreak of "bloody clashes between the army and the police can be expected any minute". It therefore seems highly likely that the planned exemption of the New Territories from civil authority was supposed to be a testing ground for the eventual overthrow of Pašić.⁹⁸ The dramatic appeal of the newly-appointed Commander of the New Territories, General Peter Bojović, addressed to the Minister of War on 3 June 1914, immediately after the resignation of Pašić's cabinet, confirmed concerns about the attitude of some officers. They were "tending to give vent to their discontent with the inappropriate conduct of police officials towards them both in formal and informal situations, and with the writing of some newspapers against the officers which is aimed at stirring up divisions among them."⁹⁹

On behalf of the Kosovo Division, General Bojović demanded that the "Priority Decree" be revoked or amended, but he also stressed that the army would continue "to serve only the King and the Fatherland, and by no means particular political parties". He ordered the division commanders to ensure the strict implementation of the officers' code of conduct in both spirit and letter and demanded their reports on the condition of the troops.¹⁰⁰ Field Marshal Putnik and General Damnjan Popović put pressure on the King, on account of unrest in the officers' corps and General Bojović's request. According to the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade, Baron Giesl, the two high-ranking officers, supported by the Crown Prince, as-

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ *Pijemont*, no. 129, 10 May 1914.

⁹⁹ VAS, V-483-1-1, Bojović to Stefanović, Skoplje, 3 June 1914; cf. Nešković, *Istina o Solunskom procesu*, 25–26; Dragoslav Janković, *Srbija i jugoslovensko pitanje 1914–1915* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1973), 88–89.

¹⁰⁰ Janković, *Srbija i jugoslovensko pitanje*, 89.

sured the King that there would be unrest in the army “unless the rights it claims are recognised”.¹⁰¹ A few weeks earlier, some officers from Monastir County (*Bitoljski okrug*), dissatisfied with the government’s policies and the weak response to incursions from Albania and Bulgaria, had been willing to resort to guerrilla warfare.¹⁰²

However, Prime Minister Pašić remained adamant as regards the “Priority Decree” and on 2 June 1914 his cabinet resigned. The Independent Radicals, having failed to put together a coalition government, offered the King a homogenous cabinet in which the King’s personal friend, Živojin Balugdžić, the Serbian Minister at Athens, would become Foreign Minister. At that point, the Black Hand stepped in, nominating Jovan M. Jovanović, the Serbian Minister at Vienna, for the office.¹⁰³ This move made plain the Black Hand’s intention to place yet another area of public affairs under their control. Its alliance with the Independent Radicals was based on common dissatisfaction with the Old Radicals in the office and, in particular with Pašić’s dovish foreign policy. The *Samouprava*, on the other hand, warned the Crown that inviting the opposition minority to form a government would be a violation of the Constitution.¹⁰⁴ When King Peter I appeared to have finally decided to invite the Independent Radicals to form a new cabinet, the Russian Minister at Belgrade, Nikolai Hartwig, interfered at the suggestion of Pašić.

Hartwig exerted considerable influence on Serbia’s national policy. Foreign diplomats in Belgrade, the Austro-Hungarian and French Ministers in particular, believed that he was the architect of Serbia’s foreign policy and more powerful than both the King and Premier Pašić. An adamant Austrophobe, and strongly backed by St. Petersburg’s conservative and pan-Slav circles, Hartwig acted according to his own lights, often opposing his superior, Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov. Hartwig considered Sazonov as indecisive and too conciliatory when it was necessary to hold firm in the face of Austria-Hungary’s aggressive stance. In the diplomatic corps in Belgrade, Hartwig was nicknamed “Viceroy of Serbia” for taking the side of Serbia on all occasions. His role in Serbia’s domestic crisis in the spring of 1914 was considerable.¹⁰⁵

As for Pašić, French diplomatic reports suggest that his visit to St. Petersburg in early 1914 had solidified his status in the eyes of the Russian

¹⁰¹ ÖUA, vol. VIII, no. 9819, Giesl to Berchtold, Belgrade, 6 June 1914.

¹⁰² TNA, FO, vol. 371/2009, Craig to Crackenthorpe, Monastir, 24 April 1914.

¹⁰³ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 203; Vučković, “Unutrašnje krize Srbije”, 188.

¹⁰⁴ *Samouprava*, 12 June 1914.

¹⁰⁵ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 201; cf. Jovanović, *Moji savremenici*, 200; Marco [Božin Simić], “Nikola Hartwig”, *Nova Evropa* XVII (26 April 1928), 256–278.

government. Tsarist Russia counted on Pašić as her faithful ally and a moderate politician loyal to wider Slavic interests. Since any shift in Serbia's foreign policy was likely to pose a serious threat to Russia's interests in the Balkans, Hartwig began to pursue a vigorous policy of negotiations with a view to supporting the Old Radicals.¹⁰⁶ Using the compelling authority of Russia in order to curb the Opposition's demands and criticising the Independent Radicals for their close ties with the Black Hand, Hartwig practically forced the King to invite Pašić to form cabinet again.¹⁰⁷ The dominance of Premier Pašić, backed by Hartwig, over the ailing King Peter I was best reflected in the unchanged composition of his cabinet. Moreover, Pašić's coming into office on 11 June gave the Old Radicals a good chance for remaining in power by winning the elections scheduled for August 1914. The only concession to the monarch by the Old Radical cabinet was an amendment to Article 5 of the Priority Decree, which gave precedence to military over civilian authorities except in cases when civilian officials acted on behalf of the government.¹⁰⁸

By extending Pašić's term as Prime Minister and endorsing the government's action against the remnants of the Black Hand, King Peter I suffered a serious political defeat. Old, almost deaf and quite weak after a minor stroke, the King lacked the strength and authority needed to resolve the crisis. Indebted to the army in general and some of the former conspirators in particular, Peter I became a liability both to Pašić and to Hartwig.¹⁰⁹ His decision to reassign his royal prerogatives to his son, Crown Prince Alexander, was therefore perceived by the French Minister at Belgrade as a "last-minute one, made under Russian pressure".¹¹⁰ The King's withdrawal, in fact a tacit abdication, as it was described in the Russian press, became clear in the light of Crown Prince Alexander's role in the crisis.

¹⁰⁶ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 203.

¹⁰⁷ ÖUA, vol. VIII, no. 9734, Giesl to Berchtold, Belgrade, 24 May 1914; *Mezhdunarodnie otnoshenia v epokhu imperializma. Dokumenti iz arhivov tsarskogo i vremennogo pravitel'stv 1878.-1917. gg.*, Moskva 1938. Series III, vol. VIII, no. 283, Hartwig to Sazonov, Belgrade, 16 June 1914.

¹⁰⁸ Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 189. Despite the amendment, however, district governors in Macedonia kept reporting that the military authorities were using every public occasion to take precedence over the civilian authorities; the governors ignored such incidents in order to avoid any trouble. Cf. *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije*, VII/2, doc. nos. 437 and 438.

¹⁰⁹ ÖUA, vol. VIII, no. 9922, Stork to General Staff, Belgrade, 26 June 1914.

¹¹⁰ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 228, Descos to Viviani, Belgrade, 28 June 1914. The Radical press (*Samouprava*, 14 June 1914) claimed that one of the reasons for the King's withdrawal was to avoid signing retirement decrees for a few generals, including Božanović and Stepanović.

Alexander's neutral stance at the early stage of the crisis was rather tactical, and stemmed from his relationship with Pašić and the Black Hand. Crown Prince had been at odds with the latter since the transfer of several officers loyal to him – the group known as the White Hand – from Belgrade in early 1912. Alexander was still careful enough not to sever his formally good relations with the most influential members of the Black Hand. His financial contribution to the *Pijemont*, personal concern to secure good medical care for Apis at the beginning of the First Balkan War, approval of the Officers Cooperative's disbursements to the Black Hand, made him look good in the eyes of the clandestine organisation. This image became even better when Alexander joined military circles, including the Black Hand, in their pressure on Prime Minister Pašić to refuse the cession of any of the territories liberated in the First Balkan War to Bulgaria.¹¹¹ In the view of foreign diplomats in Serbia, Crown Prince's sympathies during the Priority Decree crisis lay with the army rather than with Pašić, despite some reservations about the Black Hand; thus, his departure for a spa for medical treatment during that crisis was interpreted as an attempt to avoid taking sides publicly.¹¹²

Crown Prince's attitude towards Pašić was likely influenced by his frustration with Pašić's policy of compromise pursued during the Balkan Wars. Alexander obviously sought for his place at the top of political power between Pašić, on one side, and the Black Hand, on the other. His ties with the small group of officers loyal to him (White Hand) were supposed to be a stepping stone for the rise of his personal influence. Reports of foreign diplomats in Belgrade described Alexander as being sympathetic not only to the army but also to some members of the former Black Hand: at the early stages of the Priority Decree crisis, prior to Hartwig's involvement, Crown Prince had supported the bid to protect the supremacy of military over civil authorities.¹¹³ His long discussions with Hartwig, who dangled before him the prospect of regency, and even of marriage to a Russian princess, swayed the ambitious Crown Prince towards Premier Pašić.¹¹⁴ Pašić

¹¹¹ Jovanović, *Moji savremenici*, 404; Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije i Prvi svetski rat", 182.

¹¹² ÖUA, vol. VIII, doc. no. 9819, Giesl to Berchtold, Belgrade, 6 June 1914;

¹¹³ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 228.

¹¹⁴ M.A.E., N.S., Serbie, no. 219, Descos to Viviani, Belgrade, 24 June 1914. Something of the sort is suggested by Hartwig's report, according to which Alexander, prone to criticise Pašić's indecisiveness, now realised his mistake and fully embraced Hartwig's policy (ÖUA, vol. VIII, no. 9922). According to Jovan M. Jovanović's note, Alexander decided to turn against the Black Hand because of the insults suffered by his trusted man, Živojin Balugdžić, while acting, at the King's demand, as a mediator in the crisis, cf.

and the Russian Minister skilfully manoeuvred in order to present Alexander's regency as a concession to the army, which, in turn, secured the continuation of Pašić's premiership. Austro-Hungarian diplomats believed that the Black Hand was so powerful that neither Pašić nor the Crown Prince could confront it "as long as the whole affair can be settled peacefully".¹¹⁵ At the early stages of the election campaign, all the Opposition parties joined forces for the first time and submitted a joint electoral list, which, judging by the articles published in the *Pijemont*, enjoyed the support of Apis and his followers. The elections, however, did not take place because of the outbreak of the Great War.

Serbia's remarkable victories in the Balkan Wars created an atmosphere of high expectations among the Serbs in the Dual Monarchy; they suddenly became impatient to accomplish their national unification with Serbia. The Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade assessed that the Serbian army, "imbued with chauvinism and hatred for Austria-Hungary would try to push every Serbian government in the direction of national chauvinism and Austrophobia".¹¹⁶ Other foreign diplomats, on the contrary, looked at the conflict in the light of Serbia's quest for full sovereignty and stressed the continuity of her cautious foreign policy. In contrast to Russian Minister Hartwig, whose reports played down the role of the military faction around Apis, probably for tactical reasons, Western diplomats underlined the still tangible influence of Black Hand's remnants, and largely saw Russia's involvement in the solution of the Priority Decree crisis as yet another proof of Serbia's reliance on this Great Power.

Nevertheless, the high expectations for national unification were pitted against Serbia's massive war losses, which dictated a different policy: it was necessary to organise the state that nearly doubled in size and had numerous problems with hostile minorities and porous borders.¹¹⁷ It was also obvious that Russia's influence prevailed over the temporary alliance between the Independent Radicals-led opposition and Apis-controlled

Vučковић, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 189. The Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade believed that it was in the Crown Prince's best interest to ensure greater independence from the conspirators than it had been possible for his father, "tied to the conspirators by [spilt] blood". Cf. ÖUA, vol. VIII, doc. no. 9922.

¹¹⁵ Vučković, "Unutrašnje krize Srbije", 189.

¹¹⁶ ÖUA, vol. VIII, doc. no. 9819.

¹¹⁷ The war operations of 1912 cost Serbia 21,000 lives. The mobilisation of nearly 550,000 men (about 200,000 combatants and 350,000 non-combatant military personnel) placed an enormous strain on her predominantly agrarian economy. Cf. more in Frédéric le Moal, *La Serbie, du martyre à la victoire, 1914-1918* (Saint Cloud: 14-18 Editions, 2008), 23-31.

military faction formed against Pašić's Old Radical cabinet. Pursuing her own interests, Russia backed Pašić and thus helped civil authorities in their ongoing conflict with the military. The fact that the helm of the country remained in the hands of Pašić's pro-Russian cabinet suited Austria-Hungary as well, partly because of Pašić's conciliatory attitude towards Vienna, and partly because of the ongoing negotiations concerning the Eastern railways. Of utmost importance for Viennese diplomacy was the assessment that the Old Radicals would, at least for a while, "suppress the army's influence on the political leadership of the country". The influence of the "irresponsible factors" within the Army in post-1903 Serbia clearly indicated the fragility of her democracy and state institutions. Nevertheless, it was democracy that prevailed, as evidenced by the outcome of the Priority Decree crisis, and Pašić was looking forward to securing his victory over Lt.-Colonel Apis and the remnants of the Black Hand.

The Black Hand and Young Bosnia

In spite of the victory of democratic forces over military clique in the spring of 1914, Serbia's international position was far from being secured. The frequent incursions from Albania, supported by Austria-Hungary, were still not efficiently prevented, while the pending project of a real union with Montenegro, which included joint institutions for defence, finance and foreign policy, was at the forefront of Pašić's mind. There were also alarming developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Serbs became again the main target of various punitive actions. The Young Bosnia organisation emerged in opposition to the colonial rule of the Dual Monarchy in a European province only 600 kilometres away from Vienna. Such mistreatment, and particularly discrimination against the Bosnian Serbs, inevitably led to various forms of turmoil.

Young Bosnia was founded in 1910–1911 by the second generation of the Serbian youth which grew up under Austro-Hungarian occupation, deprived of political freedoms, basic social and national rights. Created on the pattern of Mazzini's Young Italy, it was an ardently patriotic anti-Habsburg organisation, Serb-led but open to all religious and ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Young Bosnians were committed to their struggle against the Dual Monarchy's increasingly discriminatory rule and willing to make any personal sacrifice. On the day of the opening of the Bosnian Diet (*Bosanski Sabor*), in June 1910, one of the Young Bosnia's leaders, Bogdan Žerajić, committed suicide after having failed to assassinate the Austro-Hungarian governor and set an example of heroic self-sacrifice for the sacred cause of national freedom. Several assassination attempts made in defiance of the last colonial rule in civilised Europe caused

a growing tension in the relationship between the Bosnian Serbs and their Austro-Hungarian masters. In 1912, when the vast majority of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina celebrated the victories of Serbia and Montenegro in the Balkan Wars as their own, the state-sponsored oppression targeted all Serb organisations.¹¹⁸

Further discriminatory measures undertaken by Austro-Hungarian administration aggravated internal tension. The abolition of the post of civil *adlatus* in 1912 was a prelude to introducing “emergency measures”, with all the powers concentrated in the hands of the military and civil governor (*landeschef*). General Oskar Potiorek was not responsible to the Finance Ministry, which had hitherto administered Bosnia-Herzegovina, but to the War Ministry in Vienna.¹¹⁹ Between the introduction of emergency measures in May 1913 (in response to the Scutari crisis and Austria-Hungary’s war threats to Serbia and Montenegro) and the Sarajevo assassination in June 1914, General Potiorek orchestrated a series of show trials for high treason against Bosnian Serbs in the towns of Bijeljina, Foča and Banjaluka. Various associations, from choral and gymnastic (*Sokol*) to religious and educational, were outlawed by the Bosnian governor.¹²⁰ For that reason, one of the Young Bosnians deemed the assassination of Franz Ferdinand a logical response to “emergency measures”.¹²¹

The Young Bosnians, a mixture of patriots, anarchists and social revolutionaries, were influenced by the teachings of Kropotkin, Bakounin, Nietzsche and Masaryk. They embraced a pro-Serbian and pro-Yugoslav policy in order to overthrow the detested Austrian rule which, after the 1908 annexation, was considered both illegal and immoral.¹²² The controversial relationship between the Black Hand and Young Bosnia is difficult to understand unless all the elements, including the local political culture

¹¹⁸ Milorad Ekmečić, “Impact of the Balkan Wars on the Society in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, in Kiraly & Djordjevic, eds., *East Central European Society in the Balkan Wars*, 266–285.

¹¹⁹ When the rule of law was practically suspended, the most moderate group of Serbs, headed by Gligorije Jeftanović (father-in-law of the Serbian diplomat Miroslav Spalajković), left the Bosnian Diet, a non-representative body with limited powers. Their place was taken by the so-called “loyal Serbs” of Danilo Dimović. With little or no support of the Serb electorate, they were necessary to Austro-Hungarian authorities to keep up appearances.

¹²⁰ Most of 710 societies and associations suspected of being completely or partially controlled by the Bosnian Serbs were banned (in total, 296 Serbian and 230 mixed societies). Cf. Vojislav Bogičević, “Iznimne mjere u Bosni i Hercegovini u maju 1913”, *Godišnjak istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo 1955), 209–218.

¹²¹ Bataković, *The Serbs of Bosnia & Herzegovina*, 84.

¹²² V. Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo* (London: The MacGibbon & Kee Ltd., 1967), 238–250.

and mentality, are taken into account. A group of Young Bosnians came to Belgrade to seek assistance for assassination of various Austro-Hungarian governors and senior state officials, including Burian, Biliński and General Potiorek. However, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the General Inspector of the Army, became the primary target after the announcement of his presence at military manoeuvres.

The forthcoming visit of Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne to Sarajevo, along with his inspection of military manoeuvres on the border with Serbia, was scheduled for St. Vitus Day (*Vidovdan*), the hallowed anniversary of the 1389 Battle of Kosovo. This timing was considered as another humiliating provocation against the Serbs as a whole, and particularly against Bosnian Serbs who, unlike their compatriots in the liberated areas of Turkey-in-Europe, remained under foreign colonial rule.¹²³ Moreover, the reports submitted to Lt.-Colonel Apis by his informers from Bosnia and Croatia suggested that Austro-Hungarian military manoeuvres were not just another provocation but rather a portent of the forthcoming aggression against Serbia. In contrast, the Pašić government, conciliatory towards Austria-Hungary after the settlement of the Albanian affair, was preoccupied with domestic matters and the election campaign, and it did not consider the Archduke's visit to Sarajevo as a potential treat to Serbia.¹²⁴

It was not before Lt.-Colonel Apis' agents organised the crossing of a few Young Bosnians into Bosnia that the civilian border authorities informed the Interior Ministry of the suspicious actions of military intelligence. The police failed to prevent some armed members of Young Bosnia to cross the Drina in the night of 1/2 June. The latter acted under protection of certain border officers close to Lt.-Colonel Apis and the remnants of the Black Hand.¹²⁵ This information, presented at the cabinet meeting by Inte-

¹²³ D. Djordjević, "Tradition of Kosovo in Formation of Serbian Statehood in the Nineteenth Century", in *Kosovo. The Legacy of a Medieval Battle*, eds. Thomas Emmert and Wayne S. Vucinich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991), 309–330. Cf. the latest biography of Franz Ferdinand by Jean-Paul Bled, *François-Ferdinand d'Autriche* (Paris: Tallandier, 2012).

¹²⁴ There is no substantial evidence for the Russian Military Attaché in Belgrade Colonel Artamanov's involvement in the Sarajevo assassination, apart from his frequent contacts with Apis. See Viktor Artamanov, "Erinnerungen an meine Militärattachezeit in Belgrade", *Berliner Monatshefte* (July and August 1938), 583–602; some new insights can be found in the memoirs, recently translated from Russian (Balkan Reminiscences) of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Belgrade, Basil de Strandman, who took office after the sudden death of Nikolai Hartwig in July 1914: Vasilij Štrandman, *Balkanske uspomene*, vol. I, part 1–2 (Belgrade: Žagor, 2009), 258–272.

¹²⁵ Popović, "Rad organizacije "Ujedinjenje ili smrt"; Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski atentat*, 42; for more detail, see Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 111–112.

rior Minister Protić, alarmed the Pašić cabinet. Prime Minister knew that Apis was willing to undertake any adventurous and highly risky enterprise. Pašić also believed that Serbia needed at least two decades of continuous peace to fully absorb the areas acquired in 1912–1913. In June 1914, his main concern was to win the elections again, despite the fact that the Opposition was supported by his fierce opponent Apis and his followers. The illegal transfer of unknown foreign individuals from Serbia into Habsburg-held Bosnia led to Pašić's energetic request for investigation into military intelligence operations carried out by Apis. Unaware of Apis's secret plans and chronically dissatisfied with the government's attitude towards the army, the ailing Field-Marshal Putnik firmly rejected Pašić's demand but promised an internal military inquiry.¹²⁶

Prime Minister Pašić, still concerned about Apis's hidden agenda and determined to avoid any complications that might arise because of Bosnia, instructed his reliable diplomat, Jovan M. Jovanović, the Serbian Minister in Vienna, to alert Leon von Biliński, who had been Minister of Finance and the governor of Bosnia since 1912, to the possibility of unrest during the Archduke's visit to Sarajevo and to advise its postponement. Lacking any reliable information on the plans of the group of Bosnian Serbs smuggled into Bosnia across the Drina, Jovanović conveyed the message to Biliński in a delicate diplomatic manner. However, Biliński seems to have not realised the importance of this friendly warning, and he did not pass it on to the Emperor and the cabinet in Vienna. This misunderstanding eventually led to the Sarajevo tragedy.¹²⁷

The relationship between Apis and the Young Bosnians during their stay in Belgrade has remained unclear. Apis seems to have never met the future assassins, and his support for their plans was probably more theoretical than practical. Had Apis really wanted them to proceed with the assassination, he would have probably given them the necessary instructions himself. Despite having been urged by Apis's emissaries to abort their mission, the Young Bosnians, true to their revolutionary outlook, remained determined to murder the Archduke in order to demonstrate their opposition to the colonial rule of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 388–392.

¹²⁷ Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 123–130.

¹²⁸ According to the later testimony of the Black Hand supporter Čedomir A. Popović, Apis and Tankosić initially approved the departure of three Young Bosnians, Gavrilo Princip, Trifko Grabež and Nedeljko Čabrinović, for Sarajevo. Due to opposition from the former Black Hand, they later tried to stop them but failed to prevent the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. According to some less reliable sources, Apis and Tankosić seem to have believed that removing Franz Ferdinand, whom they saw

The fateful Sarajevo assassination provoked mass persecutions of Bosnian Serbs throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the Serbian government condemned it immediately.¹²⁹

Apis later confided, with considerable discomfort, to his close friend, Antonije Antić, that he had been unaware of the Young Bosnians' determination to carry out the assassination and explained that he had only wanted them to frighten the Archduke.¹³⁰ The controversy, however, continues. To a great extent, it is the murky role of other officials, former members of the defunct Black Hand, whose assistance to the Young Bosnians was instrumental, that accounts for the controversy. In contrast to Apis, his right-hand associate Vojislav Tankosić stated after his arrest that the assassination had been carried out as an act "against Pašić", which firmly places the whole issue into the context of military-civilian rivalry in Serbia.¹³¹ Austria-Hungary's reaction which eventually led to the Great War was a prelude to the long-planned war against Serbia.

When the Belgrade government was presented with the ultimatum in July 1914 the Prime Minister Pašić was amidst the election campaign in southern Serbia, while the ailing Chief of the General Staff, Field-Marshal Putnik, was undergoing medical treatment in an Austrian spa. Unprepared for war, militarily and financially exhausted by the successive Balkan Wars (the Serbian army lacked 120,000 rifles as well as other war material) and with the New Territories still far from being integrated, the Serbian government spared no effort to prevent the outbreak of war. In all European cabinets, Serbia's response to the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum was considered diplomatically impeccable: the only demands that were rejected were those incompatible with the independence of the country – it was impossible to allow the Austro-Hungarian police to search for potential aides to the perpetrators of the Sarajevo assassination on Serbia's sovereign soil. At the same time, the Belgrade government expressed, through British representatives in Serbia, its readiness to fulfil, with minor rectifications, all other

as the main champion of Austria-Hungary's policy of bringing Serbia to heel, would mean removing the main obstacle to Serbian unification. Cf. Č. A. Popović, "Sarajevski atentat i org. 'Ujedinjenje ili Smrt'", *Nova Evropa* (26 June 1932), 407–408; Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 120–122.

¹²⁹ Štrandman, *Balkanske uspomene*, 260–265.

¹³⁰ Antonije Antić, *Beleške*, eds. Bora Dimitrijević & Jelica Ilić (Zaječar: Zadužbina "Nikola Pašić", 2010), 338–339.

¹³¹ Vladimir Dedijer, "Sarajevo. Fifty Years After", *Foreign Affairs* (July 1964); Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, vol. II, 124.

demands set out in the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum.¹³² The military-civil rivalry, resolved temporarily in June 1914, would resurface in a later phase of the Great War. The final showdown with Colonel Apis and his Black Hand comrades would take place during the show trial in Salonika in 1917.¹³³

In conclusion, there is almost a consensus among serious scholars that it was the Annexation Crisis of 1908, and not Serbia's attitude in 1914, that led to the Great War. Thus, in the view of "pre-1914 European international politics, the Bosnian crisis is considered to be a decisive step toward the First World War". There were remarkable structural similarities in Germany's role in the course of the Annexation Crisis in 1908–1909 and in July Crisis in 1914: "In both cases Austria was acting against Serbia. Serbia was backed by Russia while Austria was unconditionally backed by Germany. In 1909 Russia backed down, however. In 1914 both sides remained stubborn and the crisis escalated into the European war."¹³⁴

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¹³² Cf. more in Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War 1914–1918* (London: Hurst, 2007), 38–52; cf. also Mark Cornwall, "Serbia", in Keith Wilson, ed., *Decisions for War, 1914* (London: Routledge, 1995), 55–95. A selection of documents in Imanuel Geiss, ed., *July 1914. The Outbreak of the First World War. Selected Documents* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967); *War 1914: Punishing the Serbs* [Uncovered editions] (London: The Stationary Office 1999 [first published in 1915]; Annika Mombauer, ed., *The Origins of the First World War. Diplomatic and Military Documents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹³³ D. T. Bataković, "The Salonica Trial 1917. Black Hand vs. Democracy (The Serbian Army between Internal Strife and Military Success)", in *The Salonica Theatre of Operations and the Outcome of the Great War* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 2005), 273–293.

¹³⁴ Holger Afflerbach, "Nibelungentreue? Germany and the Bosnian Annexation Crisis", in 1908, *l'annexion de la Bosnie-Herzégovine cent ans après*, ed. Catherine Horel (Brussels: P. I. E. Peter Lang, 2011), 67.

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Bulgarian Crimes against Civilians in Occupied Serbia during the First World War

Abstract: Since sufferings of civilian populations during the First World War in Europe, especially war crimes perpetrated against civilians, have – unlike the political and military history of the Great War – only recently become an object of scholarly interest, there still are considerable gaps in our knowledge, the Balkans being a salient example. Therefore, suggesting a methodology that involves a comparative approach, the use of all available sources, cooperation among scholars from different countries and attention to the historical background, the paper seeks to open some questions and start filling lacunae in our knowledge of the war crimes perpetrated against Serb civilians as part of the policy of Bulgarization in the portions of Serbia under Bulgarian military occupation.

Keywords: Balkan Wars, First World War, Serbia, Bulgarization policy, crimes against Serbian civilians

Crimes against civilian populations in the First World War

The political and military history of the First World War is very well known; however, today, nearly a century later, the history of civilian populations in Europe, especially those under military occupation, and their sufferings still lacks a thorough investigation. For about seventy years, stereotypes like “trench war”, the “Sarajevo murder”, the battle of Verdun, and many others, tended to predominate in all studies dealing with the Great War; for a long time, even the generally accepted “Total War” theory virtually neglected war crimes perpetrated against civilians. This situation has begun to change about twenty years ago owing to the effort of a few European scholars whose focus on new important issues has given us a chance to observe the Great War from other perspectives. It is now clear beyond doubt that such crimes, along with the policy of extermination and deportation (and, in general, with every war strategy in which civilians were chosen as a target), were frequent during the First World War.

The main credit for this change of view should no doubt be given to scholars working for the Historial de la Grande Guerre in Peronne, France. Annette Becker, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Philippe Nivet and others wrote books about the situation in the occupied territories of France that ought to be considered as fundamental reading for all historians concerned with the study of the condition of civilians in the First World War in

Europe;¹ at the same time, some non-French authors, such as Alan Kramer, John Horne, Peter Liddle, Hugh Cecil and others, have focused their studies on Belgium.² In this case too, their work is something of a basic grammar for us, not only because they have been the first to study civilians under occupations in a profound manner, but also because their method can be used in our work as well. Paul Gatrell, Ian Whitehead and others focus their attention on Russia and central-eastern Europe,³ and there generally are many publications in main European languages,⁴ as well as many publications on the Armenian genocide.⁵

As far as the Balkans is concerned, however, there still is a regrettably large lacuna. Very few studies focus on Serbia, Greece and Montenegro (and Romania too), except for some recent ones, among which the most relevant are Bruna Bianchi's studies about Serbia.⁶ These publications are

¹ Among the main works are Annette Becker, *Oubliés de la Grande Guerre. Humanitaire et culture de guerre, populations occupées, déportés civils, prisonniers de guerre* (Paris: Noësis, 1998); Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *L'Enfant de l'ennemi* (Paris: Aubier Collection historique, 1995); Philippe Nivet, *Les réfugiés français de la Grande Guerre (1914–1920)* (Paris: Economica, 2004).

² Hugh Cecil & Peter Liddle, eds., *Facing Armageddon. The First World War Experienced*, 2 ed. (London: Pen & Sword, 2003); John Horne & Alan Kramer, *German atrocities 1914: A history of denial* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2001); L. Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium. The Untold Story of World War I* (New York – London: New York University Press, 2004).

³ Paul Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking. Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire. The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003); Peter Liddle, John Bourne & Ian Whitehead, eds., *The Great World War 1914–1945*, vol. 1: *Lightning Strikes Twice* (London: Harper Collins, 2000); V. G. Liulevicius, *Kriegsland im Osten. Eroberung, Kolonisierung und Militärherrschaft im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002).

⁴ A very important volume is Bruna Bianchi, ed., *La violenza contro la popolazione civile nella Grande Guerra* (Milan: Unicopli, 2006). For an exhaustive bibliography on crimes during WWI, see Oswald Überegger, “Le atrocità nella prima guerra mondiale. Saggio storico-bibliografico e bibliografia scelta”, *DEP* 7 (2007), 232–259 (www.unive.it/dep).

⁵ The question of Armenian genocide being a very complicated one, the reader is referred to the site www.armenian-genocide.org.

⁶ Among the main works are “Crimini di guerra e crimini contro l'umanità. Le stragi sul fronte orientale e balcanico”, in Giovanna Procacci, Marc Silver & Lorenzo Bertuccelli, eds., *Le stragi rimosse. Storia, memoria pubblica, scritture* (Milan: Unicopli, 2008), 19–39; “La violenza contro la popolazione civile serba negli scritti di Rodolphe Archibald Reiss 1914–1924”, in Giulia Albanese, ed., *L'intellettuale militante. Scritti per Mario Isnenghi* (Portogruaro: Nuova Dimensione, 2008), 179–197; “Les violations des conventions internationales en Serbie de la part de l'armée austro-hongroise et bulgare 1914–1918”, in

extremely important, but it must be said that the scholars only used sources written in languages they can understand.⁷

Of course, this is not the only reason why this question is still so little known in Europe. In fact, no history of crimes against civilians perpetrated on the soil of the Kingdom of Serbia has crossed the borders of today's Serbia ever before; it should be noted here that there seems to be among Serbian historians, unlike their colleagues in Italy or France, a reluctance or unwillingness to go deeper into such questions, still less to "export" them and facilitate comparative approaches or suggestions from non-Serbian historians. Relevant publications by those who can understand Serbian are still predominant, and there does not seem to be much communication with foreign colleagues.⁸

Even so, there is still a lot of work to be done in Serbia as well. Among studies about civilian suffering in the Great War in Serbia, the Austro-Hungarian occupation has always been in the centre of attention of Serbian authors, mostly because of the greater availability of source material.⁹ On the other hand, there is a critical lack of information about the role played

Frédéric Rousseau & Burghart Schmidt, eds., *Les Dérapages de la guerre. Du XVI siècle à nos jours* (Hamburg: DOBU Verlag, 2009), 172–186; "Gli stupri di massa in Serbia durante la Prima guerra mondiale", in Marcello Flores, ed., *Stupri di guerra. La violenza di massa contro le donne nel Novecento* (Milan: Angeli, 2010), 43–60; "Le torture inflitte ai civili nella Serbia occupata", in Lauso Zagato & Simona Pinton, eds., *La tortura nel nuovo millennio. La reazione del diritto* (Padua: CEDAM, 2010), 131–150. See also Charles Fryer, *The Destruction of Serbia in 1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Mieczysław B. Biskupski, *Ideology, Politics and Diplomacy in East Central Europe* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), esp. the chapter "Strategy, Politics, and Suffering: The Wartime Relief of Belgium, Serbia, and Poland, 1914–1918", 31–57; Frédéric Le Moal, *La Serbie: du martyre à la victoire* (Paris: 14-18 Editions, 2008).

⁷ E.g. *Rapport de la Commission interalliée sur les violations des Conventions de la Haye et le Droit International en général, commises de 1915–1918 par les Bulgares en Serbie occupée. Documents* (Paris 1919); the works of Rodolphe Archibald Reiss; Dragolioub Yovanovitch, *Les effets économiques et sociaux de la guerre en Serbie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928); etc.

⁸ One of the rare exceptions is Andrej Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1984), published in English twenty-three years after its first Serbian edition: *Serbia's Great War, 1914–1918* (London: Hurst & Company, 2007).

⁹ Among the main studies on Austro-Hungarian occupation are Božica Mladenović, *Grad u austrougarskoj okupacionoj zoni u Srbiji od 1916. do 1918. godine* (Belgrade: Čigoja štampa, 2000), and her *Porodica u Srbiji u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2005); as well as the collections of papers from several conferences: *Srbija 1916. godine, Zbornik radova* no. 5 (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1987); *Srbija 1917. godine, Zbornik radova* no. 6 (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1988); *Srbija 1918. godine i stvaranje jugoslovenske države, Zbornik radova* no. 7 (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1989).

by the other occupying force, Bulgaria;¹⁰ in this case, studies are focused on the Toplica Uprising (Toplički ustanak), an insurrection of Serbian people in 1917, and its consequences, while more exhaustive publications on the general situation are mostly lacking.¹¹

What is the reason for this? This is not an easy question to answer, especially if we know that there are a lot of sources for the Bulgarian occupation to work with. First of all, the monumental documentation of the Inter-Allied Commission, of which its report is but a small part. It includes reports, victims' testimonies and a large amount of original Bulgarian material produced by both the military and civilian Bulgarian administrations of the occupied territories of Serbia. This documentation is entirely preserved in the fonds of the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade titled Arhiva institucija pod bugarskom okupacijom (The Archive of Institutions under Bulgarian Occupation), and while it is officially inaccessible today, we cannot argue that it was so in the past.¹² Furthermore, a consistent part of it (copies and original Bulgarian documents) is preserved and accessible in the Archives of Yugoslavia: Fonds Ministarstvo inostranih poslova Kraljevine SHS, Direkcija za ugovore (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS), Office of Agreements). Primary sources can also be found in other collections in both archives; in the Archives of Serbia: Ministarstvo inostranih dela, Političko odeljenje (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Political Department); in the Archives of Yugoslavia: Delegacija Kraljevine SHS na Konferenciji mira (Delegation of the Kingdom of SCS at the Peace Conference), Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova (Ministry of the Interior), Ministarstvo vera (Ministry for Religious Affairs) and in many

¹⁰ Even though Germans were present in the occupied Kingdom of Serbia, we cannot consider them as an occupying force in the true sense of the word.

¹¹ On the Toplica Uprising: Milivoje Perović, *Toplički ustanak* (Belgrade: Vojno delo, 1959); Andrej Mitrović, *Toplički ustanak. Mesto u srpskoj istoriji* (Belgrade: SANU, 1993); Božica Mladenović, *Žena u Topličkom ustanku* (Belgrade: Socijalna misao, 1996). Among the studies on Bulgarian occupation: Vladimir Stojančević, *Srbija i srpski narod za vreme rata i okupacije 1914–1918* (Leskovac: Biblioteka Narodnog muzeja u Leskovcu, 1988).

¹² I personally tried a few times to obtain access to the fonds, but to no avail. Some authors used this documentation in the past: Sevdelin Andrejević, "Ekonomska pljačka Srbije za vreme bugarske okupacije", in *Srbija 1918. godine*, 19–34; Božica Mladenović, "Odštetni zahtevi Srbije prema Bugarskoj", in *Srbija na kraju Prvog svetskog rata, Zbornik radova* no. 8 (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1989), 101–104; A. Turović & N. Ivanović, *Leskovac i leskovački kraj 1915–1918* (Leskovac: Istorijski arhiv, 2006); Sladjana Bojković & Miloje Pršić, *Stradanje srpskog naroda u Srbiji 1914–1918* (Belgrade: Istorijski muzej Srbije, 2000), a collection of documents from Serbian archives which brings 19 documents from this fonds.

others. Moreover, important documents are also likely to be found in local archives, such as those of the cities of Niš or Požarevac, but we did not have the opportunity to verify this assumption.

Literature is also an important resource, and it is available in major Serbian libraries, such as the National Library of Serbia and the University Library in Belgrade, and the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad. What we have in mind here are not only some wartime and post-war publications, which are among the main sources for Serbian historians today,¹³ but also the republished Bulgarian works relating to the same period, such as Prime Minister Radoslavov's diary (years 1914–1915), reports submitted by the official scientific expedition in 1916 whose mission was to find corroborating evidence for the alleged Bulgarian nature of the Morava region and Macedonia, and so on.¹⁴ Finally, an extremely important source that is sadly still underexploited is the vast amount of information available online: scientific works, documents and books in digital format (especially those from the war and post-war periods that cannot be found in libraries).¹⁵

There is also the material generated by the Bulgarian military and civil authorities which is preserved in the Bulgarian archives, in Sofia and in Veliko Tŭrnovo. This material is undoubtedly the most important, but it seems it is still unavailable. This cannot be an excuse for not studying the Bulgarian occupation and crimes, of course, because we should first use what we do have at our disposal – and, as mentioned before, the quantity of available information is not at all insignificant. First of all, we have to look at it from the standpoint of approach and methodology; namely, even if Bulgarian documents were available, we probably would not be able to understand and use them properly without first analyzing the materials of the Inter-Allied Commission, Archibald Reiss's inquiries and other reports, and also without learning about the crimes committed in other parts of Europe or, in other words, about the work and methodology of other European historians. Nor can the rejection by Bulgarian historiography of Bulgaria's

¹³ Sreten Dinić, *Bugarska zverstva u vranjskom okrugu* (Belgrade: Narod, 1921); Jovan Hadži Vasiljević, *Bugarska zverstva u Vranju i okolini (1915–1918)* (Novi Sad: Kulturno-privredno društvo Vranjalica, 1922); Stevan Maksimović, *Uspomene iz okupacije nemačke, austrijske i bugarske 1914–1918* (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1919); Dragiša Lapčević, *Okupacija* (Belgrade: Tucović, 1923); etc.

¹⁴ Vasil Radoslavov, *Dnevni belezhki 1914–1916* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1993); Petŭr Khr. Petrov, ed., *Nauchna ekspeditsia v Makedonia i Pomoraviето 1916* (Sofia: Voennoizdatelski kompleks "Sv. Georgi Pobedonosets" and Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1993); Dimitŭr Minchev, *Voenno-revolucionnata deĭnost na Petŭr Dŭrvingov 1898–1918* (Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 1990).

¹⁵ See e.g.: www.firstworldwar.com, www.anamnesis.info, www.archive.org.

responsibility for the war crimes committed in the First World War be accepted as an excuse; when it comes to invasions, occupations and crimes committed by “our own country”, denial or at least revisionism is not a new phenomenon; unfortunately, it appears that we can consider it as being “accepted” or “normal practice” in about every European national historiography. Exceptions are very rare indeed.

Leaving these considerations aside, this short paper will try to give a picture of the main elements of Bulgarian crimes against civilians perpetrated in the Kingdom of Serbia during the First World War, suggesting a different approach to the one used so far. We hope that this small contribution will be considered as a point of departure for opening new fields of discussion and study; we also hope that it could provide an opportunity for Serbian and other European historians to begin to build together a way to future research.

The significance of Bulgarian policy against civilians during the First World War

When we speak about crimes against civilians, we first have to try to define what that means. At the outbreak of the First World War, international law was not adequately equipped to cope with what was about to happen. The Peace Conferences held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 brought about a codification of the customs and laws of war, but they only vaguely referred to civilians.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, there clearly was an appalling lack of sanctions in Article 3 of the Convention of 1907: “A belligerent party which violates the provisions of the said Regulation shall, if the case demands, be liable to pay compensation. It shall be responsible for all acts committed by persons forming part of its armed forces.” However, even if the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Bulgaria had signed the convention, it would not have had importance in the relations between European states. So when the First World War broke out there were practically no firm regulations that could hope to prevent potential crimes; and the extermination, mass rape, torture and destruction that took place in Belgium, northern France and Serbia in 1914 demonstrated the meaning of it. In 1914, but in 1915 as well, virtually every government published a “coloured” book denouncing

¹⁶ E.g. Art. 25 of the Convention of 1907: “The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings which are undefended is prohibited”; Art. 28: “The pillage of a town or place, even when taken by assault, is prohibited”; Art. 46: “Family honour and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated”; Art. 47: “Pillage is formally forbidden”, etc.

enemy crimes,¹⁷ but in the context of war it did not produce any change in international warfare.

On 24 May 1915, for the first time in history, the members of the Entente coalition condemned the Ottoman policy of extermination against the Armenians by defining it as a “crime against humanity”, and placed the responsibility on the Ottoman government;¹⁸ but there were no other consequences. It was only at the end of the war that the victorious states began to work on new legislation in order to define crimes never seen before and to punish those responsible for them. At the Peace Conference in Paris, the Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties was instituted. On 29 March 1919, after intensive work, it presented the first report, codifying thirty-two classes of crimes against the laws of war and humanity, including massacres, rapes, deportations and internments, tortures and deliberate starvation, forced labour and systematic terrorism.¹⁹ It was supposed to be the legal basis to start from in prosecuting those responsible, who had already been individually identified by the inter-allied and national commissions. Nothing was done, however, and in the treaties with Central powers and their allies the question was practically ignored, delegating jurisdiction over war criminals to their respective national courts. The result was that out of 20,000 German individuals listed by all victorious nations, only seventeen were tried and only ten of these were sentenced to prison from six months to five years maximum; in Austria, out of 484 individuals, only two were tried and both were acquitted; in Turkey not a single person was punished for the Armenian genocide.²⁰ None of the 500 individuals from Bulgaria that the Kingdom of Serbia (the post-war Kingdom of SCS) held responsible for the crimes committed against its civilians during the war was sentenced.

This allowed the Bulgarians to hold on to the stance of denying any crimes – expressed during the Peace Conference²¹ – and, in the long run,

¹⁷ *Deuxième livre gris belge* (Paris–Nancy: Librairie militaire Berger-Levrault, 1916); *Deuxième livre bleu serbe* (Paris–Nancy: Librairie militaire Berger-Levrault, 1916); *Livre jaune français* (Paris–Nancy: Librairie militaire Berger-Levrault, 1916), etc.

¹⁸ Bruna Bianchi, *I civili: vittime innocenti o bersagli legittimi?*, in Bianchi, ed., *La violenza contro la popolazione civile*, 73; Vahkan Dadrian, *Storia del genocidio armeno. Confitti nazionali dai Balcani al Caucaso* (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2003), 245.

¹⁹ Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia; hereafter AJ], Delegation of the Kingdom of SCS to the Peace Conference in Paris (336), 62, doc. 7760, *Rapport présenté à la Conférence des préliminaires de paix par la Commission des responsabilités des auteurs de la guerre et sanctions*, 15.

²⁰ Bianchi, ed., *La violenza contro la popolazione civile*, 77.

²¹ *Statement by the Bulgarian Peace Delegation on Alleged Bulgarian Atrocities in Serbia*, 1919 (www.firstworldwar.com).

prevented every possibility of investigation into, discussion about or admission of criminal politics during the First World War; no evidence remained in public memory or made its way into historiography; the crimes were simply forgotten. Previous statements of Bulgarian authorities – which seemed to admit the responsibility of some Bulgarian officers (not of the government, or the army), after which three of them were arrested and the other two executed – could be dismissed without consequences.²²

For this reason, when talking about the Bulgarian crimes in the Kingdom of Serbia between 1915 and 1918, we have to begin from the findings of the Inter-Allied Commission's inquiry and the Commission of Responsibilities' classification of the Bulgarian crimes into thirty-two violations, because this is the most important and reliable definition of crimes.

We have to focus on two elements. In its conclusions, the Report submitted by the Inter-Allied Commission stated: "We can affirm that there is not a single article of the Convention of The Hague or principle of international law that the Bulgarians did not violate";²³ while the Commission of Responsibilities affirmed: "The war has been conducted by the Central Empires and their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, with barbarian and illegitimate methods, in violation of the laws and customs of war and elementary principles of humanity."²⁴ In this second case, it is evident that Serbian (and Greek) civilians figured as those who had suffered like no other excluding the Armenians; Bulgarian authorities were responsible for at least eighteen types of violation of the laws of war against Serbian civilians, who were victims of the worst of the codified crimes. In some cases, as

²² *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 89, 302–303, Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodorov's response to General Chrétien, 27 December 1918, saying that the Bulgarian government had set up a commission to enquire into Serbian allegations of crimes perpetrated against Serbian priests, and that five perpetrators had already been identified: Maj. Ilkov, Lt Popov and Lt Simeonov had been arrested, while Col. Kalkandzhiev and Lt Yurkov were already dead. See also *Statement by the Bulgarian Peace Delegation*, according to which: "The principal offenders, such as Major Ilkoff, Colonel Kalkandijeff, who are mentioned by the Commission of Enquiry, Colonel Airanoff, Colonel Popoff and others responsible for the crimes perpetrated, are already in the hands of justice which will soon pronounce on the misdeeds which are imputed to them. Major Kultchin [...] has been sentenced to death and executed in Sophia." And finally, AJ, 336–23–1264, Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Serbian Delegation in Paris, 9/22 April 1919, said that Captain Samardzhiev, commander of the Gorne Pancharevo camp, had initially been sentenced to death and then to fifteen years in prison.

²³ *Rapport*, vol. I, 34.

²⁴ *Rapport présenté à la Conférence*, 15.

in that of “attempts at denationalization of the population”, they figured as the only victims and the Bulgarians as the only perpetrators.²⁵

Starting from these elements we can grasp the importance of the question of Bulgarian crimes in the Kingdom of Serbia during the First World War: a historical moment in which civilians, mostly Serbs, were the target of the occupying forces not only as a result of war operations, but also because of a political plan of Bulgarian authorities.

The Balkan Wars: crimes against civilians

Before analyzing what happened in 1915–1918 we should try to understand what lay at the roots of these events; in this sense, we cannot begin to discuss Bulgarian crimes against civilians in the Kingdom of Serbia without considering the historical events that preceded them. And to understand it, it is crucial to take into consideration the sufferings of civilians during the Balkan Wars, not only Serbian, but also Turkish, Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Slavic population of Macedonia.²⁶

The Balkan Wars of 1912 (between Balkan states and the Ottoman Empire) and especially of 1913 (between Balkan states) were a clash between Balkan states never seen before and, even if it was not the first time that they fought against each other, this conflict may be said to have been a major turning point in their relations: because it was for the first time that nationalism, the ideology of which had come from western Europe not much earlier, carried by single political classes, became the fundamental generator of aggression and destruction.

The First Balkan War broke out in October 1912 and after a few months the Ottoman Empire was driven out of the Balkan Peninsula; the allied Balkan states (Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro) expanded their territories and won a new status not only regionally, but also on a European scale. However, the change was more complicated, more drastic and went far beyond political borders.

The demise of Ottoman power meant the collapse of not only the political (institutional) or military system, but also of the existing social and economic structures. It was a collapse of the whole region: and as the armies of the Balkan allies marched into new territories, especially Vardar Macedonia, they were not everywhere acclaimed as “liberators”.

²⁵ Ibid. 41.

²⁶ We do not use here the term “Macedonian” in a national and ethnic sense because of as yet unfirm national consciousness of the Slavic population of Macedonia in that period.

While the political elites in Belgrade, Sofia and Athens saw it as liberation from the Ottoman yoke, for the ethnic Turkish and generally Muslim population it meant violence, looting and massacre.²⁷

According to varying reliable sources, Bulgarian regular troops and comitadjis, armed bands of the pro-Bulgarian revolutionary organization in Macedonia (IMRO), drove out Turks of the Tikveš region and destroyed Turkish villages around Kavala, Serres and Drama;²⁸ Serbian regular troops and chetnik units burned down Albanian villages between Kumanovo and Skopje;²⁹ and Greek regular troops and bands of andartes, did the same around Thessaloniki.³⁰

Civilian suffering was particularly great during the sieges of the towns where Ottoman garrisons were still resisting. Diseases, starvation and bombardments caused the death of thousands of people in Adrianople, Scutari (Shkoder) and Ioannina, and once the Christian troops entered the towns civilians were often victims of pillaging and violence.³¹

Muslim civilians were without doubt the main victim of these Christian armies: there was, of course, resentment and revenge of local Christian population for the crimes committed by Turks during the suppression of Gorna Dzhumaia (1902) and Ilinden (1903) uprisings. It seemed, however, that regular armies wanted to drive the Turkish population out of the region: this was the conclusion drawn by the members of the Carnegie Commission, an independent committee investigating the causes of the war and the conduct of the belligerent parties, but also by other foreign observers, such as Leon Trotsky, correspondent for the *Kyevskaia Mysl* at the time, who described, from the second-hand information he obtained from his hotel in

²⁷ *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914), 71–72 and 76.

²⁸ Arhiv Srbije [Archives of Serbia; hereafter AS], Ministarstvo inostranih dela, Političko odeljenje [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Section; hereafter MID-PO], 1913, XVIII/262, confid. no. 20, Consulate of the Kingdom of Serbia in Salonika to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 10/23 April 1913.

²⁹ Leon Trotsky, *The Balkan Wars 1912–1913* (New York–Sydney: Anchor Foundation, 1980), 267.

³⁰ *Report of the International Commission*, 72.

³¹ Ibid. 113–114 and 326. On the siege of Scutari see also Gino Berri, *L'assedio di Scutari. Sei mesi dentro la città accerchiata. Diario di un corrispondente di guerra* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1913); Mary Edith Durham, *The struggle for Scutari (Turk, Slav and Albanian)* (London: E. Arnold, 1914).

Belgrade, what the Bulgarians and Serbs allegedly did as “systematic extermination of the Muslim population in villages, towns, and districts”.³²

A result of the war atrocities, but also of the new situation where Muslims no longer had the position of dominance in Balkan communities, was an exodus to the Ottoman Empire which involved probably hundreds of thousands of civilians. Two years after the war, Serbian authorities recorded that, between October 1912 and March 1914, 289,807 Muslims (not counting children under the age of six) passed through Salonika on their way to Turkey.³³

While the migrations of Muslims were still going on, the Christians in Macedonia and Thrace became new victims of the extreme nationalisms of the allied states that had defeated the Ottoman power. This took place in June 1913, when Bulgaria made a desperate attempt to annex the territories that Serbia had liberated a year before.

In the Second Balkan War (1913), conflict between Serbian and Greek policies on one side and Bulgarian on the other exploded in the worst way. Propaganda campaigns whose aim was to demonstrate that the population of Macedonia were either ethnic Serbs or Greeks or Bulgarians, and which had already had some conflicting moments in the recent past – the establishing of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1870), the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin (1878), but also rivalries through the construction of churches and schools in Macedonia, and through paramilitary formations such as Serbian chetniks, Bulgarian comitadjis and Greek andartes – now turned into a war with the intention of eliminating the enemy and nationalizing occupied territories. Aegean Macedonia was the main theatre of the Bulgarian-Greek clash; in Doxato, Bulgarians were responsible for massacres of Greeks, while Bulgarians were victims near Serres.³⁴

Civilians were targeted and they took part in the conflict probably to defend themselves or to take revenge. It was not merely an “atavistic hate”, but the policy of the belligerent parties. This was also the conclusion of the Carnegie Commission which, relying on Bulgarian sources, recorded the destruction of 160 Bulgarian villages and 16,000 homes in the area between Kilkis (Kukush) and the Bulgarian border, an “ethnic cleansing” of Bulgarians and a quick (and traumatic) colonization by the Greeks driven out of other parts of Macedonia.³⁵ Bulgarian civilians were a target of the Ottoman

³² Trotsky, *Balkan Wars*, 286.

³³ AS, MID-PO, 1914, confid. no. 58, doc. 0587, Consulate of the Kingdom of Serbia in Salonika to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 30 March/12 April 1914.

³⁴ *Report of the International Commission*, 79 and 82–83 (on the Doxato massacre); and 89–92 (on the Serres massacre).

³⁵ Ibid. 103–106.

recapture of Thrace; it was estimated that in just a few days of July 1913, 46,000 Bulgarians fled the region before the ravaging Ottoman army.³⁶

Crimes were perpetrated in Vardar Macedonia as well. The Muslims who had left the region because of Bulgarian atrocities now returned with the Serbian regular army and paramilitary units (*bashi-bazouks*). Their target was the Bulgarian and pro-Bulgarian population ("Exarchists") of Kratovo and its environs, Radoviš and the Tikveš region. According to the not always reliable Report of the International Commission of the Carnegie Foundation, Serbian authorities not only knew what was going on, but were directly responsible for it;³⁷ as a result, thousands of civilians left their homes and fled to Bulgaria.

Crimes against civilians were committed not only in Macedonia and Thrace, but in Eastern Serbia, too. It was the regular Bulgarian army that was responsible for the destruction, looting and killing in Knjaževac and the surrounding villages. The International Commission which investigated these crimes recorded a large number of rapes and, for the first time in history, paid particular attention to this kind of violence – rape was no longer seen as a "normal" attendant of every war but as a systematic cruelty against women³⁸ or, in other words, as a crime. The French journalist Henry Barby said that what he had seen in Eastern Serbia was more horrifying than what the Bulgarians did in Macedonia, and it seemed that the goal of General Kutinchev's army was to ravage and pillage the region, like "Tatar hordes".³⁹

Crimes did not stop after the Bulgarian retreat. According to the International Commission, it was now Serbian troops which, entering Bulgaria, devastated many villages around Vidin and Belogradchik, burning homes and killing civilians.⁴⁰

During the Second Balkan War, which ended in Bulgarian defeat, violent crimes were committed on all fronts from Adrianople to Salonika, Eastern Macedonia and Eastern Serbia; it all happened in one month, which is how long the war lasted, in a way that made experts of the Carn-

³⁶ B. Ratković, M. Djurišić & S. Skoko, *Srbija i Crna Gora u Balkanskim ratovima 1912–1913* (Beograd: BIGZ, 1972), 315–316.

³⁷ *Report of the International Commission*, 145–146 and 368–372; Henry Barby, *Bregalnica* (Belgrade: Štamparija Savić i komp., 1914), 103 [transl. from French: *Bregalnitsa* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1914)]; Z. Todorovski & Zh. Buzhashka, eds., *K. P. Misirkov, Dnevnik 5. VII – 30. VIII 1913 g.* (Skopje: Državen arhiv na Republika Makedonija & Sofia: "Arkhivi", 2008), 60.

³⁸ *Report of the International Commission*, 137; Barby, *Bregalnica*, 156–158.

³⁹ Barby, *Bregalnica*, 155.

⁴⁰ *Report of the International Commission*, 136–139.

egie Commission, dependent on local sources and interpretations, mostly Bulgarian, think that "ethnic cleansing" had been planned and organized before the war.

The Treaty of Bucharest signed on 10 August 1913 caused Bulgaria's frustration not only because it did not gain Serbian Macedonia but because it lost the territory it had gained in the First Balkan War: it had to cede Aegean Macedonia to Greece, Vardar Macedonia to Serbia, eastern Thrace to the Ottoman Empire, and southern Dobruja, Bulgarian since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, to Romania.

Results of those treaties had not only political or economic aspects; it should be noted that probably the most significant aspect of the Treaty of Bucharest (and the Treaty of London with the Ottoman Empire signed on 29 September 1913) was that in most cases it confirmed territorial gains, purportedly obtained by ethnic cleansing of entire regions, and consolidated nationalist politics that the Balkan states pursued since the victory over the Ottomans in order to nationalize newly-annexed territories. First objectives of the Greek and Serbian nationalizing process were the Bulgarian Church and schools in Macedonia, which were the most important institutions keeping portions of the Christian inhabitants of Macedonia strictly tied to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church (Exarchate) had been created by a Sultan's decree of 1870 and, along with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, was the main Christian ecclesiastical institution in Macedonia. The Exarchate had autonomy and the right to appoint bishops in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace and Southern Serbia (until 1878), using its powers to pursue the Bulgarization of the non-Bulgarian Slavic population.

During the nationalizing process after the 1913 war, according to the information supplied to the International Commission from Bulgarian sources, teachers were forced to declare themselves as Serbian (or Greek) or were arrested; comitadjis, who often enjoyed heroic reputation among the Bulgarian civilian population, were also arrested and treated like bandits and vagabonds; members of the Bulgarian clergy were forced to leave or to accept the Serbian Church, and sometimes they were beaten by Serbian soldiers.⁴¹ The Serbian secret organization Black Hand (Crna ruka) was alleged to resort to kidnapping or killing representatives of Bulgarian intelligentsia and those showing pro-Bulgarian sentiments in public.⁴²

In this way people were forced to accept Serbian religious and cultural authorities, they could no longer enjoy the rights equal to those of the inhabitants of pre-war Serbia and their regions were under direct military

⁴¹ Ibid. 51–52 and 165–168.

⁴² Ibid. 169–170.

control and not under civilian administration. The law on annexation issued by King Peter of Serbia in late December 1913 confirmed this situation – as had been the case in previously acquired territories in Serbia: that new territories were not immediately integrated as equal in rights to the other regions of pre-war Serbia, but were given a special status, governed by special laws and marked by a slow implementation of the constitution.⁴³

Discontent among Christian civilian population, especially in the Bitolj (Monastir) area, grew fast, and shortly before the First World War Serbian authorities registered the danger of potential unrest. The situation was described by the Ministry of War itself:

[...] People of Debar, Ohrid and Bitolj are embittered because the Serbian State does not allow them to have their schools in Bulgarian language or their church and priests; others are still more embittered and they say that Serbs have introduced a worse regime than the Turkish was, forcing them to become Serbs, to build streets and to labour.⁴⁴

Between the Balkan Wars and the invasion of Serbia in 1915

This critical situation in the new region became drastically complicated with the outbreak of the First World War. The burden of war had to be carried by men of pre-1912 Serbia, because non-Serbian recruits from Serbian Macedonia, Old Serbia (Kosovo and the former Sandjak of Novi Bazar) were not reliable enough or willing to fight in the name of King Peter, while the authorities became more suspicious, confronted with potential disorder in the Albanian-inhabited and, especially, pro-Bulgarian areas of the New Territories (Nove Oblasti). And while in the event of localized revolts in Kosovo and in Western Macedonia, where Albanian population formed an absolute majority, Austria-Hungary would interfere in order to compel Serbia to send troops, causing the weakening of the front at the same time, the situation among the Bulgarian and pro-Bulgarian elements in Serbian Macedonia was far more dangerous because of their number and their determination to reject Serbian authorities and to join Bulgaria. Belgrade did not only fear potential revolts, but also guerrilla (comitadji) incursions from Bulgaria and especially an intervention of the Bulgarian army, which would be fatal for the outcome of the war. And this was not merely a possibility, because both Belgrade and Sofia were aware that the “Macedonian question” was still open. In 1913 all major Bulgarian authorities had

⁴³ Stenografske beleške Narodne skupštine [Records of the National Assembly Proceedings], 14/12/1913, 506–512.

⁴⁴ AS, MID-PO, 1914, confid. no. 1039, doc. 0610, Ministry of War to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 7/20 June 1914.

already openly announced a new war against Serbia: King Ferdinand, who addressed his troops and told them to “fly the flag for happier days”, Prime Minister Radoslavov, who addressed diplomats in Sofia saying that revenge was Bulgaria’s long-term objective,⁴⁵ and General Savov, who admitted that Bulgaria had to prepare itself to take revenge on Serbia and Greece.⁴⁶

And once the Great War broke out, the revenge was only a matter of time. Bulgaria maintained neutrality until the summer of 1915, but both the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance endeavoured to sway the Radoslavov government to join the war on their side; in all negotiations conducted by Radoslavov, Serbian Macedonia featured as the *sine qua non* for Bulgaria’s entry into the war. In order to justify it, in late 1914 and during 1915 the Bulgarian press focused on the situation of the “Bulgarian brothers in Macedonia” under Serbian rule, reported on every case of mass desertion of Macedonians from the Serbian army and described alleged atrocities that Serbian authorities were committing against civilians in all parts of Macedonia. The scale, frequency and types of the crimes described in this propaganda press campaign created the impression that the non-Serbian civilian population in Macedonia were really in danger of being exterminated unless Bulgaria intervened to save them. The intention of such intensive propaganda was to win over Bulgarian public opinion which otherwise would not have been ready for another war, especially considering the fact that the legacy of the Balkan Wars was not only a moral and national defeat, but hundreds of thousands of human lives, economic disaster and starvation.

As reported by the Serbian consul in Sofia, by the middle of December 1914 and the beginning of February 1915, at least eighteen such articles appeared in Bulgarian newspapers,⁴⁷ alleging of massacres of Macedonian conscripts in the Serbian army, destructions, mass rapes and ethnic cleansings.⁴⁸ Gory details soon became more interesting than general accounts, especially when they involved children, priests and women, or any kind of torture;⁴⁹ lists of missing or killed civilians were often published too, as well

⁴⁵ Richard Crampton, *Bulgaria 1878–1918. A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 425.

⁴⁶ Barby, *Bregalnica*, 194.

⁴⁷ AS, MID-PO, 1915, X/213, list of articles in the Bulgarian press.

⁴⁸ AS, MID-PO, 1915, X/242, Kambana, 22 December 1914/4 January 1915; X/255, Utro, 25 December 1914/7 January 1915; X/245, Dnevnik, 13/26 January 1915.

⁴⁹ AS, MID-PO, 1915, X/275, Narodni prava, no. 59, 14/27 March 1915; X/279, Narodni prava, no. 62, 18/31 March 1915; Dnevnik, 18/31 March 1915.

as stories of alleged massacres in all parts of Macedonia: Skopje, Bitola, Prilep, Ohrid, Veles, Štip, Radoviš and so on.⁵⁰

At the same time Bulgarian comitadjis undertook new actions to cut off communications between Serbia and the port of Salonika, the Serbian army's most important supply line. The crucial action took place on 3 April 1915, when about one thousand well-armed comitadjis from the town of Strumica in Bulgaria attacked the Valandovo railway station in order to cut the railway and telegraph lines: many of about 200 Serbian soldiers killed died in combat, but many were murdered after they surrendered; the comitadjis tortured them to death or burned them alive, according to the report of an international commission composed of medical personnel of allied sanitary missions in Macedonia set up in the days following the attack.⁵¹

This incident made it plain to the Serbian government that its Macedonian border with Bulgaria required more attention, but a mass transfer of troops from the zone of battle with Austria-Hungary was impossible despite a temporary quiet on the front: in the event of a Bulgarian attack, Serbia would not be able to defend herself.

At the end of the summer this possibility became reality. According to the agreement between Bulgaria and the Central Powers signed on 6 September, in return for joining the immediate attack on Serbia, Bulgaria was to gain the whole of Serbian Macedonia but also – as Radoslavov insisted – eastern and southern Serbia, in addition to territories in Dobruja, Aegean Macedonia and eastern Thrace lost after the defeat of 1913 (in the event that Romania and Greece should join the Entente). On 6 October German and Austro-Hungarian troops under the command of German General Von Mackensen launched invasion from the north, and five days later Bulgarian troops crossed the border into Serbia, while King Ferdi-

⁵⁰ AS, MID-PO, 1915, X/291, Narodni prava, no. 63, 19 March/1 April 1915; X/319, Narodni Prava, n. 64, 20 March/2 April 1915; X/323, Volja, no. 645, 21 March/3 April 1915; X/337, Utro, no. 1497, 29 March/11 April 1915; X/347, Narodni prava, 29 March/11 April 1915; X/362, Utro, no. 1500, 1/14 April 1915; X/374, Narodni prava, no. 73, 3/16 April 1915; X/411, Narodni Prava, no. 77, 7/20 April 1915; etc.

⁵¹ On the attack see AS, MID-PO, 1915, XV/159, Prefect of Tikveš to Ministry of Interior, 21 March/2 April 1915; AS, MID-PO, 1915, XV/199, Police Inspectorate in Bitola to Ministry of Interior, 29 March/11 April 1915; AS, MID-PO, 1915, XV/188, confid. no. 11973, Commander Djordjević and Major Blažarić to Ministry of War, 26 March/8 April 1915; XIII/376, confid. no. 3906, Ministry of War to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 23 March/5 April 1915. On the International Commission see AS, MID-PO, 1915, XIII/742 and 743, *Proces verbal d'enquete medicale sur les incidents de Strumica*.

mand's speech encouraged his soldiers to free their brothers in Macedonia from the Serbian regime and enslavement.⁵²

This time the Serbian army, fighting on two fronts against superior enemy forces, was not able to resist on its own, and the government and High Command ordered its withdrawal towards the Adriatic across Albania. During this terrible march over the snow-laden mountains – known as the “Serbian Golgotha” – more than a hundred thousand soldiers lost their lives to harsh winter, starvation, disease and attacks by hostile Albanian tribes; while more than four million civilians found themselves under enemy occupation.

Bulgarian crimes in occupied Serbia during the First World War: the beginning

In less than one month enemy armies took control over the entire Kingdom of Serbia. As set by the agreement of 6 September, Bulgaria gained the whole of Macedonia and Eastern and Southern Serbia, from the river Danube on the north to the region of Kosovo in the south, establishing a new border with Austria-Hungary that ran along the river Morava to the village of Stalać and then between the Južna (South) and Zapadna (West) Morava rivers, the region of Skopska Crna Gora and Šar Planina mountain. Austro-Hungary took the rest of Serbia, while Germany only established a number of check-points to control the railway and other communications with the port of Salonika.

Bulgaria soon divided her new territories in two administrative entities, each administered by a military commander: the “Military Inspection Area of Macedonia”, whose commandant was General Petrov, and the “Military Inspection Area of Morava” (including Eastern and Southern Serbia), where the first commandant was General Kutinchev (the same who had led the Bulgarian invasion of Eastern Serbia in 1913).

In Serbian Macedonia they settled without evident problems or hostilities; nevertheless this did not prevent them from committing crimes against Serbian prisoners of war and civilians. The key to understanding what happened there at the end of 1915, when Bulgaria finally fulfilled her territorial ambitions concerning that region, should be sought in the symbiosis between Bulgarian authorities (political and military) and the IMRO with its comitadjis.

Colonel Aleksandar Protogerov, commander of the 3rd Brigade of the 11th “Macedonia” Division, together with his comrade Todor Aleksandrov, took control of the region of Štip in Eastern Macedonia. At the

⁵² See the speech delivered by King Ferdinand on 11 October 1915, in Radoslavov, *Dnevni belezbki*, 168–169; in Serbian language in Bojković & Pršić, 207.

end of October he ordered extermination of 120 wounded and sick Serbian prisoners of war from the town hospital: they were killed in a village near Stip by both units of 11th Division and comitadjis under the command of voyvoda Ivan Yanev Bŭrlev.⁵³

Similar killings took place in other parts of Macedonia, such as the village of Resan, where Bulgarian regular troops massacred 28; the town of Kruševo, where comitadjis cut throat to 13, or Topolčani near Bitola, where regular units slaughtered 30 Serbian soldiers;⁵⁴ and in Kosovo, for example near Priština, where Bulgarian cavalry troops killed 500 Serbian prisoners, or on the banks of the Drim, where 195 were killed and their bodies thrown into the river.⁵⁵ Crimes were committed in many other places.

It was a war, someone might say; and, remembering the experience from the Balkan Wars, we may claim that what Bulgarian regular troops and comitadjis did to Serbian prisoners was probably an act of revenge or something “normal” in times of war. But some important factors tell us that the reality was not that simple: first of all, the Bulgarian soldiers interrogated by the Swiss criminologist R. A. Reiss admitted that they had received specific orders from their superior officers to kill Serbian prisoners,⁵⁶ and – this may be crucial – not only soldiers but also civilians were the target of massacres. Here we can clearly see that at the moment of invasion the intention to eradicate every aspect of Serbian influence in the region, primarily by killing the Serbian and pro-Serbian elements, had already existed as a precise plan in the Bulgarian army and comitadji bands.

Regular troops took control of the region, but comitadjis were appointed mayors and prefects, and they retained control of the whole police structure.⁵⁷ Every major town was controlled by a comitadji leader

⁵³ *Rapport*, vol. II, docs. 135–143, 266–284 and 286–303; AJ, MIP-DU, 334–20, testimonies of Sadedin Kerimović and Dr. A. de Mendoza.

⁵⁴ On the Resan massacre see *Rapport*, vol. II, doc. 151, 307; AJ, MIP-DU, 334–19, no number, police report on the murder of a Serbian soldier in Resan, 3/12/1918; on Kruševo and Topolčani, see Vojni arhiv Srbije [Military Archives of Serbia; hereafter VA], p. 6, k. 609, 35/3, cable on the testimony of Stanoje Stanojević, and VA, p. 3a, f. 3, 11/1.

⁵⁵ R. A. Reiss, *Zverstva Bugara i Austro-Nemaca. Bugarska zverstva u toku rata* (Thessaloniki: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1916), reproduced in Sladjana Bojković & Miloje Pršić, *O zločinima Austrougara-Bugara-Nemaca u Srbiji 1914–1918: izabrani radovi* (Belgrade: Istorijski muzej Srbije, 1997); R. A. Reiss, *Les infractions aux lois et conventions de la guerre commises par les ennemis de la Serbie depuis la retraite serbe de 1915* (Paris: Librairie Bernard Grasset, 1918), 197–210.

⁵⁶ Reiss, *Les infractions*, 101.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 172–174.

(voyvoda),⁵⁸ whose power became absolute and legitimized through a new administrative system in Macedonia; they operated strictly in order to eliminate Serbian presence in their territories. It was not a difficult task, because in the towns – like in most of Serbian Macedonia – the Slavic population was not entirely Serbian or pro-Serbian, and this meant that comitadjis in the towns had to eliminate the Serbian administrative structure – if still there, because most officials had withdrawn with the army to Albania or to Greece – composed predominantly of Serbs from pre-Balkan wars Serbia who had the duty to pursue and oversee the Serbianization of the region (teachers, priests, officials, etc.) – and all elements who collaborated with them.

For the same reason destructions and mass murders took place in many villages where the population was Serbian or loyal to Serbian authorities,⁵⁹ concentrated in the area between Veles, Prilep and Brod (region of Poreče). The destructions looked like punitive expeditions against previously defined targets, where Bulgarian regular troops and comitadjis arrived with the clear intention (and probably orders or, if not, at least freedom of action) to destroy and kill.

On 14 November Bulgarian units of the 7th “Rila” Division and Turks of the village of Crnilište entered the villages of Dolgovac and Kostinci near Prilep. Together they pillaged houses and slaughtered people who were still inside or who tried to escape, including children and women, at least more than 70 of them;⁶⁰ then they gathered the remaining 200 Serb civilians in the place called “Samakovo” and slaughtered them with no mercy, “rushing with their bloody knives from person to person”.⁶¹ The same happened in the village of Bogomila near Veles, where all Serb inhabitants were massacred and their homes destroyed; women were raped and tortured before they were killed.⁶² Massacres were committed in many other places in that Macedonian area, as R. A. Reiss reported from one of his sources:

In the village of Bogomil they killed 95 persons, of whom just 20 were men and the others were children and women; [...] in the village of Gostirachna 65 persons, of whom 10 men and the rest women and children;

⁵⁸ *Rapport*, vol. I, 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 8.

⁶⁰ AJ, MIP-DU, 334-19, testimony of Vaska Petrović (partially published in *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 296, 189-190); AJ, MIP-DU, 334-19, testimony of Nane Serafimović (partially published in *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 306, 196-197); AJ, MIP-DU, 334-19, testimony of Petar Mijailović (partially published in *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 354, 256).

⁶¹ AJ, MIP-DU, 334-19, testimony of Stojanka Stojkov.

⁶² *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 349, 253; and doc. 358, 258; AJ, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to France, Paris-Vichy (388)-8-50, 51 and 52.

in Strovie 80 persons, of whom only 15 were men [...]; in Dolgavatz 280 persons, of whom 20 men older than 50 years and all the rest women and children; in Kostentzi 60 persons, of whom only 8 men; in Brod [...], on the 12th/25th of December 1915, 105 persons were killed [...] and the day later other 100 on the way to Dobrech; in Stounje, 18 persons.⁶³

It was calculated that in the early period of occupation more than 2,000 Serb civilians were killed by Bulgarian regular troops and comitadjis in the area between Veles, Prilep and Brod alone, and that tens of Serb-inhabited villages were razed to the ground;⁶⁴ but many other civilians shared the same fate, especially in the towns, which were the target of the “cleansing” of the Serbian element by the comitadjis.

However, murder was not the only method of ethnic cleansing that the Bulgarians used in Serbian Macedonia. Not all Serbian notables were killed, especially in the towns where they accounted for a significant part of the community: they were sent to concentration camps in pre-war Bulgaria. It seems that at first there were no camps intended for civilians only, but that they were interned together with prisoners of war; but the fact that deportations began as early as the end of 1915 (one of the first trains left the Skopje railway station on 1 January 1916) suggests that the idea of deportation of civilians had been conceived before Bulgaria’s entry into the war and that its implementation started as soon as the Bulgarians organized their administration in the region.⁶⁵ We can also notice that deportations became massive as early as January 1916: on 24 January a convoy of 500 civilians from the districts of Prilep,⁶⁶ Veles and Brod arrived in Sofia, while at the same time all teachers, priests, officials and all suspicious persons from pre-Balkan wars Serbia who lived in Eastern Macedonia were deported and considered prisoners of war on the order issued by the Ministry of War.⁶⁷

Compared to the systematic terror that the Bulgarian army was spreading in Eastern and Southern Serbia, that is to say in the other administrative unit created by Bulgaria (the Military Inspection Area “Morava”), the crimes happening in Serbian Macedonia were more of a local character. There were some fundamental differences between the situations in Mace-

⁶³ Reiss, *Les infractions*, 20–21.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 13, 29–30.

⁶⁶ Mileta Novakovitch, *L'occupation austro-bulgare en Serbie* (Paris: Librairie Berger-Levrault, 1918), 43–44; AJ, MIP-DU, 334–20, testimony of Mihailo Ugrinović; Ljubomir Jovanović, 26–27; Victore Kuhne, *Les Bulgares peints par eux-mêmes. Documents et commentaires* (Lausanne and Paris: Librairie Payot & Cie, 1917), 294; *Deuxième livre serbe*, annexe 14, 24.

⁶⁷ *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 62, 266.

donia and Morava at the moment of invasion, and Bulgarian authorities were certainly aware of them. At the time, Macedonia was inhabited by various ethnic groups, including non-Slavic Albanians, Vlachs, Greeks, Jews, Roma and Turks; however, the two main groups of the Slavic population were Serbs and Bulgarians, followed by a third Slavic element with fluctuating national consciousness, though in many cases, especially in eastern parts of Serbian Macedonia, people felt themselves closer to Bulgarian than to Serbian culture, religion and language. This was not the case in Morava, where most people felt themselves as Serbs and whose men were fighting against Bulgaria. There were no *comitadji* bands in Morava, nor was there a significant recent past that could justify any ethnic claim by the Bulgarian side. Morava was a part of the Kingdom of Serbia, and for this reason it was the object of a cruel policy whose aim was to transform this region into a part of the Kingdom of Bulgaria; in Morava, attempts at Bulgarization can be noticed much better and more clearly than in Macedonia. At the same time we can notice planning behind this process or, in other words, the responsibility of the Bulgarian government and King Ferdinand, as well as the army, for the extermination of the Serbian nation and culture in that region.

Before the invasion of Morava, Colonel Popov, chief of staff of the 6th "Bdin" Division, distributed to the officers a confidential statement containing the order to kill, once the division arrived in Serbia, all persons that might have an influence on the common people: first of all priests, teachers, professors and officials.⁶⁸ Before the Bulgarian attack, in some places (e.g. Vranje) pro-Bulgarian elements had prepared lists of the most prominent local Serbs,⁶⁹ and as soon as Bulgarian troops entered the region their intelligence recorded all potential enemies, such as journalists, members of agricultural organizations, members of political parties, elected officials, etc.⁷⁰

Actions took place immediately. On 20 November 1915 all teachers, priests and officials of the city of Niš (the seat of the Military Inspection Area) were summoned by the commander of the city Azmanov in order to be given the papers allowing free movement, but they were all arrested. Four days later they were sent, together with some prisoners of war, on foot to Sofia; at the same time 21 priests were killed in the village of Kremenica near Pirot.⁷¹

On 14 December General Kutinchev, chief of the Military Inspection Area "Morava", confirmed the already issued order that all former soldiers

⁶⁸ Ibid. doc. 6, 16.

⁶⁹ Hadži-Vasiljević, *Bugarška zverstva*, 7.

⁷⁰ Perović, *Toplički ustanak*, 31.

⁷¹ *Rapport*, vol. II, doc. 166, 340.

of the Serbian army between 18 and 50 years of age, all Serb officers, teachers, clergymen, journalists, former members of Serbian Parliament, former military officials and, in general, all suspicious persons from the whole region should be deported to Old Bulgaria.⁷²

And just like in Macedonia, this plan, too, suggests that it had already been decided before the war what was to be done with civilians or, in other words, that it had been planned to kill or deport all representatives of Serbian national spirit and to replace them with Bulgarian supporters in order to pave the way for the Bulgarization of the region.

Mass deportations started from all major towns of Morava: for example, it is known that, after Niš, on 11 December, 300 Serbian men from Vranje were imprisoned in Plovdiv,⁷³ while the rest of the male inhabitants of this town belonging to the categories specified in Kutinchev's order were deported in late December.⁷⁴ Civilians were transported to Bulgaria by rail or, more often, on foot. In most cases they all had to pass through the town of Surdulica, near Vranje, before crossing the border into pre-war Bulgaria. And not even this was without a reason: from November 1915 to spring 1916, when the deportation of notables from Morava ended, Surdulica was the scene of the worst crimes in the Kingdom of Serbia since the beginning of the war.

A special commission composed of Colonel Kalkadzhiev, Major Ilkov, Second Lieutenant Yurukov and Sergeant Vitanov, all of the 42nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, 1st Division "Sofia", and Second Lieutenant Simonov and Sergeant Erchikov of the 5th Place Regiment,⁷⁵ was set up in the town with the sole duty to select prisoners and decide which from the deported groups should be executed immediately. Mass executions of Serbs were committed in a nearby place called "Duboka Dolina" and the victims were buried in mass graves; we do not know much about how the commission decided who should be executed, but thanks to Reiss and other researches we know that by the end of April 1916 about 2,000–3,000 civilians had been killed in that place.⁷⁶ For this reason Surdulica was nicknamed the "slaughterhouse of Serbs".⁷⁷

⁷² Perović, *Toplički ustanak*, 27.

⁷³ *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 30, report of R. A. Reiss, "La ville de Vrania", 75.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 76; Hadži-Vasiljević, *Bugarska zverstva*, 54–59.

⁷⁵ *Rapport*, vol. II, doc. 115, 75–76; AJ, 334–13, the same document in Serbian in Hadži-Vasiljević, *Bugarska zverstva*, 72. The author gives two more names: Dr Peyev and Lt Minchev.

⁷⁶ R. A. Reiss, *Surdulica*, in Bojković & Pršić, *O zločinima*, 103.

⁷⁷ *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 41, account of W. Drayton, "Report on Bulgarian atrocities in Serbia", 192.

At the end of the war the Inter-allied Commission in Serbia affirmed that the nature of those murders was clearly political, because the Bulgarians had wanted to eliminate the Serbian elite in order to deprive the common people of their leadership;⁷⁸ and at the same time to carry out the process of Bulgarianization, erasing any evidence of Serbian culture in Macedonia and, especially, in the Morava region.

The forced introduction of the Bulgarian church and clergy was the first step in building a new Bulgarian culture instead of Serbian, because ecclesiastic institutions were centres spreading national spirit; in Balkan societies they were more powerful than any other cultural or educational institution, especially considering that in countries like Serbia more than eighty percent of the population were illiterate and lived in the countryside often without contact with any other culture except the one promoted by the church.

Serbian language was forbidden everywhere, schoolteachers were brought from Bulgaria, Serbian books were taken from libraries, schools and private collections, and publicly destroyed⁷⁹ (but the most important of them were sent to Bulgaria, along with sacred icons and treasures looted from Serbian monasteries and churches).⁸⁰ It was the other face of Bulgarianization, which we can observe through a document sent by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education to all authorities in Morava and Macedonia on 26 February 1916:

[...] Especially in the field of Bulgarian education there is much work to be done, because essentially all the material and moral culture we will construct in the new regions, we will establish it through reading and through Bulgarian culture, with Bulgarian language and books [...]. Ministry of Education is already taking the necessary measures to gradually open elementary schools wherever possible; then, when the need arises, high schools, both normal and specialized, will be opened. The schools will however be attended only by children and young people, so our adult brothers and new fellow citizens who did not receive any education in Bulgarian schools, they will stay away from books if we do not provide them access to Bulgarian culture. For this reason, at the Ministry of Education a Spe-

⁷⁸ Ibid. 8.

⁷⁹ AJ, 334-20, no number, *Komisiji za izvidjaj zloupotreba srpskih zarobljenika i interniranih gradjana u Bugarskoj*; AJ, 388-8-56 and 57, confid. no. 2098, Inter-allied Commission to Serbian Delegation in Paris; AJ, MIP-DU, 334-16, without number, account of Bulgarian atrocities in Dojran, 1; the same account in *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 270, 152-155; AJ, MIP-DU, 334-11, testimony of Dimitrije Radivojević.

⁸⁰ Victor Kuhne, *Les Bulgares peints par eux-mêmes*, 300-301; see also accounts by the Bulgarian ethnographers expedition to Macedonia published in Petrov, ed., *Nauchna ekspeditsia*, 285-326.

cial Committee on Education has been established which has the duty to supply the new regions with Bulgarian books [...]. In communicating the above, the Ministry hopes you all will be happy to collaborate in this work, taking care to find in your city (or village) a building for local intelligentsia to gather so that it should become the centre of Bulgarian education. This centre should be called "public reading room", and it will be under the control of a local committee [...].⁸¹

The difficult living conditions imposed by the Bulgarian regime were made worse by the extremely violent and corrupt military and civilian structures. All Reiss's inquiries – but also all other inquiries, including the Inter-allied Commission's report – describe everyday violence perpetrated by Bulgarians to extort money, goods and food from civilians without any reason whatsoever. In some places, such as the town of Vranje, military authorities became absolute despots and their actions caused the reaction of the prefect who wrote two letters of protest: on 15 February 1916 to Kutinchev⁸² and on 5 April to the Interior Ministry.⁸³ In Sofia too, members of the Parliament (Sobranie) attacked Radoslavov's policy in Morava and Macedonia: the Socialist leader Blagoev protested against violence and corruption in these regions at the session of the Sobranie held on 26 January 1916, and similar accusations were later launched by the Democratic leader Malinov.⁸⁴

People lived in miserable conditions both in Morava and in Macedonia. By that time, there already were a large number of former Serbian soldiers who were hiding from the Bulgarian army in the mountains, some of them organized into chetnik units fighting against the occupying force. Bulgarians did not seem to realize how dangerous these two factors could be, especially if an opportunity would arise for them to join forces against the enemy. This happened in early February 1917, after General Kutinchev distributed to the population of Morava the Supreme Command's mobilization orders for all men between 18 and 45 years of age. Recruitment commissions went from town to town, but most men managed to escape and join those who were already in the mountains, while Serbian women publicly protested against the Bulgarians. Enough was enough: in the night between 21 and 22 February Serbian chetniks led by vojvoda Kosta Vojinović raised

⁸¹ AJ, MIP-DU, 334-22, n. 3377, Bulgarian Ministry of Education to presidents of "three-member commissions" in the new regions and occupied territories (and for information and request of assistance to His Eminence Metropolitan and Archbishops, to Prefects, Commandants and Sub-Prefects), 26/02/1916.

⁸² *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 30, Reiss, "La ville de Vrania", 81-85.

⁸³ *Ibid.* doc. 32, account of R. A. Reiss, "Sourdolitza", 97-98.

⁸⁴ Stojančević, *Srbija i srpski narod*, chap. "Nacionalno-politički i međunarodni položaj Srbije u 1916. godini", 38; Perović, *Toplički ustanak*, 37-38; Kuhne, *Les Bulgares peints par eux-même*, 274.

a rebellion against the Bulgarian occupying forces and attacked garrisons in the region of Toplica. Within a few days they liberated Kuršumlija, Prokuplje, Lebane and many other towns and villages. Bulgarian troops were not able to defeat them, and General Kutinchev was replaced. In early March Colonel Protogerov became the new (temporary) chief of the Morava Area. The Supreme Command chose him because of his experience in guerrilla warfare and his activity in the pro-Bulgarian IMRO organization: for Protogerov, born in Macedonia (Ohrid), the Serbs were the worst enemy and he was ready to fight them in every possible way. When appointing Protogerov, the Bulgarian Supreme Command knew that the repression would be brutal, and this probably was its intention, too. The IMRO leader organized the repression after receiving the full power to do so. On 10 March he issued an order to the chetniks to surrender within five days, or otherwise they would be sentenced under the new law passed by the Sobranie just a few days before:⁸⁵ they would be executed, their homes burnt down and their families deported.⁸⁶ None of the Serbian insurgents wanted to give up fighting, and this order gave Protogerov and his army the opportunity to destroy the entire Morava. It took Protogerov fifteen days to defeat the chetniks, and his army would leave a trail of death and destruction wherever it passed: civilians became target of repression, tens of villages were destroyed, thousands of inhabitants killed, everything was pillaged and a mass rape crime took place.⁸⁷ Crimes continued even after the chetniks were defeated: in late April (probably), Protogerov was replaced by another temporary chief, Colonel Tasev, while Lieutenant Colonel Dürvingov, chosen by Protogerov, was assigned as his chief of staff. More destruction took place, especially in July and August, when Dürvingov and Tasev organized counter-units with the duty to track and destroy the still active chetnik groups; the units were composed of IMRO comitadjis sent from Macedonia, and they not only abused the freedom of action they had been given but continued the destruction and extermination of Serbian villages and civilians started by Protogerov. They acted in perfect symbiosis with the Bulgarian government, whose aim was to quell the rebellion and resume the process of Bulgarianization in the region, but they were not just executors of Bulgarian policy; like Protogerov, they had freedom of action too, and they used it to eradicate the very existence of Serbs in the zones under Bulgarian occupation.

⁸⁵ Ljubomir Jovanović, *Pobuna u Toplici i Jablanici: govor u Narodnoj Skupštini 12. aprila 1918. godine na Krfu* (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1918), 34–36.

⁸⁶ AJ, MIP-DU, 334–20, Kum naselenieto ot Moravskata voenno-inspektsionna oblast, 10/03/1917; also in French in AJ, 336–2 and in *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 66, 269–270.

⁸⁷ See *Rapport*, Ljubomir Jovanović, R. A. Reiss, etc.

The result of Protogerov's and Tasev-Dürvingov's repression was the worst ever seen. In the region that was the centre of the uprising more than sixty Serbian villages were completely destroyed,⁸⁸ but the same happened in many other regions outside Toplica. About 20,000 civilians were killed and more than 80,000 were deported to pre-war Bulgaria⁸⁹ (women and children, but also recruited men sent to forced labour); apart from this, it was impossible to count every individual act of violence, especially rapes, because of their frequency. The Austro-Hungarian consul in Niš reported that Bulgarians burnt down all villages in the areas where the Toplica revolt took place.⁹⁰

Through the city of Sofia often passed convoys of hundreds of civilians heading for unknown destinations, for concentration camps; the conditions they were held in were often inhuman,⁹¹ and, just as in 1915 and 1916, many civilians had to walk all the way to their destinations. The existing camps for prisoners of war in Bulgaria could not receive so many people even if used to full capacity (which they had already been), so Bulgarian authorities built other camps only for civilians. As far as we know, there were from 1916 to the end of the war at least twenty active concentration camps for Serbian civilians in pre-war Bulgaria; in many of them conditions were so terrible that deaths were a daily occurrence. The Inter-allied Commission recorded numerous testimonies about the life in concentration camps and horrible treatment they received; it did not interview only Serbian survivors (militaries and civilians), but also Italian, British and French prisoners of war who witnessed what was going on.⁹²

Among the large number of testimonies given to the Inter-allied Commission or to others, those about the camp at Sliven are the ones that have to be considered carefully. The camp was built in 1915 for prisoners

⁸⁸ Jovanović, *Pobuna u Toplici*, 63.

⁸⁹ *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 35, account of R. A. Reiss "Ville de Prokoupie et environs", 117.

⁹⁰ Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu*, 369.

⁹¹ *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 52, 241–242, and vol. III, doc. 246; AJ, 336–23–212: Podaci o ratnim zločinima Bugara u Srbiji, 8.

⁹² On the camp of Khaskovo see *Rapport*, vol. II, doc. 98, 24–25; on Plovdiv: AJ, MIP-DU, 334–22, testimony of Serbian Captain Okolitchani; *Rapport*, doc. 92, 7; Kenneth Steuer, *Pursuit of an "Unparalleled opportunity", The American YMCA and Prisoner of War Diplomacy among the Central Power Nations during World War I (1914–1923)* (www.gutenberg-e.org/steuer), chap. 10, 5; on Gornje Paničarevo: *Rapport*, vol. II, doc. 95, 15; on Shumen: *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 287, 182–184; and vol. III, doc. 224. See also Isidor Djuković, "Izveštavanje delegata srpske Vrhovne komande iz Bugarske (oktobar – decembar 1918)", *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* 1–2 (2002), 69–89.

of war, but when civilians started to arrive in 1916, it became a “punitive camp”.⁹³

When Greece joined the Entente in July 1917, Greek prisoners of war and civilians from Thrace were interned in this camp and received the same treatment as the Serbs did;⁹⁴ at the same time thousands of Serbs were brought from the Morava region, so the camp became too small to receive them all. For this reason, a “lesser camp” with 28 barracks offering the most inhumane conditions one could imagine was built: there were slits but no windows, and internees had neither beds nor hay or blankets to cover themselves with. Out of 80–100 persons packed together in each of these barracks only 20 or fewer survived.⁹⁵ They received 300 to 800 grams of black bread per day and some kind of soup two or three times a week, and some meat on Sundays; they were so hungry that they ate grass or stole cattle hay.⁹⁶ The so-called hospital was a far cry from the real one and in such a poor condition that many internees were dying.

The number of deaths caused by starvation, epidemics, winter cold exposure and violence was extremely high: it was recorded that between August and December 1917 alone there were 2,709 deaths, of which 1,490 due to starvation.⁹⁷ At the end of the war it was calculated that 4,142 Serbs, both prisoners of war and civilians, died in the camp, while about 2,000 died performing hard labour outside the camp.⁹⁸

At the end of the war the Inter-allied Commission summed up the question of internment of civilians. Speaking about the Serbian internees, it stated:

The conditions in which the internees in the camps lived were so bad that one could think that their extermination was the main goal. Barracks were terrible: in some camps a part of internees lived without any shelter, in the open air. Those who had found a place in the barracks, sheds or tents, slept on a shelf or on the bare ground. Barracks were often very poorly built and leaked water. In the main camps they were crowded and even though the barracks could accommodate 20, as many as 100 persons lived inside; internees were kept without clothes, underwear and shoes [...]. No disinfection took place, and there were no toilets [...] virtually all internees

⁹³ Account of Mihailo Jovanović, 15/11/1918, published in Bojković & Pršić, *Stradanje*, 311 (the original in AS, Fonds “Arhiva institucija pod bugarskom okupacijom”, box 2).

⁹⁴ AJ, MIP-DU, 334-16, testimony of Todor Hristodulo; in French in *Rapport*, vol. III, doc. 229, 68–69.

⁹⁵ Account of Mihailo Jovanović, 318 and 323.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 321; AJ, MIP-DU, 334-20, testimony of Djordje Božinović.

⁹⁷ Account of Mihailo Jovanović, 321.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 325.

were infested with pests. Daily food ration in the main camps consisted of 200–600 grams of bread, a soup without meat and with a bit of peppers. There was no sanitation, except in rare cases [...]. Internees were forced to the worst hard labour [...]. Murders were not rare because those who went out of their barracks to satisfy a physiological need during the night could be shot or beaten to death with rifle butts by guards. [...] The number of deaths in concentration camps because of privations, epidemics and tortures is very high. According to what we know, of 100,000 internees only 50,000 returned home. In general, all those who did return are in very poor health.⁹⁹

The forced Bulgarization of Macedonia and the Morava region, as well as violence and other types of crimes against civilians, continued until the end of the Great War, but were not as severe as in the period from 1915 to 1917.

Official politics continued to consider these regions as definitively annexed to Bulgaria, and the methods used from the beginning of occupation, especially in the Morava region, were not only confirmed but also codified. Indicative in this sense is an order issued on 29 May 1918 by General Nerezov, head of the Morava Area from November 1917;¹⁰⁰ its political content suggests that he received it from his superiors. The methods of Bulgarization, such as the exclusive use of Bulgarian, Bulgarian schools and ecclesiastical institutions, were reaffirmed, and the violence of this process explicitly formulated: “To implement Bulgarization in this region it is necessary to destroy all myths, pillars and all elements of Serbdom and it is necessary that on their ruins should only remain the Bulgarian ones.” The population was divided into categories, first of all national: all Serbs (except those coming from Šumadija, the region on the other side of the Morava river) were considered as Bulgarians who had forgotten their origins – which official politics had been affirming from the beginning of the war – but there were many “Serbophiles” among them; Vlachs were not considered as enemies; Jews were seen as “politically amorphous”; Greeks as “dangerous enemies”; Turks and Roma, being present in small numbers, as “politically useless”. After national categorization, a social one followed, because each of these categories of people required a different method of Bulgarization to be implemented; men, children, the elderly and, above all, women were described in this way:

It has been indisputably established that most fanatic and violent chauvinists are always women. They are the vital centre of the Serbian spirit and

⁹⁹ *Rapport*, vol. I, 19–21.

¹⁰⁰ AJ, MIP-DU, 334–22, Zapoved po Moravskata Oblastna Voenna Inspeksia n. 13, 29/05/1918; in Serbian in Bojković & Pršić, *Stradanje*; in French in *Rapport*, vol. I, doc. 83, 284–298.

the most important agents of the secret Serbian organization. Women are the main couriers of secret correspondence; they are the ideologists of the organization, the main agitators, they are the most astute supporters and aiders.

Bulgarization went on and other orders were issued, such as those, for example, introducing Bulgarian holidays with instructions for civilians how to celebrate them.¹⁰¹ But a few months later the Bulgarians lost the war and their crimes became known across Europe.

Conclusions

Considering the Inter-allied Commission's report and the thirty-two violations of the laws of war codified in Paris, we have chosen here to present some aspects we perceive as crucial with regards to the question of large-scale crimes committed against civilians in the Kingdom of Serbia by the Bulgarians during the First World War. There are many other questions we could not consider for various reasons. One of these, often presented in Serbian publications as a crime against civilians, we chose not to discuss because we are not sure it can be considered a crime in the strict sense of the word: starvation; as a matter of fact, while it was not listed as one of the violations committed by the Bulgarians in the Kingdom of Serbia, it was in the case of Greece.

We know that lack of food was a big problem for civilians; they had to hand over a huge part of their produce to Bulgarian authorities; we also know that the situation lasted until the end of the war, so it can be said that food shortage became "the chief attribute of Bulgarian rule".¹⁰² The people in the Morava region and Macedonia endured starvation to a much greater extent in 1918 than before, but the whole of Bulgaria also had to face a more terrifying internal enemy than the Entente's guns: famine. The situation was desperate everywhere.

It is clear that this is a complicated issue that requires deeper research, especially because the starvation in the Morava region and Macedonia should be looked at in comparison to the starvation in Bulgaria and its causes, first of all the "allied depredation",¹⁰³ the German need for any avail-

¹⁰¹ AJ, MIP-DU, 334.22, n. 39318, Chief of Staff of Morava to all commandants, military and civil offices of the Area, 30/05/1918.

¹⁰² Crampton, *Bulgaria 1878-1918*, 457.

¹⁰³ The expression used by Crampton, *Bulgaria 1878-1918*, 456.

able supply in order to cope with the British blockade of Germany which was killing tens of thousands of civilians in the Empire.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, a large available documentation suggests that the Bulgarians tried to introduce an organized system of requisition in the occupied regions of Morava and Macedonia,¹⁰⁵ but corruption and German exploitation posed an insurmountable obstacle.¹⁰⁶

Likewise, some other questions cannot be addressed because they can be considered as crimes but not as a part of the official Bulgarianization process. These crimes may not have been specifically ordered by Bulgarian political and military authorities but were tolerated: extortion, rape, looting, and other forms of brutal violence against the civilian population. The issues addressed in this paper likewise need further research and discussion, such as the importance of studying the internment of Serbian civilians in Bulgaria within the more general question of civilian deportations during the First World War.

We still need to open many questions about what happened. We have, for example, to look at the crimes in Serbia and Macedonia in a comparative way, first of all considering other territories under Bulgarian occupation. In Eastern Macedonia, the Bulgarians systematically and intentionally let Greeks die of starvation, causing about 10,000 civilian deaths, and deported about 70,000 civilians from the region to concentration camps in pre-war Bulgaria, many of whom died because of the inhumane conditions.¹⁰⁷ And we know that in Dobruja they “strengthened efforts to eliminate every as-

¹⁰⁴ On the blockade of Germany see P. Vincent, *The Politics of Hunger. The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915–1919* (Athens, Ohio and London: Ohio University Press, 1985); Bruna Bianchi, “L’arma della fame. Il blocco navale e le sue conseguenze sui civili (1915–1919)”, *DEP* 13/14 (2010), 1–33 (www.unive.it/dep); A. B. Downes, “Targeting Civilians in War: the Starvation Blockades of World War I”, presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 28–31 August 2003 (www.allacademic.com/meta/p65599_hindex.html); N. P. Howard, “The Social and Political Consequences of the Allied Food Blockade of Germany, 1918–1919”, *German History* 11/2 (1993), 161–188.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. AJ, MIP-DU, 334–22, order no. 109 of the Military Intendancy of Morava: *Dopǔlnitelni ukazaniia po izzemvaneto na zǔrmentite khрани*, 9/08/1918; order no. 110, *Dopǔlnitelni ukazaniia po izzemvaneto na trevniia furazha*, 10/08/1918.

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. AJ, MIP-DU, 334–22, order no. 222 of the Chief of Military Inspection Area Morava, 28/08/1918, and order no. 49, 29/08/1918; VA, p. 3, k. 178, f. 1, docs. 49 and 50, testimonies of deserters from the Bulgarian army.

¹⁰⁷ *Rapport présenté à la Conférence des préliminaires de paix*, 33 and 36.

pect of former Romanian domination with such care that today we could refer to it as a real ethnic cleansing".¹⁰⁸

All the questions raised above need further research and discussion. As we sought to explain here, it will be necessary to apply a methodology that involves a comparative approach inside the international dimension of the question of Bulgarian crimes against Serbian and non-Bulgarian population in the occupied Kingdom of Serbia, the use of available sources, co-operation between scholars of different countries and, of course, attention to the historical background.

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¹⁰⁸ Alberto Basciani, *Un conflitto balcanico. La contesa fra Bulgaria e Romania in Dobrugia del Sud 1918–1940* (Cosenza: Periferia, 2001), 29.

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Timișoara between “Fictive Ethnicity” and “Ideal Nation” The Identity Profile during the Interwar Period

Abstract: Seeking to delineate the identity profile of the citizens of interwar Timișoara, a city at the crossroad of Central- and South-East-European cultures and civilizations, the paper analyzes the national, linguistic and religious population structure using the data provided by three censuses (1910, 1930 and 1941). Under Hungarian rule, until the First World War, there prevailed the policy of linguistic nationalism. After 1918, in Romania, there occurred a policy shift towards ethno-culturally based differentiation, i.e. towards belonging to a nation. Yet, amidst the interaction of cultures and customs, the notion of nationality or ethno-nationality was quite relative, and Timișoara functioned as a multilingual and multireligious environment. Contradictions were observable between nationalist political orientation and aspirations of local society. The Jewish community was an embodiment of multiculturalism. The Jews enjoyed equal rights and functioned as a bridge between other communities. In the 1930s multicultural Timișoara seems to have been a contrast to the cities where different linguistic and religious communities lived parallel lives in isolation from one another. Thus, Timișoara resisted radical, racist and anti-Semitic movements that emerged on the European political scene in the interwar period.

Keywords: Timișoara, population structure, nationality, official identity policies, multilingualism, multiconfessionality, multiculturalism, Jewish community

My study aims to call attention to the identity profile of Timișoara during the interwar period, a city at the crossroads of cultures and civilizations between Central and South-Eastern Europe. It will have in view the post-World War I urban identity phenomenon, when the region of Banat – of which Timișoara is the capital city – was partitioned among Romania, Serbia and Hungary and when one of longstanding debates was focussed on how to preserve the various legacies of the Austrian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Numerous voices were arguing in favour of keeping an undivided Banat region. They relied on the geographic, administrative and economic arguments to maintain its unity. One of the documents to testify about the Paris Peace Conference refers to this issue as follows:

To partition the Banat would mean the economic, industrial and trade bankruptcy of this province and of its inhabitants. We have vaguely learnt about the strategic and ethnic reasons which could lead to the idea of partitioning the Banat and we believe that nobody could ever affirm that partitioning could be done without exposing the province to a total economic disaster. Its geographic and economic unity has been unquestioned during time, (so) that never during its history this province belonged to more than

one single country at once [...] This province has a regular rectangle shape, bordered by three big rivers – the Mureş, the Tisa and the Danube – and by the Carpathian Mountains. Within this rectangle there is a system of channels, railways and roads which connect the province with the Tisa and Danube rivers.¹

Under the pressure of nationalist ideologies and the consequences of the war, these types of documents failed, however, to refer to the plurality of socio-cultural and religious legacies of the region: from the obvious legacies referring to the cohabitation between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and the German-Austrian-Romanian-Serbian cultural interactions to the association of the Yiddish-speaking German Jews, Ashkenazim, with the Ladino-speaking Spanish Jews, Sephardim, or to the assimilation of the emancipated Jews by other cultures such as German or Hungarian. All this symbolized at the time a history which was regarded by the population of Timișoara as being their own and which they wished to continue to live.

Interaction – as we can speak about it – is the natural consequence of a mix history in a border city, a fact which is reflected in its very names in many languages – Timișoara (Romanian), Temeswar and Temeschburg (German), Temesvár (Hungarian), Temišvar (Serbian); by the multilingual press in German, Hungarian and Romanian; by non-discriminatory social customs; by individual and civic initiatives; by the cooperative attitude of administrative authorities.

Not only did the partition of the region, as it was decided by the Paris Peace Treaty, create tensions among the three neighbouring countries – Romania, Serbia and Hungary – but it also ignited anxiety among the inhabitants regarding the centralist policies and ethno-nationalist ideologies. An important issue generated by the post-WWI ethno-nationalism in these states was the recognition and integration of their regions having various legacies. The new authorities were facing challenges such as: the multicultural and intercultural patrimony, the existence of many religions and the recognition of plural histories. These aspects had no correspondence in the *fictive ethnicity*-based definition of identity as the elites of the time were imagining.

The interwar Romanian political parties and governments, even the most tolerant ones, were not comfortable with admitting that the society in Timișoara was the result of interactions of many languages and cultures, that it did not belong exclusively to a single religious expression, and that it did not bear the signs of so-called ethno-national specificity. Its plural cul-

¹ According to the Memorandum presented at the Paris Peace Conference by the Banat Swabians' delegation, published in *Revista Institutului Social Banat-Crișana* [The Banat-Crisana Social Institute Review] XII (Timișoara, November-December 1943), 421.

tures and histories did not find their correspondence in the mono-lingual and mono-cultural orientations of the newly created nation-state.

Imperialist and nationalist censuses conducted during that time had served the political hierarchies and the centralized administrations to shape Europe’s map in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Statistics concerning Timișoara’s inhabitants in 1910 realized by the Budapest administration and having a focus on mother tongue showed the following composition:²

Table 1: Inhabitants of Timișoara in 1910 by mother tongue

Declared mother tongue	Number of speakers
German	32,963
Hungarian	28,645
Romanian	7,593
Serbian	3,490
Slovakian	341
Croatian	149
Ruthenian	4
Other	818,000
Total	74,003

As for the population by religion, the statistics was the following:³

Table 2: Population of Timișoara in 1910 by religion

Declared religion or denomination	Number of adherents
Roman-Catholic	49,981
Orthodox	11,257
Israelite	6,729
Reformed	3,554
Evangelic	1,609
Greek-Catholic	754
Unitarian	80
Other	39
Total	74,003

What conclusions could one draw from these figures as classified by the census office of the time?

Firstly, that the German native speakers were the most numerous, accounting for 44.5% of the total population. An additional explanation would be useful here though. Starting with the reign of Joseph II, the Habsburg authorities agreed to use the German language, without imposing it,

² Traian Rotariu, Maria Semeniuc & Elemér Mezei, *Recensământul din 1910 – Transilvania* [The Census of 1910 – Transylvania] (Bucharest: Staff, 1999), 548–550.

³ Ibid. 548–550.

as a means of communication with the population. The reason behind it was that Timișoara had been inhabited by colonists of German origin (Swabian) during the eighteenth century and that most of them did not speak any other language than German.

Secondly, the Italian, Spanish and French colonists were assimilated by the German ones, so they also used German as a language of communication.

Thirdly, during the emancipation and modernization processes, German was the language of instruction of the elites all over the empire and, also, it was through it that printing was spread in all its regions. Benedict Anderson's remark that the German language had acquired a double status – a universal-imperial one, on the one hand, and a particular-national one, on the other,⁴ is perfectly valid in this case. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, German was a reference point not only for the civic and cultural code of the entire population, but also for the ethno-national ideology and movements. It was the time when people and groups were often identified based on their language and cultural peculiarities.

As for the Hungarian speakers in Timișoara, their number – 28,645 – shows an increase that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the political changes that had occurred in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution, when the Hungarian language replaced Latin and/or German in public administration and when the Hungarian aristocracy preferred to use it in order to gain recognition in the eyes of the large mass of peasants. Classification based on language and religion, as it results from the tables presented above, was only seldom in line with the social and intellectual aspirations of the majority of Timișoara's population. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the city continued to function along its own coordinates, and cooperation among its citizens to the benefit of the community was a generally accepted way of life. At the time, the Budapest administration was learning with surprise that Timișoara defied the main ideological orientation of the time: linguistic nationalism. In this regard, the Hungarian regime could witness that German language perceptibly continued to dominate interpersonal communication as well as the fields of education, culture and media. For instance, the most important local newspaper was the German-language *Temeswarer Zeitung*.⁵ Despite the Hungarian politics of assimilation, 32,963 inhabitants

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991); Roman. ed.: *Comunități imaginate. Reflecții asupra originii și răspîndirii naționalismului*, transl. by Roxana Oltean and Ioana Potrache (Bucharest: Integral, 2000).

⁵ See Victor Neumann, "Temeswarer Zeitung și civismul Kakaniei", in Victor Neumann, ed., *Identitate și Cultură. Studii privind istoria Banatului* [Identity and Culture: Studies concerning the History of the Banat] (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 2009).

of Timișoara kept German as their mother tongue;⁶ 7,593 kept Romanian; and 3,490 kept Serbian, which indicated the actual distribution as far as the social composition was concerned.

As for religious affiliation, even though Roman Catholics were a majority, that is 67.5% of the total population of the city (49,981 of the total of 74,003),⁷ religious consciousness was not restricted. The observance of the Orthodox, Mosaic, Reformed-Calvinist, Evangelic-Lutheran and Greek-Catholic religions was left to the free choice of the population, the churches and synagogues of the abovementioned faiths being distributed all over the city's neighbourhoods.

All this cultural and religious variety was conducive to the organization of the population in professional, technical and scientific associations. The bourgeoisie embarked on numerous liberal initiatives, being supported by the local administration, while the social-democratic orientation was in the mainstream of the political culture of the majority of population.

* * *

Statistic data regarding Timișoara's population during the interwar period, which were elaborated by the Romanian administration, provide evidence about both the social-cultural transformations and the continuity of the majority-minorities relationships.⁸ The category of identity is changed as

⁶ Rotariu, Semeniciu & Mezei, *Recensământul*, 548.

⁷ Ibid. 550.

⁸ See the ideologized criteria and notions used by Sabin Manuilă in the ten-volume *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930* [General Census of Romania's Population of 29 December 1930] (Bucharest: Central Institute of Statistics, 1938–1940). Vol. I: *Sex, stare civilă, grupe de vârstă, gospodării, infirmități, populația flotantă* [Gender, civil status, age groups, households, disabilities, temporary residents]; vol. II: *Neam, limbă maternă, religie* [Kinship, mother tongue, religion]; vol. III: *Știința de carte* [Instruction]; vol. IV: *Locul nașterii, situația în gospodărie, menaje colective, mărimea gospodăriilor, cunoașterea limbii române, cetățenia, vârsta* [Place of birth, situation in the households, housekeeping, size of households, knowledge of Romanian, citizenship, age]; vol. V: *Profesiuni: Populația după situația în profesie, sex, grupe de vârstă, instrucție și neam pe clase de profesiuni* [Professions: population based on professional situation, gender, age groups, instruction and kinship by professional categories]; vol. VI: *Profesiuni: Populația pe clase și grupe de profesiuni și situația în profesie pe sexe* [Professions: populations based on categories and groups of professions and the situation in professions based on gender]; vol. VII: *Profesiuni: Populația pe clase și grupe de profesiuni după sexe, vârstă, instrucție și neam; situația în profesie a activilor* [Professions: Population based on categories and groups of professions based on gender, age, instruction and kinship; the professional situation of the active population]; vol. IX: *Structura populației României, tabele selecționate din rezultatele recensământului general al populației din 1930* [The structure of Romania's population, tables selected from the results of the general

compared to the previous period, “nationality” or ethno-culture becoming the main reference points for the census office. The table below shows the situation recorded in 1930:⁹

Table 3: Population of Timișoara in 1930 by nationality

Declared nationality	Number of persons
German	27,807
Hungarian	27,652
Romanian	24,217
Jewish	7,171
Serbian, Croatian or Slovene	2,156
Russian	700
Czech or Slovak	597
Gypsy/Roma	337
Bulgarian	257
Polish	101
Turkish	67
Ruthenian or Ukrainian	53
Albanian	10
Armenian	10
Hutsan	7
Greek	8
Tatar	2
Other	179
Non-declared	249
Total	91,580

While previously the aim of the Hungarian politics was to assimilate the population living in the Hungarian part of the monarchy linguistically and in terms of citizenship, from 1918 the Romanian politics of assimilation introduced new criteria of differentiation based on ethno-cultural background and on the number of persons living in a given community. For the census office, the notion of “nationality” was equivalent with kinship (Roman. *neam*), meaning “tribe” or “race”.¹⁰ Thus the census office of the time considered that it offered accurate and utterly unambiguous data.¹¹ The former criteria – language and religion – were not abandoned, but they acquired new meanings.

population census of 1930]; vol. X: *Întreprinderi industriale și comerciale* [Industrial and commercial enterprises].

⁹ Manuilă, *Recensământul*, vol. II, *Neam, limbă maternă, religie* (1938), 468–469.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

The statistics regarding Timișoara's inhabitants in 1930 suggest that the Romanian state was concerned with the idea of nation, i.e. with the sense of belonging to a nationality. It was a general trend in the newly-formed states after the First World War, which was contained in the essentialism of socio-political languages. Defining identity on the basis of “ethno-national” affiliation generated uncertainty because until then the regions where the majority and minorities coexisted had assumed integration of the existing diverse cultures, religions and histories and had allowed for nuances when it came to defining personal or collective identity. At that time, about thirty percent of Romania's population belonged to other cultural groups, i.e. their so-called “nationality” was different from Romanian. According to the historical and sociological literature, and also to the Romanian interwar press, the notion of “foreigner” was used to define both a person coming from another country and a person belonging to a minority group within the borders of the same state. Such an approach was used by some intellectuals in Timișoara at the time, illustrative in this sense being *Revista Institutului Social Banat-Crișana. Buletin Istoric* (1933–1946) [Journal of the Banat-Crișana Social Institute. Historical Bulletin (1933–1946)], published under the auspices of the Banat-Crișana Social Institute. The Institute and the journal were led by Cornel Grofșorean, one of Timișoara's mayors in the 1930s, and the model was taken over from the Romanian Social Institute of Bucharest and the Institute for Social Research of Romania. The institute in Timisoara was subordinated to the centralist system and deeply influenced by the ethno-nationalist ideology, an orientation often visible in the articles of its journal's contributors (Emil Botiș, Cornel Grofșorean, Aurel Bugariu, Coriolan Buracu, Aurel Ciupe, Aurel Cosma Jr., Gh. Cotoșman, Anton Golopența, Ilie Gropșianu, Romulus Ladea, Octavian Lupaș, Ioachim Miloia, Iosif Nemoianu, Petru Nemoianu, Melentie Sora, Ion Țenchea and Traian Topliceanu).¹² Consequently, the journal failed to reflect the local context and thus to serve the interests of all citizens.

¹² For the ethno-nationalist ideological option, see Ioan Lotreanu, *Monografia Banatului*, vol. I, *Situația geografică. Locuitorii. Comunele* [Monograph of the Banat. Vol. I: The Geographical Situation. Inhabitants. Villages] (Timișoara: Country Graphic Arts Institute, 1935); Cornel Grofșorean, *Banatul de altădată și de totdeauna. Sinteză problemelor istorice și social-politice* [The Banat of the past and of forever: The synthesis of historical and socio-political questions] (Timișoara: Helicon, Institute of Graphic Arts, 1946). For the application of the identity policies based on “nationality” and for the process of Romanian assimilation of higher education in Timișoara, see the tables with the number and nationality of the Politechnic of Timisoara graduates during 1924–1930, in Victor Vălcovici, *Școala Politehnică din Timișoara. Zece ani de existență* (octombrie 1920 – octombrie 1930) [The Politechnic school in Timisoara: Ten years of existence (October 1920 – October 1930)] (Timișoara: Romanian Print, 1930), 97–99.

On the occasion of the initiatives to set up the first institution of higher education in Timișoara, the mayor Stan Vidrighin had understood the configuration of the establishment as follows:

A higher school such as the Polytechnic [...] will prove the strength and superiority of the Romanian genius, will be able to contribute – to a great extent – to the consolidation of the Romanian element in Timișoara and the Banat, and will bring with it the nationalisation of all institutions which today are still foreign. The overwhelming majority of the Romanian element within the Banat region will gain through this establishment those intellectual forces to which the majority of Hungarians and Swabians, who are today better armed [prepared], will be forced to surrender. And our particular inferiority in Timișoara, which is the regrettable result of our minority status in this city, will certainly be transformed here, too, into superiority.¹³

Onisifor Ghibu, head of the Religions and Public Instruction Ministry in the Governing Council (*Consiliul Dirigent*),¹⁴ followed the same line. According to him, the founding of the abovementioned institution of higher education had as its main objective “strengthening and nationalisation of this border city”.¹⁵

By examining the notion of “nationality” used as the main criterion in the census of 1930, it can be asserted that Timișoara posed a challenge to the census office for the following reasons:

(1) the city was inhabited by many types of groups, each of them speaking two or three languages;

(2) one’s nationality did not always coincide with one’s mother tongue;

(3) the identity of some of the inhabitants of the city – the example of the Jews is relevant in the above statistics – was in certain cases determined by religion rather than by mother tongue (in this case the census office introduced the notion of “Jewish nationality”);

(4) Timișoara’s melting-pot character often made the identification of its citizens with one particular nationality impossible, mixed marriages

¹³ According to “Adresa Primăriei orașului Timișoara către Ministerul Instrucțiunii și al Cultelor în chestiunea înființării unei Politecnice în Timișoara” [Memorandum of the Timișoara Mayor’s Office to the Ministry of Education and Denominations regarding the establishing of a polytechnic school in Timișoara], in Vălcovici, *Școala Politehnică*, 7–12; quote on p. 10.

¹⁴ In 1918–20, the Governing Council temporarily managed the question of the newly-integrated regions into Romania under the Peace Treaty of Paris.

¹⁵ According to “Motivarea bugetului Politecnice din Timișoara” [Motivation of the Timișoara Polytechnic’s budget] signed by Onisifor Ghibu, in Vălcovici, *Școala Politehnică*, 14–15, quote on p. 15.

being numerous and indicating relationships between Roman-Catholics and Protestants, Orthodox and Greek-Catholics, Christians and Jews;

(5) “nationality” or ethno-nation were quite relative notions in a region with interacting cultures and customs.

According to the 1930 census, Timișoara’s population by mother tongue was the following:¹⁶

Table 4: Population of Timișoara in 1930 by mother tongue

Declared mother tongue	Number of speakers
German	30,670
Hungarian	32,513
Romanian	24,088
Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian	1,820
Russian	688
Yiddish	442
Czech or Slovak	375
Gipsy	167
Bulgarian	234
Polish	44
Turk or Tatar	53
Ruthenian or Ukrainian	30
Albanian	26
Armenian	3
Greek	7
Other	151
Undeclared	269
Total	91,580

As for the religions practised in 1930, the official statistics recorded the following situation:¹⁷

Table 5: Population of Timișoara in 1930 by religion

Declared religion or denomination	Number of adherents
Roman-Catholic	48,136
Orthodox	24,307
Mosaic	9,368
Reformed (Calvinist)	4,690
Evangelic (Lutheran)	2,279
Greek-Catholic	2,056
Baptist	193

¹⁶ According to Manuilă, *Recensământul*, vol. II, *Neam, limbă maternă, religie*, 468–469.

¹⁷ Ibid. 755.

Muslim	84
Uniate	66
Adventist	42
Armenian-Gregorian	26
Lipovan	8
Other	14
Free thinkers	41
Undeclared	270
Total	91,580

As it can be seen in the tables above the identity particularity of Timișoara was referring to the preservation of a large number of multilingual citizens, among whom the native speakers of Hungarian and German were disputing their pre-eminence, being closely followed by the Romanian ones. From this viewpoint, the census records 32,513 Hungarians, 30,670 Germans and 24,088 Romanians accounting for 35.5%, 33.5% and 26.6% of the total population respectively.

As for the freedom of consciousness, statistics suggest the authorities' tendency to impose affiliation to one faith or another, a fact illustrated by the very low number of those who declared themselves "free thinkers", namely 41 persons out of a total of 91,580 inhabitants (0.04%). This is not surprising, however, because official statistics did not record any information about those who were bilingual or trilingual. Also, they did not use the concept of a citizen, nor did they register those who were assimilated to one of the prevailing cultures and religions.

Later, in 1941, the abovementioned statistics were once more referring to the situation of the population in Timișoara based on "nationalities", precisely requesting from each citizen to declare his or her affiliation in this respect:¹⁸

Table 6: Population of Timișoara in 1941 by nationality

Declared nationality	Number of persons
Romanian	46,466
German	37,611
Hungarian	24,891
Other	16,084
Total	125,052

The table above suggests the slow but certain inoculation of the idea of opting clearly for a certain "nationality", ethnic group or for an ethno-nation. It should be mentioned that counting and classifying the population

¹⁸ Rotariu, Semeniuc & Mezei, *Recensământul*, 107.

according to “nationality”,¹⁹ language or religion was also adopted by a part of those who numerically were in a minority community.

This type of quantification was adopted not only by the Romanian institutes subordinated to the central administration,²⁰ but also by the administrations of all linguistic or religious groups. Special attention was directed towards the protection of minority groups in the region, the main voice being *A Magyar Kisebbség. Nemzetpolitikai Szemle* [The Hungarian Minority. National Political Leaflet],²¹ a bimonthly published from June 1923 to June 1942 and counting a total of 480 issues. The editors were István Sulyok and Elemér Jakabffy. From 1926 a trilingual supplement was published under the title *Glasul Minorităților. La voix des minorités. Die Stimme der Minderheiten* [Minorities’ Voice]. The main contributors to this publication were: Artúr Balogh, Árpád Bitay, Kelemen Gál, Elemér Gyárfás, György Kristóf, Imre Mikó, Árpád and József Willer. Both publications were directed by one of the political leaders of the Hungarians in the Banat, and in Romania, Elemér Jakabffy. In parallel with this preoccupation, central authorities in Bucharest continued to emphasize the numerical increase in Romanian majority population in cities such as Timișoara. Compared to Timișoara’s 15 nationalities (minorities) recorded and classified by the 1930 census, in 1941 these were reduced to three: Romanian, German and Hungarian. In this respect, the category “other nationalities” replaced all numerically weaker groups. In fact, the statistics of 1941 indicated for the first time a change in proportions among the local population, Romanians becoming a majority with a total of 46,466 persons. This kind of “bookkeeping” and placing a person in society was based on the identity theory which had been conceived and formulated in the nineteenth century and had as its main reference point the concept of *Völkischekultur*.²²

Despite these inadequacies and tendencies towards creating more categories of citizens, multilingual and multiconfessional Timișoara had con-

¹⁹ See the notions in the ten volumes of the *Recensământul general*.

²⁰ This is the case of the Banat-Crișana Social Institute.

²¹ From the terminology used in the title of the publication it follows that the Hungarians considered themselves not only as a minority, but also as belonging to a different nation from the Romanian one.

²² For the explanation of the concepts of *neam*, *nem*, *Volk*, *Völkischekultur*, *Kulturnation*, see Victor Neumann, *Neam, Popor sau Națiune. Despre identitățile politice europene* [Neam (kinship), People or Nation. On European Political Identities] (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2005). For a new explanation, a comparison of the concept of nation in East-Central Europe, see Victor Neumann, “Peculiarities of the Translation and Adaptation of the Concept of Nation in East-Central Europe. The Hungarian and Romanian Cases in the Nineteenth Century”, *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 7/1 (Summer 2012), 72–101.

tinued its existence retaining its features given by its socio-cultural model, its industrial and commercial contribution to Romania, its own resources, the openness of its society, and by the impressive number of cultural, sports and civic associations.

I shall mention a few examples in order to better illustrate the contradiction between the nationalist political orientation and the aspirations of the local society:

(1) The very first professional club and the most popular football team in Romania in 1930–1940 was Ripensia Timișoara. It was the result of an admirable cooperation that reflected intercultural harmony. The team included players with diverse cultural backgrounds – German, Romanian, Hungarian, Jewish, Serbian etc. – reflecting the very nature of the city. Some of the prominent players were: Adalbert Hrehuss, Alexandru Schwartz, Balazs Hoksary, Cornel Lazăr, Dumitru Pavlovici, Eugen Lakatos, Francisc Agner, Gheorghe Ciolac, Gheorghe Oprean, Grațian Sepi II, Gustav Nemeth, Iosif Silvat, Ladislau Raffinski, Mihai Tanzer, Nicolae Simatoc, Pavel Gall, Rudolf Burger, Rudolf Kotormany, Silviu Bindea, Ștefan Dobay, Vasile Chiroiu II, Vasile Deheleanu, William Zombory and Zoltan Beke. In 1930–1940, Ripensia repeatedly won the national football championship and competed with the main football clubs in Europe during the interwar period, thus becoming the undisputed legend of Romanian football of all times. The club conveyed one of the most credible messages about the spirit of interwar Timișoara to the whole of Romania, the names of the Ripensia players symbolizing both the recognition of their talent in sports and the continuity of the inherited pacifist values characterizing most of the multicultural and intercultural cities in East-Central Europe.²³

(2) Another proof of this spirit is the impressive list of journals and newspapers,²⁴ as well as monolingual and multilingual books and postcards.²⁵ During the interwar period, some of the newspapers and journals were published trilingually, in Romanian, Hungarian and German, and their number varied from three to seven.²⁶

²³ See Alexiu Cristofor's micro-monograph, *Ripensia* (Timișoara: Helicon, 1992).

²⁴ The first classification of the newspapers and periodicals published in interwar Timișoara can be found in Nicolae Ilieșius, *Timișoara. Monografie istorică* [Timișoara: Historical monograph] (Timișoara: G. Matheiu, 1943). This was resumed and complemented by Thomas Mochnács, "Cultura în Timișoara interbelică" [Culture in interwar Timișoara] (Ph.D. thesis in history, West University of Timișoara, 2012), chap. "Interwar periodicals", 101–164.

²⁵ Mochnács, "Cultura în Timișoara interbelică", chap. "Timișoara's image in printed picture postcards", 50–100.

²⁶ Ibid. 159–160.

Table 7: Trilingual journals

Year of issue	Number of trilingual journals
1922	4
1925	7
1926	4
1930	3
1932	4
1933	6
1934	7

(3) An inventory of the postcards made by the collector Thomas Mochnács from Timișoara reveals that the postcards depicting Timișoara did not bear explanatory texts in only one of the three languages – Romanian, German or Hungarian – but also in two or three languages simultaneously. Out of the total of 480 postcards, 106 bore explanatory texts in Romanian and Hungarian; 50 in Romanian, Hungarian and German; 15 in Romanian and German; 15 in Hungarian and German; one in German and Hebrew, and one in Esperanto.²⁷ Not only are many of them cartographic rarities, but they also testify to an atmosphere where the citizens’ interest, recognition and preoccupation with the particular features of their city, as compared with those of other towns in Romania or Europe in the interwar period, were prevailing.

(4) Many members of the elites shared and capitalized on this mindset of the population. This is the case with some of the cosmopolitan writers who translated poetry and prose²⁸ from one language into another by experimenting in new literary genres, to mention but Zoltán Franyó, Ilie

²⁷ Ibid. 75–76.

²⁸ See Ion Luca Caragiale, *Az elveszett levél* [A lost letter], transl. by Kádár Imre, foreword by Bánffy Miklós (Romanian Playwright Library series, no. 1) (Timișoara: Erdélyi Helikon, 1926). (Révai Institute of Literature, Budapest, [1926]); Áron Cotruș, *Holnap* [Tomorrow], transl. by Pál Bodó, Genius [Timișoara], 1929; Viktor Orendi-Hommenau, *Literatur und Volkskunst der Rumänen* [Popular literature and the arts of the Romanians]. Selbstverlag des Verfassers, Temeswar, 1928; Mihai Eminescu, *Ausgewählte Gedichte* [Selected poems]. Deutsche Übersetzung von Viktor Orendi-Hommenau. [Translated into the German by Viktor Orendi-Hommenau]. Verlag „Von der Heide“, Temeswar - Timișoara, Rumänien, 1932; Zoltán Franyó, *A kárpáti harcokról* [About the fights in the Carpathians]. Budapest, 1915, according also to the version translated into the German by Zoltán Franyó, *Bruder Feind* [Enemy brother]. Wien, 1916. ***, *Eine Herbstsymphonie rumänischer Lyrik* [A symphony of the autumn of the Romanian lyrics]. [Translated by Zoltán Franyó]. Arad, 1926. ***, *Rumänische Dichter. Eine Anthologie zeitgenössischer Lyrik* [Romanian poets: an anthology of contemporary lyrics]. Übers. und hrsg. von Zoltán Franyó, Genius, Timișoara, 1932. Ernst Toller, *Fecskekönyv* [The books of the marthlets]. [Translated by Zoltán Franyó]. Vreera, Timișoara, 1935;

Ienea, Ion Stoia-Udrea, Petru Sfetcă, Robert Reiter/Franz Liebhardt, Virgil Birou, Viktor Orendi Hommenau, Anavi Ádám, József Méliusz, Nicolae Ivan, Mircea Șerbănescu and Károly Endre.²⁹

(5) The same orientation can be found in the artistic circle of Timișoara represented by the painters Catul Bogdan, Aurel Ciupe, Franz Ferch, Ioan Isac, Albert Krausz, Emil Lenhardt, Corneliu Liuba, Ioan Eminet, Julius Podlipny, Oskar Szuhaneck, Ștefan Szőnyi, Albert Varga, Nándor Kora Korber and Alexandru Popp, or the sculptors Andrei Gál, Ferdinand Gallas, Romul Ladea, Sebastian Rotschink and Géza Rubletzky.³⁰

(6) An even more distinctive emphasis was generated by the musical milieu, especially by the Conservatory of Timișoara, which managed to capitalize on the richness of the popular traditions of the Banat region more than any other institution. Among those who gave substance to its creative and formative programmes were violoncellist Nicolae Papazoglu, violin instructor Maximilian Costin, violinists Josif Pianezze, Béla Tómm, Eugen Căteanu, Ludwig Farago and Josef Brandeis,³¹ composers Guido von Pogatschnigg, Sabin Drăgoi, Tiberiu Brediceanu, Filaret Barbu, Alma Cornea-Ionescu, Filaret Barbu, Zeno Vancea, Hermann Klee and Richard Carol Oschanitzky.³²

These facts support the idea that Timișoara in the 1930s was the outcome of living-together and of interacting histories rather than a city with communities living separate lives. Intercultural harmony among different communities rather than conflict was prevailing during that time. During the interwar period, both nationalist and national-communist (protochro-

Mihai Eminescu, *Der Abendstern* [The Evening Star]. [Translated by Zoltán Franyó]. Timișoara, 1943.

²⁹ For references concerning multilingual writers in Timișoara, see Adriana Babeți & Cécile Kovacschazy, eds., *Le Banat. Un Eldorado aux confins* (Paris: CIRCE, Université de Sorbonne, 2007), 214–217, 199–204, 205–209.

³⁰ Adriana Pantazi, “Etapă în istoria istoriografiei artei românești interbelice. Studiu de caz: Arad și Timișoara” [Stages in the interwar historiography of Romanian art. Case study: Arad and Timișoara], the abstract of the PhD thesis; scientific adviser: Professor Iacob Mârza, Alba-Iulia, 2012, p. 5.

³¹ Maria Bodó, *Creația bănațeană pentru pian în perioada interbelică* [Piano composition in the Banat region during the interwar period] (Timișoara: Marineasa, 2005), esp. chap. “Viața muzicală în perioada interbelică” [Musical life during the interwar period], 101–118. See also Damian Vulpe, “Învățământul muzical timișorean cu școlile lui” [Music instruction and schools in Timișoara], lecture delivered at the symposium organised on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Music Faculty/Department in Oradea, 13 December 2005 (<http://www.deceniu-muzical-universitar.blogspot.ro/>).

³² Bodó, *Creația bănațeană pentru pian*, 119–159.

nist) historiographies refused to take note of this fact, or perhaps they failed to understand it.³³

It should be said that a clearly documented and narrated history of the majority-minorities relationship not only presumes to appeal to or to exemplify multicultural societies, i.e. their life under the interculturality aegis, but it also needs to emphasize that the new identity theory, that of ethno-nation and “nationality”, was in the full process of aggressive assertion, refusing any idea of convergences. That is, the meaning of local mentalities derives from two contexts, the general political and the local one, which have to be analyzed simultaneously. The ethno-national and ethno-cultural differentiation can be seen in the semantics attributed to the key concepts that define collectivity in the Romanian language, that is: *neam* [kinship], *popor* [people], nation, multiculturality, multiconfessionality. This aspect seems important to me, even more so as I had in view a city with particular characteristics resulting from its geography, its demographic trends and its cultural references and interactions.

The Jews of interwar Timișoara: politics of recognition of diversities or intercultural civics?

Beyond the political discourse and decisions in interwar Romania, socio-cultural realities are worthy of being highlighted more clearly. To this end, I have chosen to present one of the groups living in Timișoara, namely the Jews, by emphasizing their status in interwar Timișoara and Romania. Jews represent a symptomatic case of the redefinition of collective identities in the context of administrative changes occurring at state level, namely the transition from the Dual Monarchy to the Romanian state. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jews played a particular role for Timișoara's profile; they were the citizens enjoying equal legal and political rights; they represented a bridge among communities by using three or even four languages; they had set up some of the most prestigious industrial and trade companies in the city; they developed economic, cultural and artistic relations with other cities in Central and Western Europe.³⁴ Along with

³³ Disregard for these cultural interactions or failure to understand their identity sense has continuity from one century to another. See Rodica Munteanu & Ioan Munteanu, *Timișoara. Monografie* [Timisoara: Monograph] (Timișoara: Mirton, 2002).

³⁴ Their circulation is signalled in documents within the Timiș, Caraș and Arad counties of the Banat region. They had well established status approved by either the Ministry of Religion in Budapest or the local authorities. Many of them had a rabbi, a synagogue, a school, a cemetery, two or more cantors, administrative clerks as well as financial resources necessary to pursue traditional religious activities. See also Victor Neumann,

the Swabians,³⁵ they had created the social layer of the bourgeoisie, being involved in the process of modernization of the city and the region. Consequently, the status of citizenship was essential for the continuity of Jewish presence in Timișoara after the First World War, for the expansion of their activity and, to a certain extent, for the self-definition of their identity.³⁶

The reorganization of Central and Eastern Europe after the war, the creation of nation states following the peace treaties signed at Saint Germain and Trianon, generated a crisis of conscience within the population of Timișoara and the Banat. Post-war changes provoked dissensions between the more cosmopolitan liberal-bourgeois Jews, on the one hand, and the Zionist ones, on the other. Hildrun Glass – researcher of the German-Jewish relationship in interwar Romania – has noticed that criticism levelled at the liberal groups was formulated mainly by new Jewish political organizations. The same happened in the case of the Swabians and the Hungarians setting up their respective political organizations under the emblem of ethno-cultural or ethno-national identity.³⁷ Hildrun Glass's remark is credible, but internal tensions require further explanation which would take into consideration the formation of the nation, the political context, the economic life and social movements. For the Jews, the instauration of Romanian administration in 1919 meant the need to adapt to the conditions different from the previous ones. It was about the administrative reorganization of their community by taking into account

Istoria evreilor din Banat. O mărturie a multi- și interculturalității Europei Central-Orientale [History of the Jews of the Banat: A Testimony to Multi- and Inter-culturality in East-Central Europe] (Bucharest: Atlas, 1999), Eng. ed.: *The End of a History. The Jews of Banat from the Beginning to Nowadays* (Bucharest: Bucharest University Press, 2006).

³⁵ Elemér Jakabffy & György Páll, *A Bánsági Magyarok Husz Éve Romániában* [The 20 years in Romania of the Hungarians of Banat] (Budapest: Studium, 1939), 34–35.

³⁶ At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were Jewish communities in Timișoara, Vârșeț, Gătaia, Buziaș, Lipova, Ciacova, Recaş, Biserica Albă, Deta, Arad, Șimand, Butin, Șemlac, Pecica, Chișineu-Criș, Curtici, Sântana, Păncota, Lugoj, Caransebeș, Bocșa, Orșova, Oravița, Făget, Reșița, Balinț, Vinga, Ineu, Cermei and Șipet, according to The Archive of the Jewish Community in Timișoara (today kept at the Centre for the Study of Jewish History in Romania headquartered in Bucharest; hereafter: AJCT), file no. 56, 1922–1926, sheets no. 123–124. See also Neumann, *Istoria evreilor din Banat*.

³⁷ Hildrun Glass, *Zerbrochene Nachbarschaft. Das Deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis in Rumänien (1918–1938)* [Broken neighbourhood: The German-Jewish relationship in Romania (1918–1938)] (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1996), 291. See also the assessment and critical comments on the abovementioned book by Rainer Ohliger in: *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 31.10.1997, <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/id=379>>.

the new legal framework, the political representation issue within Romania and the redefinition of their identity according to the Romanian idea of nation. All this against the background where the Jews (likewise the Swabians, Hungarians, Serbians, Bulgarians or Slovaks) did not consider themselves foreigners in the regions of the former Dual Monarchy, but rather as part of the new nation's citizens.

The very first signs of the unification of the Jewish community of Timișoara appeared in 1922, under the Orthodox Jews' pressure.³⁸ According to them, the interests of the Jews belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian regions were to be represented by the National Union of the Jews of Transylvania and the Banat. Jewish consciousness was reborn due to the Zionist organizations. The progress of the movement was owed to the activity of Alexandru Marmorek, the leader of the Zionist movement in France. University professor and director of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Marmorek, a native of Vienna, was familiar with the problems of the Hungarian Jews. He arrived in Timișoara at the end of the First World War as a doctor attached to the French Entente troops which were assigned the task of preventing potential conflicts among the Romanians, Hungarians and Serbs in the Banat.³⁹ The *Uj Kelet* newspaper claimed that professor Marmorek drew the attention of the Timișoara Jews to the new international political context in which they would be compelled to cope with nationalist and anti-Semitic attacks. The *Uj Kelet* of Cluj (1918–1940) and *Neue Zeit-Uj Kor* of Timișoara (1920–1940) advocated reconsidering the identity issue in tune with the ideology of the time, the Timișoara newspaper becoming the mouthpiece of the Union of the Jews of Transylvania and the Banat. The Zionist idea was embraced by a part of the local Jewry on the occasion of the meeting held in Timișoara in 1923.⁴⁰ In parallel, Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, the representative of the Union of the Native Jews of Bucharest, invited the Timișoara Jewry,

³⁸ *Temesvarer Volksblatt*, 27 March 1922.

³⁹ See in this connection the article "Marmorek professzor a kelet es Délmagyarország zsidóság külföldi képviselője" [Professor Marmorek, the representative abroad of Southern and Eastern Hungary], *Uj Kelet* no. 1, 1918.

⁴⁰ AJCT, file no. 56/1922–1926, sheets no. 273–289: Az 1923 évi május hó 27 én megtartott bánáti es aradmegye országos zsidó nagygyűlés [The Great Assembly of the Jews of Banat and Arad on 27 May 1923]. The intention was explicitly formulated as early as 14 May 1923 by the presidium of the Israelite community of Timișoara in a memorandum to the Timiș prefect which reads as follows: "The Jews of Transylvania and Banat wish to unify in order to support their common interests. In this view, they organize a general assembly on 27 May of this year [1923] at 5.30 p.m. in the meetings room of the Israelite Community building in Timișoara, Mărășești Street." According to AJCT, file no. 56/1922–1926, year 1923, sheet no. 339.

through their lawyer, Adolf Vértes, to accept the unification of the Jewish communities of Romania.⁴¹

Though resemblances existed, the way of life and concerns of the communities living in the Banat and Transylvania were not the same as those of the Jews living in the Old Kingdom of Romania. The Jews of Timișoara were mostly Hungarian and German speakers, and after a part of the Banat was incorporated into Romania they also acquired the Romanian language. Their majority belonged to the Neologist (Reformist) denomination, closely attached to the idea of emancipation and the preservation of local values, a reason for which the political ideology promoted by the Jews of Bucharest could not be immediately embraced by the Jews of Timișoara. Consequently, the Jewish inter-community relationships in Romania were kept on formal level for a long time. The assembly held in Timișoara in 1923 revealed that a part of the Jews were interested in clarifying the identity issue. If from cultural and linguistic perspectives they belonged to the cosmopolitan space of Central Europe, from the ritual viewpoint, the Jews of Timișoara oscillated between the Orthodox and the Neologue ones. On this background, the Zionists were those who formulated a first alternative to the concept of citizenship. The attendance of the abovementioned assembly by all three communities of Timișoara (Neologue, Orthodox and status quo), had been given as an example of good cooperation. Prominent figures of the Judaic life in the Banat and Transylvania took part in the event, among others: the chief-rabbis of Timișoara and Caransebeș, the President of the National Union

⁴¹ AJCT, file no. 56/1922–1926, year 1923, sheet no. 317: “The hard sufferings which we had to go through are due – for anybody who will carefully investigate the facts – to the lack of full cohesion between the Jews in the new territories and the Old Kingdom. The Native Jews Union which has had until today the cumbersome mission to give the Jews of the Old Kingdom a lawful status by registering their emancipation in the Constitution, protecting in the meantime in conjunction with the Jewish parliamentarians from damaging the Jews’ rights in the new territories, is the one that calls today the Jews in the new territories for their organisation being deeply assured that this is the only and the most effective means to fight anti-Semitism. For achieving this objective, we are honoured to ask you to participate in the consultation to take place in Bucharest on 27 and 28 May of this year at 4.00 p.m. [...] for which we have convened persons from all provinces. This consultation will set the groundwork for the organization of the Union of the Jews of Romania which comprises the sum of the Jewish citizens in Romania, and the call for a general congress of the Jews of Romania will be decided upon.” On the intention of the Jewish communities of Banat and Transylvania in the new political context, see AJCT, file no. 55/1920, sheets no. 73–75, copy of the letter sent by the Jewish Community of Timișoara to the Ministry of Religion and Arts in reply to the Ministry’s decree no. 38.095/1920.

of the Jews of Timișoara, the President of the Neologue Community of Arad, the Vice-President of the National Union of the Jews of Cluj. The gathering created the premises for a debate about the question of Jewish identity. Topics concerning religion, cultural and sports activities, national propaganda and awakening of Jewish consciousness were highlighted by the speakers. The aim of the event was stated by the President of the Neologue Community of Timișoara, Dr. Adolf Vértes: “I have considered that time has come to invite delegates of the Transylvanian and Banat communities and of the national association ones to the great assembly of today (23 May 1923 of this year) which is devoted to the magnificent idea of uniting our dispersed resources within various political nuances, so that we can turn them to the general benefit of the Jews.”⁴²

The Jews of Timișoara were advancing a policy which was partially under the influence of the Jewish movements in Europe. The idea of a Jewish nation was inspired by the same differences which had been promoted by German culture in the nineteenth century and which a few decades before had inspired the Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, Hungarians, Serbs and Bulgarians. Given that the Romanian state required from each minority group to set up its own representative body, the Jewish communities were eager to fulfil this condition, particularly in the cities with a multicultural and intercultural profile. The two parties that the Jews of Timișoara and the Banat were looking at, namely the Romanian National Party (which later became the National Peasant Party) and the Hungarians’ Party, had, however, ignored them. In the 1927 and 1928 elections, the Jews of the Banat and Transylvania ran on the Hungarians’ Party lists and the liberals’ lists respectively, and managed to win only two seats in the Romanian Parliament.⁴³ The fact was quite serious, as the Jewish population in the abovementioned regions numbered about 200,000 people.

Even though the Zionist movement gained ground and the spread of the majority and minority nationalist movements was felt in Timișoara as well, a large part of the Jews – just as the largest part of the city population – were favourable to the idea of social integration and promotion of a civic movement that had begun a few decades earlier. Consequently, they continued to practise multilingual communication and to share values, to oppose ethnicism and nationalism, and to cultivate cosmopolitan and social-democratic orientations through which Timișoara entered into modernity. It is also true that the Romanian state and the local administrations within it could not ignore the very presence and talent of the Jew-

⁴² AJCT, file no. 56/1922–1926, year 1923, sheets no. 273–289.

⁴³ See *Erdelyi Magyar Évkönyv* [Transylvanian Hungarian Yearly] 1930, p. 114.

ish entrepreneurs, so their professional and managerial skills were capitalized. The prestige enjoyed by the Jews for entrepreneurship and initiative averted tendencies promoted by I. I. C. Brătianu's National Liberal Party to replace the former category of entrepreneurs with those of Romanian ethnic origin. During the interwar period the large number of so-called minorities in Timișoara and the Banat enabled the precedence of economic interests over ethnicist-oriented theories and measures. The textile industry, as well as the glove, hat and shoe factories, and the brewery of Timișoara, benefited from the substantial contribution of the Jewish entrepreneurs.⁴⁴ Their businesses were highly appreciated, and cooperation among businessmen belonging to different cultures, languages and religious denominations was bringing economic and political stability to the city. The presence of the Jews was appreciated for creating and running business associations, for the reciprocity of the services provided, for the exceptional contribution to the musical and artistic life.

In lieu of a conclusion

As an industrial and trade centre, interwar Timișoara had a large number of workers, important social organizations, a strong union movement and also a liberal bourgeoisie which was able to handle business wisely in order to maintain a relaxed environment for the employees.

Most of the citizens were sympathetic to social democracy despite the fact that left-wing movements were considered by the authorities as being opposed to the national culture and identity. One cannot speak about a simple matter of capital growth though and, as an example, there can be noticed a certain dynamics in practical matters, extension of inter-groups relationships, creation of guilds and existence of a vibrant artistic and sports life.

While ideologies became more radical and racism and anti-Semitism were becoming references on the Romanian and European political scenes, Timișoara had chosen to cultivate its civic spirit and multicultural and intercultural status, thus opposing conflicting trends.

The aspirations of a part of its inhabitants support the assertion according to which social history cannot be simply reduced to the division of labour and state systems. In other words, as Etienne Balibar would put it,

⁴⁴ See The National Archives, Timiș County Branch, Documentary Fonds Wool Industry. Also according to F. Theiss, *Album jubiliar, 275 de ani: 1718–1993. Fabrica de bere din Timișoara* [Jubilee Album, 275 years: 1718–1993. The Brewery of Timisoara] (Timișoara, 1993).

non-economic social reactions play a fundamental role in such places because they represent the real historical community of individuals.⁴⁵

Translated from

Romanian by Dr. Simona Neumann

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⁴⁵ Etienne Balibar, Foreword to Etienne Balibar & Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Classe. Les identités ambiuguës* (Paris: Editions La Decouverte, 1990), 17: “Ce sont ces réactions qui confèrent à l’histoire sociale une allure irréductible à la simple ‘logique’ de la reproduction élargie du capital ou même un ‘jeu stratégique’ des acteurs définis par la division du travail et le système des États.”

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REVIEWS

GEORGES CASTELLAN, GABRIJELA VIDAN & ANTONIA BERNARD, *HISTOIRE DE LA CROATIE ET DE LA SLOVÉNIE*. CROZON: EDITIONS ARMELINE, 2011, pp. 522.

Reviewed by Veljko Stanić*

The French Armeline publishing house has specialised in recent years in the history of East and South-East Europe. There stand out in their production historical syntheses, among which an important place is occupied by the works of the doyen of French Balkan studies, emeritus professor at the University of Paris III–Sorbonne Nouvelle and prolific historian, Georges Castellan: *Serbes d'Autrefois. Aux origines de la Serbie moderne* (originally published as *La vie quotidienne en Serbie au seuil de l'indépendance*, Paris: Hachette, 1967), *Histoire du peuple roumain*, *Histoire de l'Albanie et des Albanais*, *Un pays inconnu. La Macédoine*, *Histoire de la Bulgarie. Au pays des roses*. This series of his has recently been joined by a new book, *Histoire de la Croatie et de la Slovénie*, this time written jointly with Gabrijela Vidan, professor of French literature at the University of Zagreb, and, now sadly late, Antonia Bernard, professor at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations in Paris.

The book before us is not intended specifically for experts in the history of

South-East Europe or students interested in this region but for a broader reading public. Although meant as an academic overview, it is above all a guide to the history and geography of a complicated region supposed to reduce a considerable gap in the offer of this type of literature in France. The authors are therefore explicit in their wish for the French reader to become more reliably acquainted both with the past of Croatia and Slovenia and with the position and society of the two European countries which now bear these names and which are as yet inadequately known to European publics. Castellan even suggests that the perception of Croatia in France has for a long time been encumbered with the legacy of the Independent State of Croatia (*NDH*), a Second World War entity inspired by the ideology of Nazism.

This is reason enough for this book to contain not only an evenly structured historical overview spanning the centuries from the earliest times and Slavic

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settlement in the Balkans until this day – penned by Castellán – but also overviews of periods of cultural history in the national development of the Croatian and Slovenian peoples written by Vidan and Bernard, respectively. The book also contains an index of personal and geographic names, an index *locorum* in the form of tables, a timeline chart and a glossary of lesser-known terms, as well as two appendices with statistical data relating to the current situation in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia as regards the political and administrative system, demography and economy. Consequently, the book can also be read as a lexicon of phenomena, events and persons of significance to Croatian and Slovene histories.

It seems quite legitimate, however, to question the concept of combining the histories of Croatia and Slovenia in one book. While acknowledging obvious differences and distinctive characteristics observable in the historical development of the two peoples, Castellán highlights what they share in common: South-Slavic origin, early formation of Slavic polities in the Balkans, Roman Catholicism, belonging to the Habsburg Empire, historical position on the southeast periphery of the Holy Roman Empire, formation of modern national identities in the nineteenth century and Yugoslav experience in the twentieth century, secession from the Yugoslav federation and creation of independent states in the early 1990s. Such a combination would be more justified if we were offered a *histoire croisée* with special reference to differences and similarities in the formation of present-day Slovenia and Croatia, and an analysis of Central-European, Mediterranean and Balkan civilisational components in their development. What we have before us, however, is a conventional chronologically ordered narrative unfolding through a succession of chapters. The need to

squeeze almost fifteen centuries into the limited space of a synthesis inevitably reduces the amount of fact and blurs nuances in assessing historical phenomena.

Another general objection that may be raised to this book is that the level of its interaction with other political and cultural actors in the South-Slavic area, notably Serbian, is lower than the complexity of the area and the history of the *longue durée* require. In this connection, although Castellán sees medieval Bosnia – which, by the way, the relevant Byzantine sources describe as being inhabited by Serbs – as an independent political entity, in one place he misattributes it to the “Croatian space”. Furthermore, even though Castellán acknowledges the “Slavic” nature of the Ragusan (Dubrovnik) Republic, he wrongly includes it in the overview of the Croatian “royaumes indépendents” beginning with the early middle ages. As a result, Ragusan literature is assigned exclusively to the corpus of Croatian literary heritage, without even mentioning the Serbian literary heritage to which it also belongs, and to a much greater extent. Relatively little attention is paid to the history of the Serbian community in Croatia, although Castellán, of course, is aware of their historical role: their distinctive role in defence of the identity of the Croats through Yugoslav collaboration in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and the hardships they have endured at the hands of Croatian extremist parties and movements since the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, in discussing contemporary Croatia, he notices the lack of constitutional provisions regulating the status of the Serbian community, and adds that the Serbian share of 12.2 per cent of the total population of Croatia in 1990 is now reduced to 4.54 per cent, but abstains from calling the Operation Storm, expulsion of more than 200,000 Serbs from Croatia, an “ethnic cleansing”.

Broad-scope books such as this are bound to have some serious factual errors. Let us mention, for the sake of correction, two examples. Gavrilo Princip, the assassin of Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, was not a member of the "patriotic organisation" known as "Black Hand" (p. 189), but of the revolutionary youth organisation "Young Bosnia" which, inspired by anarchist and democratic ideas common to similar European national movements, included, in the Yugoslav spirit, not only Serb but also other South-Slavic youth. Speaking about the genocide against the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War, Cas-

tellan quotes the Serbian historian Dušan T. Bataković's *Histoire du peuple serbe* (p. 317), but does it inaccurately. Instead of quoting that the estimated number of Serb victims varied "between 300,000 and 700,000", Castellan's top figure is ten times as low as in the quoted original: "between 30,000 and 70,000" (p. 248).

Despite its flaws, the clearly organised *Histoire de la Croatie et de la Slovénie* will likely capitalise on Castellan's reputation and serve as an introduction to the history of the two countries in French as one more, this time co-authored, in the long line of his books devoted to the history and civilisation of the Balkans.

FRÉDÉRIC LE MOAL, *LA FRANCE ET L'ITALIE DANS LES BALKANS 1914-1919*.

LE CONTENTIEUX ADRIATIQUE. PARIS: L'HARMATTAN, 2006, pp. 407

and

LA SERBIE, DU MARTYRE À LA VICTOIRE, 1914-1918. PARIS: 14-18 ÉDITIONS, 2008, pp. 253.

*Reviewed by Veljko Stanić**

Frédéric Le Moal, professor at the Lycée militaire de Saint-Cyr and the Catholic University of Paris, is a historian of twentieth-century international relations with special interest in the period of the world wars and the Balkan region. He took his PhD from the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) under the mentorship of Professor Georges-Henri Soutou, and the first book reviewed here came out of his dissertation. His interest in the history of the Balkans led him to a separate synthesis devoted to Serbia in the First World War, published as the first in the 14-18 éditions series which is edited by Colonel Frédéric Guelton. It is also noteworthy that Le Moal subsequently published the book *Le front yougoslave pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Sotoca, 2012), which seems to be enough to make him stand out among younger French histo-

rians as a specialist in the area of military history and the history of international relations.

In the tradition of the French history of international relations, *La France et l'Italie dans les Balkans 1914-1919* looks behind the history of events to grasp the underlying history-shaping geopolitical and cultural forces. Naturally, it takes into consideration not only France and Italy but also the policies of other great powers, notably Russia, as well as major Balkan actors such as Serbia. Basing his analysis on French and Italian national, diplomatic and military source materials, Le Moal produces an exhaustive overview, the first of the kind, of Franco-Italian relations from the beginning of the First World War through the Peace Confer-

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ence in Paris, seeking to paint a broader picture of Franco-Italian relations in the contemporary history of Europe. Being focused on the period of the First World War, he naturally includes in his view the Balkans and the so-called “Adriatic Controversy”. While being allies, two “Latin sisters”, France and Italy, are also rivals as regards the territorial reorganisation of this part of the European continent, where two concepts of international relations and Europe’s future encounter each other: that of “Concert of Europe” and that of pursuing the national principle. Le Moal scrupulously presents different views on Franco-Italian relations during the First World War, opinions of politicians, diplomats, militaries and political writers. He is particularly concerned with the assessment and decision-making process, but also with propaganda or the prejudices about one another harboured by French and Italian statesmen, military leaders and intellectuals. The central question that he seeks to find an answer to concerns France’s gradual backtracking on the terms of the Treaty of London, the origin and causes of the shift in French policy which culminated at the peace conference at Versailles in 1919, becoming a long-standing hurdle in relations between the two countries.

The presence of Italian interest in Istria, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Albania and Macedonia much before 1914 made Italy one of those great powers – alongside Austria-Hungary and Russia – that influenced the political situation in the Balkans. Serbia’s foreign policy was at odds with Italian aspirations, and so Italy supported the creation of independent Albania, but Rome was no less frustrated by the supremacy of Austria-Hungary and her threats to Serbia. After the war broke out, Italy, even though a Central power, maintained neutrality and entered negotiations with France. Le Moal convincingly shows the traditional European concert

policy at work, i.e. mutual agreement of the powers on the redistribution of territories and the creation of a new balance of power in Europe. So Italy enters the war on the side of the Entente, having secured herself by the terms of the Treaty of London of April 1915. A blow to the Serbian government’s Yugoslav project, this treaty was also a blow to the struggle for the principle of nationality waved high by France as one of her propaganda trump cards.

Le Moal’s analysis reveals, however, that France had been changing her attitude towards the Treaty of London from as early as the end of 1915. The retreat of the Serbian army, its deployment to the Salonika Front, its military successes and, especially, the image of Serbian courage, both in French public opinion and among French politicians, added weight to the Serbian factor and, with it, to its Yugoslav project. Moreover, Le Moal identifies an influential group of “Italophobes” among French diplomats and military officers which were able to exert some influence on French mainstream politics. Among them are Berthelot, Paléologue and Fontenay, some members of the Third Bureau of the army general staff, and some intelligence structures. They see Italy as an inferior power whose military failures, especially when contrasted with Serbian vitality and perseverance, only strengthen their perceptions. Italian policy personified by Sonino, on the other hand, is a consistently rigid, inflexible policy of “national egoism”, which is frequently seen as “imperialism” in France. When France backs the Yugoslav solution in the last year of the war, Italy’s new claims to Albania and Rijeka (Fiume) are certainly not helping Franco-Italian relations. Le Moal rightly stresses that “their differences as regards the Yugoslav issue and the reorganisation of the Balkans evolve into a harsh conflict as a result of their different geopolitical plans, their national interests parting ways

and their mutually negative perceptions", which leads him to conclude that it was "impossible [for them] to establish relations of trust". On the whole, the book is a valuable and lasting contribution to the history of the First World War.

The goal of the other book reviewed here is to offer a comprehensive historical perspective on Serbia in the Great War intended for a broader public. Being a well-informed and academically grounded synthesis, it succeeds in achieving its goal. The book is based on the existing literature, including the works of Serbian historiography available in foreign languages, notably Andrej Mitrović's *Serbia's Great War 1914–1918* (Purdue University Press, 2007). As mentioned above, Le Moal's book opens the worthy series "Nations in the Great War", which also contains Jean-Noël Grandhomme's *La Roumanie de la Triple à l'Entente, 1914–1919* and Max Schiavon's *L'Autriche-Hongrie dans la Première Guerre mondiale. La fin d'un empire*.

Le Moal pays equal attention to the international position of Serbia, to its agile and skilful diplomacy, to military operations both at an early stage of the war and on the Salonika Front, and to the life in occupied Serbia and large-scale crimes against her civilian population that began in 1914. Especially important is the first chapter which places Serbia in the international context prior to 1914, outlining the dynamic of her political, social and economic development. In contrast to the stereotyped notion of Serbia as Russia's loyal ally, Le Moal draws attention to the nimbleness of her diplomacy and the agility of Nikola Pašić, who combines the national energy, the wisdom of a statesman and political constancy. Le Moal opposes the quite frequent interpretation of Serbia of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) or of 1914 as a markedly belligerent nationalist factor responsible for the crises that threw Europe into war. He looks at the devel-

opment of Serbia in the context of her difficult relations with Austria-Hungary, which was intent on keeping her in political and economic dependence. Unwilling to be forced into submission, Serbia affirms an independent foreign policy and gets deeper and deeper into conflict with her powerful neighbour. Nonetheless, Le Moal does not find Serbia responsible for the assassination of Francis Ferdinand, but Bosnia and Herzegovina's young revolutionaries.

Serbia's role in the course of events in Europe cannot, however, be reduced to her conflict with the Dual Monarchy and her early entry into the war after the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war on 28 July 1914. Much more important are her military successes in the first year of the war, at the battles of Cer and the Kolubara, which prevented Austria-Hungary from scoring the expected quick victory; so are also the agonising retreat of the Serbian army before the joint offensive of the Central powers at the end of 1915 and its consolidation as an important factor within the allied armies on the Salonika Front. The shift in the public perception of Serbia in the West, especially in France, was one of significant moments in the affirmation of her struggle, Le Moal observes. Apart from shedding light on the diplomatic and military aspects of Serbia in 1914–18, Le Moal succeeds in vividly evoking the sense of self-sacrificing patriotism which he finds characteristic not only of most Serbian soldiers but also of most civilians in Serbia during the war. The strong belief that it was about defending one's own country and fighting for the nation was the source of the power of resistance which impressed Serbia's war allies.

A good part of the book is devoted to the Salonika Front (1916–18) and to discussing two options opening to post-war Serbia: a Serbian or a Yugoslav state. In the politics of Pašić in 1914–18, facing the

choice between an enlarged Serbia and a large Yugoslav state, Le Moal recognises a patient effort to keep balance between the allies, the Yugoslav Committee and the war events. He sees the outcome – the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December 1918 – as a success of Pašić's politics because the post-war Yugoslav kingdom was based on

pre-war Serbia's nation-building tradition and on her military victories.

In short, this is a book which understandingly but with measure and method portrays the road from "martyrdom to victory" travelled by a small country in the Great War. It will no doubt help alleviate the lack of literature on the history of Serbia in 1914–18 in foreign languages.

JEAN-PAUL BLED, *FRANÇOIS-FERDINAND D'AUTRICHE*. PARIS: TALLANDIER, 2012, pp. 367.

Reviewed by Veljko Stanić*

If the name of Franz Ferdinand as the victim of the Sarajevo assassination on 28 June 1914 has impressed itself on the collective memory of the Europeans, the same can hardly be said for the life of the heir-apparent. His life was cut short before he even got the chance to accede to the throne. Yet, his ambitions and activities in almost twenty years he bore the title raise a number of questions of relevance to understanding the last years of Austria-Hungary and international relations prior to 1914. Among the freshly released history books that re-examine the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the First World War, stands out the biography of heir to the Habsburg throne penned by the French professor Jean-Paul Bled.

For such subject matter as Franz Ferdinand's biography one can hardly hope to find a more competent historian. Emeritus professor at the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), Jean-Paul Bled is a leading specialist in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy. A prolific writer of refined style, Bled is an expert on the history of political ideas, perhaps best known for his noted biographies of some of the central figures of Austrian and German history, to mention but Franz Joseph,

Maria Theresa, Frederick the Great and Bismarck. A German edition of the biography of Franz Ferdinand has been published by the Böhlau Verlag. The author's erudite knowledge accumulated over the years devoted to the historical study of the Habsburg Monarchy is so well known that it need no special mention, but it is worthy of note that this biography is based on a scrupulous analysis of Franz Ferdinand Fonds from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA) and the fonds of his Military Chancery deposited at the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna.

In order to clarify the main contribution of this book, we shall sketch the portrait of Franz Ferdinand as it vibrantly and suggestively emerges from the author's narrative. We shall take a look at his political convictions and views on pursuing practical politics both in domestic and in foreign affairs. The plans for a reorganisation of the Monarchy as a possible framework for the course Franz Ferdinand might have pursued in the event of his accession to the throne deserve special attention. Finally, we shall look at Franz Ferdinand's stance on Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy and, in particular, on her

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conflict with Serbia in the years preceding the outbreak of the First World War.

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The life Franz Ferdinand had lived until the death of crown prince Rudolf of Austria, son of Franz Joseph, at Mayerling in 1889, can hardly be described as being unusual in any way. From then on, and officially from the death of Ferdinand's father in 1896, everything changes. The impulsive archduke, often shadowed by a subdued feeling of injustice and discontent, becomes an ambitious and impatient heir to the throne.

In the analysis offered by this book, Franz Ferdinand's family background seems quite important to understanding the overall picture. Born in 1863 to the emperor's younger brother Karl Ludwig and Maria Annunziata von Neapel-Sizilien, he was just one of many archdukes in the ruling House of Habsburg. His father Karl Ludwig, devoted to the family and traditional values, was not engaged in affairs of state. The family's pronounced Catholicism was not a Habsburg privilege, but also a legacy of his mother's lineage, through which Franz Ferdinand was a grandson of king Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies, nicknamed "Re Bomba" for suppressing the 1848 revolutionary movement in his realm. After his mother's death, his father remarried to Marie Therese von Bragança, and the young archduke developed a close relationship with his stepmother. Although he had been subjected to a rigorous regime of study from an early age, serious gaps in his education would become obvious in his mature years, when he became heir to the throne, a role for which he had not been trained. As custom required, the young archduke embarked on a military career and at the age of fifteen was given the rank of sub-lieutenant. He served at garrisons in Enns, Prague and Odenbourg. Although his military career came

to an end as a result of health problems, he was at the head of his Military Chancery, which would become an influential body in Austria-Hungary. In August 1913, Franz Ferdinand was appointed general inspector of the imperial and royal armed forces, which meant that he would be commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian army in the event of war.

His marriage to Sophie Chotek readily emerges as one of the main elements for creating a picture of Franz Ferdinand's life, not only because of the symbolism of their death together in 1914, but also because their deeper beliefs and life choices. The author paints the portrait of a dedicated family man who pays a dear political price for his love. A descendant of the old but lesser Czech nobility unworthy of a Habsburg, Sophie Chotek is a bone of content between the archduke and the emperor, inflicting even more lasting harm to their already cold relations. The outcome of this affair is the morganatic marriage of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie, which excludes their children from the succession, and condemns Sophie to a lower rank at court and on public occasions. The chapters on the couple's everyday life, residences, personal passions, such as Franz Ferdinand's passion for hunting, his care for cultural heritage and, conversely, less than enthusiastic attitude to modernism in art, convincingly contribute to the comprehensiveness of the biographic and family picture.

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Franz Ferdinand's political ideas betray, not without paradox and ambiguity, a "conservative reformer". Bled explicitly points to the power of Ferdinand's personal prejudices, lack of education and unpreparedness for the role of heir to the throne, which becomes particularly noticeable if he is compared to Franz Joseph's son Rudolf. Like Rudolf, Franz Ferdinand is convinced that Austria-

Hungary, as a multinational empire facing the challenge of political freedoms and national aspirations of its peoples, has serious problems which jeopardise its survival. For this reason he becomes an advocate of the Monarchy's fundamental reorganisation. Unlike Rudolf's liberalism, however, Franz Ferdinand reminds more of the age of Leopold I or the spirit of neo-absolutism in Austria. In his eyes, Austro-Hungarian dualism should make way to a strong unitary Austria. An autocrat with little sympathy for a constitutional system and political parties, Franz Ferdinand is a bitter opponent of liberalism. He is contemptuous of liberals, socialists, German nationalists, freemasons and Jews alike, although his anti-Semitism is of a traditional sort, free from the biological rooting and political consequences encountered in his contemporary Georg von Schönerer or, subsequently, in Hitler. Still, his Roman Catholicism and his pronounced dislike of the Hungarian political factor in Austria-Hungary draw him nearer to the Christian socialists of Karl Lueger. In late 1906, Franz Ferdinand resolutely opposes the introduction of universal suffrage in Cisleithania, and loses the battle, but he makes a u-turn and argues for the introduction of the very same right in Transleithania, calculated to erode and eliminate Hungarian hegemony in that part of the Monarchy.

In the area of international relations, Franz Ferdinand is inclined to a policy of caution and avoidance of diplomatic crises and armed conflicts as potentially fatal for the Monarchy. He advocates a triple alliance of the European conservative monarchies: Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia, believing that the place in the alliance of the Central powers occupied by Italy, a constant target of his criticisms, belongs to Russia. Here, too, Ferdinand's conservatism, in the tradition of the Holy Alliance of Metternich's times, is a decisive factor. Thus he manages to overcome

his aversion to Prussia, understandable after the wounds Austria sustained at Sadowa in 1866. This tri-imperial alliance he strives for would be a bulwark against nationalism, liberalism and socialism alike, products of modern political culture perceived as a counter to the monarchical principle of old Europe.

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Although the course Franz Ferdinand might have pursued had he acceded to the throne cannot be predicted with certainty, it seems reasonable to assume that he would not have put up with the existing situation in Austria-Hungary, i.e. with dualism. Unlike Franz Joseph, who accepts dualism as a political reality, Franz Ferdinand is a maximalist when it comes to Austrian interests. In the 1890s he thinks of reorganising the Monarchy according to the principle of historic federalism, with the nobility as its mainstay, as the central pillar of the monarchic order. In the early 1900s, however, this idea is abandoned and he, without ever reverting to it, begins to contemplate a trialist arrangement, with Croatia, Slavonia (previously under Hungarian rule), Dalmatia and the Slovenian lands (previously under Vienna) forming a third unit, alongside Austria and Hungary. This suggests his special attention to the Croat factor, inspired not only by the Croats' traditional loyalty to the Monarchy, but also by its potential role as a counterbalance to Serbian national aspirations. Yet, as in the previous case, Franz Ferdinand does not stick to the idea for long. Disappointed by the resolutions of Rijeka (Fiume) and Zadar (Zara) of 1905 and the policy of Serbo-Croat collaboration within the Monarchy, he abandons the trialist option. The cold reception he is given in Dubrovnik in September 1906, the Annexation Crisis in 1908 and the Czech opposition to the trialist arrangement involving South Slavs, make him turn in a different direction.

Nor does he accept the Romanian politician Aurel Popovici's proposal for the United States of Great Austria (*Die Vereinigten Staaten von Grossösterreich*), published in 1906. Based on ethnic boundaries instead of dualism or historic federalism, this proposal envisaged fifteen member states under a strong central authority but enjoying considerable autonomy: a central government headed by a chancellor, five common ministries (interior, foreign affairs, the army and the navy, finance, and Bosnia) and a bicameral parliament for the whole Empire. Franz Ferdinand rejects the proposal as unfeasible, and he also deems it unacceptable to dismantle the historic crown lands (Kronländer) by drawing ethnic borders.

Finally, Bled discusses the so-called "Programm zum Thronwechsel", drawn up by one of Franz Ferdinand's aides in 1911. The content of this programme of action after acceding to the throne suggests that a possible direction would not have been the abolition of dualism but its reduction to an ordinary personal union. The Hungarian nobility would have been deprived of much of its prerogatives, and the introduction of universal suffrage in Hungary would have enabled non-Magyar ethnic groups to secure majority in the Diet. Bled points out that Franz Ferdinand did not rule out the military occupation of Hungary in the event of her strong resistance to these changes, a move likely to plunge the country deeper into uncertainty.

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The last segment we shall dwell on concerns Franz Ferdinand's views on Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy. Having lost her spheres of influence in German lands and Italy, Austria-Hungary turned to this part of Europe to reassert its status as a great power; although this was facilitated by the pulling out of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary had to take

into account the independent national movements of the Balkan peoples as well as the presence of Russian interest in the Balkans. After 1903 Vienna was losing control of Serbia and after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 relations between the two countries became even more strained. Serbia's active foreign policy, resistance of Bosnia and Herzegovina's majority, Serbian, population to Austro-Hungarian administration as well as the strengthening of the Yugoslav spirit among the South Slavs in the Monarchy were seen as a very serious threat in Vienna.

Unlike Aehrenthal, Franz Ferdinand is not in favour of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, even though he eventually accepts the new situation. He believes it to involve too great a risk of a larger-scale armed conflict and to inflict serious damage to relations with Russia. This line of reasoning appears as a constant of Franz Ferdinand's political logic, in which he resembles Franz Joseph. Unlike Conrad von Hötzendorf, chief of the general staff, with whom he had a complex relationship ranging from sympathy to confrontation, Franz Ferdinand is against a preventive war both against Serbia and against Italy. On the eve of the Balkan Wars (1912), he still advocates the policy of military non-intervention in Balkan conflicts. A shift occurs after Serbia has scored quick victories, and in December 1912 he demands a military action against Serbia.

In Bled's view, however, the shift is short-lived and Franz Ferdinand soon reverts to his previous position. It is in that light that Bled looks at the famous meeting between Franz Ferdinand and the German emperor Wilhelm II at Konopiste in mid-June 1914: its topic is Romania, while Serbia or a possible military action against her is not even mentioned. However, the report submitted on 24 June 1914 by Franz von Matscheko reveals a plan of diplomatic measures calculated to

isolate Serbia: Austria-Hungary is supposed to pursue the creation of a new Balkan alliance, with Romania, Bulgaria and Greece, which would be in the Central Powers' orbit and politically directed against the interests of Serbia and Russia. Bled does not think such a plan to have been feasible because of the conflicting interests of these countries.

In 1914 the political conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia is total; military conflict is possible, but not inevitable. Things changed, Bled believes, with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. Even though the assassination was undertaken by Young Bosnia's national revolutionaries as an act of resistance to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, without official Serbia's involvement, the strike at the dynasty was seen in Vienna as the strike at the very heart of the Monarchy and could not go unpunished. Franz Joseph, consistently supporting a policy of peace until June 1914, now decides to declare war on Serbia. With the

opposing blocs of powers joining in, the war takes on global proportions.

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Was Franz Ferdinand the "man who might have saved Austria", as Carlo Sforza believed in 1930? Bled does not go thus far. Moreover, his concluding discussion recognises the difficulties that Franz Ferdinand would have faced had he acceded to the throne. An autocrat disinclined to making compromises, a complex personality, disliked by the Hungarians, the Poles and the Czechs too, he would have met with strong opposition inside the Monarchy. Jean-Paul Bled's biography of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne gives a convincing and nuanced portrayal of the personal and political life of Franz Joseph's ill-fated successor. With its fine balance between an individual life and the political climate in which it unfolded this book is also a worthwhile history of the Habsburg Monarchy in the last decades of its existence.

CHRISTOPHER CLARK, *THE SLEEPWALKERS – HOW EUROPE WENT TO WAR IN 1914*.
LONDON: HARPER, 2012, PP. 697.

Reviewed by Miloš Vojinović*

With the approach of the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, the literature dealing with the greatest conflict the world had seen ever before grows rapidly. The book reviewed here is written by the Australian historian Christopher Clark, professor of German and modern European history at the University of Cambridge. His earlier books mainly deal with German history, and the two of them that stand out are a history of Prussia: *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia*, and a biography of the last German Emperor: *Kaiser Wilhelm II: A Life in Power*.

Clark's book on the origins of the First World War is based on ample source materials. Apart from the archives in London, Paris, Vienna and Berlin, he also used, with the help of assistants and translators, materials from archives and libraries in Sofia, Belgrade and Moscow. Clark's interpretation of the origins of the Great War is predicated on two assumptions which are implicitly threaded throughout the fifteen sections of the book, and which he struggles to prop up

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ing a selective approach to facts and easy analogies between past and present. One assumption is that it actually was the Allied powers (Triple Entente) that dictated the pace of international relations, both in the years before the war and during the July Crisis. The other is that the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne is an act unjustly neglected in the literature about the war. Comparing the assassination to the attack on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001, Clark argues that this event, of great symbolic significance, rendered "old options obsolete" (p. xxvii). In the picture of relations among the great powers as gradually painted by Clark the passivity of German and Austro-Hungarian politics stands out as a dominant feature. Its purpose is to prove that the nature of decisions made in Vienna and Berlin was mostly defensive, a mere response to the actions of other, mostly aggressive, powers. At the same time, the reader is presented with arguments which are supposed to demonstrate that the Franco-Russian Alliance was a destabilising factor in international relations, and that this alliance "marked a turning point in prelude to the Great War" (p. 131). According to Clark, it was this alliance that created the trigger which was activated at the border of Austria-Hungary and Serbia in the summer of 1914. Clark refers to the "Balkan inception scenario", with France and Russia preparing an in-advance interpretation of the crisis for the moment it should erupt in the Balkans. He further argues that the realisation of Serbian and Russian objectives required war (p. 350), and that the Franco-Russian alliance and the beginning of the "Balkan inception scenario" allowed Russia to start a European war in support of its objectives (p. 293). In this way, the "Balkan inception scenario" that ties France and Russia to the destiny of the "intermittently turbulent and violent state [Serbia]" (p. 559), is what lies at the

core of Clark's explanation of the events that led Europe into the First World War.

In Clark's view, German politics was determined by the aggressive politics of the Entente. Presented facts primarily aim to show differences between the German Empire and its rivals. Clark claims that Russian public opinion was chauvinistic and that Russia is the only to blame for the start of the European arms race (p. 87). He also claims that pan-Slavism "was no more legitimate as a platform for political action than Hitler's concept of *Lebensraum*" (p. 279). If Clark uses the *Lebensraum* (living space) concept as an example of illegitimate political platform, why does he not inform his readers that it was not just Hitler's: it was created by the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel precisely in the period covered by Clark's book. The influence of the *Lebensraum* concept was very strong in Wilhelmine Germany. This can be inferred even from Clark's book where, on page 179, he quotes Kaiser Wilhelm's speaking about the growing German population and lack of food for it and about underpopulated eastern parts of France, and suggesting to the U.S. ambassador that France should move its borders to the West. The German Kaiser showed familiarity with the *Lebensraum* concept, but Clark does not conclude that; instead he seeks to convince us that the Kaiser's impulsivity essentially had no effect. It is not our intention to defend the legitimacy of pan-Slavism, nor is it to deny anti-German sentiment in the Russian press. We believe it important, however, to draw attention to Clark's tendentious selectivity. From Clark's book one can learn incomparably less about German society than about French or Russian, and the anti-German sentiment remains unexplained. In 1913, head of the German general staff, Helmuth von Moltke, had forecast a racial conflict between Slavs and Germans in the near

future. Believing that racial differences between them were insurmountable, he claimed that it was the duty of all states that carry the flag of German culture to prepare themselves for it. This information or, for that matter, any other that could add nuance to Clark's black-and-white picture did not find its way into his book; in other words, selectivity in presenting facts is its salient feature.¹ Clark's overall antipathy towards Russia, and sympathy for the Habsburgs, has also been noticed by Maria Todorova.²

If a French politician harboured anti-German sentiments, Clark expectedly portrays him in negative terms. So, Theophile Delcassé is aggressive and lacks wisdom, and Maurice Paléologue is an unstable Germanophobe. As for the political views of the French ambassador in Berlin, Jules Cambon, who believed that France was to blame for the deterioration of Franco-German relations in the years preceding the war, Clark obviously agrees and has nothing to add. Aware that the topic of German militarism often features prominently in the historiography of the First World War, he does not fail to ad-

dress it. So, we can read that the militarists in Paris and St. Petersburg were in a better position to influence their governments' decisions than those in Berlin (p. 333). In pre-war Germany, according to Clark, civilian supremacy over the military authorities remained intact (p. 334). If it is true, how should one interpret the fact that in the order of precedence German chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, the highest civilian official with the rank of major, was below all colonels and generals attending official royal receptions?³ It seems appropriate to quote the words of the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister Leopold Berchtold: "Who rules in Berlin, Moltke or Bethmann Hollweg?"⁴ If civilian supremacy remained intact, how come that not a single civilian representative was present at the well-known war council of 8 December 1912.⁵ At the same time, Germany's aggressive diplomatic practice was, according to Clark, a mere response to the aggressive politics of France and Russia (p. 326).

Clark's apologia of German politics continues in his account of Anglo-German relations. He points out that problems in Anglo-German relations were often result of the British neglect of basic German interests (sic!), and claims that the new system of relations channelled and intensified hostility towards Germany (p. 159ff). British foreign secretary Edward Grey is portrayed as a Germanophobe and a lonely fanatic. But, since Clark makes a very tendentiously selective use of facts in depicting the role of prominent politicians in pre-war Europe, he fails to tell us that Grey, from the beginning of his

¹ A. Mombauer, *Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 152, 285. This is especially important because it is Clark (*The Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia* [Allen Lane, 2006], 608, who points to an interesting detail from the history of the First World War – the first German victory over Russia was not named after the place where the battle took place, but after Tannenberg, a place some thirty kilometres away: "The name was deliberately chosen in order to represent the battle as Germany's answer to the defeat inflicted by Polish and Lithuanian armies on the knights of the Teutonic Order at the 'first' battle of Tannenberg in 1410."

² M. Todorova, "Outrages and Their Outcomes", *The Time Literary Supplement*, 4 January 2013.

³ H.-U. Wehler, *The German Empire 1871–1918* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1997), 156.

⁴ Mombauer, *Helmuth von Moltke*, 285–286.

⁵ H. Strachan, *The First World War*, vol. I *To Arms* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 52.

term of office in 1905, was under attack from both the public and Foreign Office staff for his alleged complaisant attitude towards Germany.⁶ At the same time, this presumed complaisance, along with the alleged Liberal neglect of the needs of the British army, was a target of harsh attacks by the Conservative opposition.⁷ It seems obvious why Clark does not present these facts: by portraying Grey as a radical loner, he wants to question the validity of the British decision to enter the war.⁸ Seeking to debunk the justification for this decision, as well as the justification for the anti-German sentiments of French and Russian diplomats, Clark seeks to challenge one of the most widely accepted conclusions of the historiography of the First World War. As Hew Strachan states, the best way to grasp the consequences of German foreign policy is through the fact that it made Great Britain, France and Russia overcome their own differences within a very short period of time. Not many years before the Entente Cordiale of 1904 and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, such balance of power had seemed completely unthinkable.⁹ Clark unconvincingly argues that the assertion that Germany brought isolation on itself "is not borne out by a broader analysis of the process" (p. 159). At no point does

Clark approach Great Britain's decision to enter the war with the question: was the decision to confront the threat of having one hegemonic power ruling the continent revolutionary, or was it in accordance with the well-established traditions of British diplomacy?

The reader is told that the Entente was the black sheep of pre-war Europe; that its strategists did not realise that they were narrowing the range of options to Berlin (p. 353); and that its armament prevented Germany from implementing any policy other than the policy of force (p. 358). Clark claims that Germanophobes tended to speak in general terms, and that they would become very shy when speaking about specific German acts (p. 162). Ironically, it is Clark who can be described as very shy when he speaks about the events that cannot be so comfortably fitted into his explanatory schema. For instance, he does not speak about the Bosnian Crisis (1908) as an event that reflected political tensions in Europe. The crisis that ended with one great power (Germany) presenting another (Russia) with an ultimatum does not seem sufficiently important to Clark, and he mentions it only in order to demonstrate the aggressiveness of Serbian and Russian policies. For Clark, the Austro-Hungarian act of annexation, which in fact was the unilateral breach of an international treaty, was merely a "nominal change" from occupation to annexation (p. 34). Clark's perspective changes when it comes to another crisis: he shows understanding for the German stance during the Morocco Crisis, because "the German viewpoint was legitimate in legal terms" (p. 159).

As in the case of Germany, Clark likewise sees Austro-Hungary as a passive participant in international relations unluckily troubled by a problematic neighbour. The Austro-Hungarian ban on all Serbian associations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1913 is seen as a response to

⁶ Z. S. Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy 1898-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1970), 94 and 125.

⁷ E. H. H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics and Ideology of British Conservative Party 1890-1914* (London 2012), 27.

⁸ Clark follows Niall Ferguson's ideas presented in *The Pity of War*. Ferguson, on the other hand, says for the *Sleepwalkers*: "It is hard to believe we will ever see a better narrative of what was perhaps the biggest collective blunder in the history of international relations".

⁹ Strachan, *First World War I*, 20.

Serbian ultra-nationalism (p. 76); and the behaviour of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the summer of 1914 as shaped by the complexity of Serbian politics (p. 96). Parts of the book which deal with Austro-Serbian relations are used as a platform for demonstrating Habsburg moral and political superiority over the Kingdom of Serbia. While mainly restricting his look into the past to the decade preceding the war in the case of practically all countries involved in the July Crisis, in the case of Serbia he goes as far back into the past as the beginning of the nineteenth century in order to prove the allegedly distinctive nature of Serbian history, finding that the idea of Great Serbia "was woven deeply into the culture and identity of the Serbs" (p. 22). Clark takes over, without quoting, Holm Sundhaussen's essentialist assumption of a distinctive "mental map of Serbia", which, faced with the ethno-political realities in the Balkans, became a perpetual element of instability. We are told that this discrepancy between vision and reality meant that the "realisation of Serbian objectives would be a violent process" (p. 26). Avoiding any comparative effort, Clark sees Serbia's foreign policy as an element of instability; by contrast, the Austro-Hungarian Balkan policy is seen as a key to the security of the region. To complete the picture "of unstable element", Clark more than once, both directly and indirectly, alleges a connection between Serbian prime minister Nikola Pašić and the assassination plans (pp. 56, 407 and 467). The fact that such a connection was not proved at any point does not seem to be a limitation to him.

At one point, Clark finds himself in a predicament: how to justify Habsburg rule over the minorities in Austria-Hungary and, at the same time, to condemn the Serbian plans that were facing "complex ethnic realities". This is where the moralising aspect of his narrative comes to light. In contrast to Serbia, a retrograde

country that treated territories gained in the Balkan Wars "as a colony" (p. 43), a country that had committed many atrocities in these wars, we see the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a country that in the memory of its subjects evoked an image of "white, broad, prosperous streets ... that stretched like rivers of order, embracing the lands with the paper white arm of administration" (p. 71), a country which amazed its visitors by the fairness of its regime, where "there was a tone of mutual respect and mutual toleration among the ethno-religious groups" (p. 76). If it was so, what could possibly prompt Hannah Arendt to say that anti-Semitism as an ideological power in the years before the First World War "reached its most articulate form in Austria"?¹⁰ Yet another author, Carl Schorske, has devoted considerable attention to anti-Semitism in Austria-Hungary.¹¹ What the minority rights could have been like if Alan Sked describes the position of one of them as follows: "Only hope available to Slovaks seeking escape from Magyarisation was emigration"?¹² If we remember the organised, and government-tolerated, attacks on Serbs in Zagreb in 1897 and in 1902, it becomes quite difficult to accept Clark's views on the Austro-Hungarian regime. Perhaps the best assessment of the position of minorities in Austria-Hungary was given by Archduke Franz Ferdinand. When Hungarian politicians expressed the wish for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be placed under the direct control of Budapest, the Archduke remarked: "Bosnians would fight tooth and nail not

¹⁰ H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 42.

¹¹ C. E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Vintage Books, 1981), 116–146.

¹² A. Sked, *The Decline and Fall of Habsburg Empire 1815–1918* (Longman, 1989), 217.

to become Hungarian subjects, and oppressed like the other non-Hungarian nationalities that enjoy all the 'benefits' that Hungarian government has to give."¹³

The reader will find no mention of the fact that Serbia had universal suffrage, and no information on how and with how many MPs non-Magyar communities were represented in the Hungarian Diet. Clark is content to say that there was an unmistakable progress in the minority rights policy. Vienna brought peace and stability to Bosnia and Herzegovina, relying on "cultural and institutional conservatism, not a philosophy of colonial domination" (p. 74). The features of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as a fivefold increase in taxes, a strong military presence, the maintenance of the Ottoman feudal system, the "divide and rule" policy pitting different ethnic groups against each other,¹⁴ lead Clark to conclude that the Austro-Hungarian government was guided by the principle of "gradualism and continuity" (p. 74). Not all historians would agree with Clark, to mention but the prominent expert on Austria-Hungary Alan Sked: "If all this did not represent imperialism, it is difficult to know what it did represent."¹⁵ Clark claims that "most inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire associated the state with the benefits of orderly government: public education, welfare, sanitation, the rule of law etc." (p. 71). The effect of the thirty years of gradualism, continuity and orderly government in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the illiterate accounting for 87 percent of the population and five times as many police stations

as schools.¹⁶ Clark makes every effort to convince his readership that there was not a single reason why the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be dissatisfied with Austrian rule; apart from Serbian nationalism. To the same end, Clark fails to mention that Austria left the Ottoman feudal system intact, which was one of the main causes of the Serbs' discontent. After the First World War, an Austrian politician wrote about feudalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina: "Plainly, no one has ever stopped to consider the impression bound to be made by this on mind of a population which knows that across the Drina and the Sava rivers there is no subasha to appropriate third of a harvest every year for some aga or beg."¹⁷ Intent on showing, in spite of all the well-known facts, that anti-Austrian sentiment was unjustified, Clark claims that "by 1914, Bosnia-Herzegovina had been developed to a level comparable with the rest of the double monarchy" (sic!) (p. 75).

Clark's narrative is also a geopolitical one. The minorities in the Habsburg Monarchy and their aspiration for their own national states is treated as a disturbing historical fact, because the creation of new entities "might cause more problems than it resolved" (p. 71). Clark more than once abandons the perspective of science, he does not try to elucidate or to interpret; instead, he judges the past from the viewpoint of the present: "from perspective of today's European Union we are inclined to look more sympathetically than we used to on the vanished imperial

¹³ V. Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966), 220.

¹⁴ Sked, *Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 245–246.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 245.

¹⁶ H. Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834–1914* (Munich: Oldenburg Verlag, 1989), 541.

¹⁷ J. M. Baernreither, *Fragments of a Political Diary* (Macmillan and Company, 1930), 27. Maria Todorova, "Outrages and Their Outcomes", also points out Clark's disregard of the importance of the agrarian question in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

patchwork of Habsburg Austria-Hungary" (p. xxvi). Moreover, Clark's perspective intertwines with the Austrian imperial perspective. This is most evident when he writes about the aggressiveness of Austrian foreign policy during the Balkan Wars. The reader is led to believe that the change in Austrian politics "looked like a moderate response to the dramatic changes" (p. 282) and that Austria had every right to weaken its neighbour because the Serbian success in the Balkan Wars meant the failure of Austria's Balkan policy (p. 281). Clark does not see irony and contradiction when he states that Austria decided to oppose Serbian rapacious and voracious politics with the idea of "the Balkans for Balkans people" (p. 282). Not for a single moment does Clark make an effort to depict Austro-Serbian relations as a process in which there were two sides, each pursuing its own goals and interests; instead, we have the picture of a prosperous and civilised state which offers good living and strives for peace, and a miscreant of Serbia: the only cause of instability and regional problems, which would soon engulf the entire continent, lay in Serbian nationalism. The Greater Serbian idea prevented Serbs, Clark claims, from living peacefully not only in prosperous Austria but also in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire which were "cosmopolitan" in character (p. 31)!

Gavrilo Princip's shots are not placed in the context of other assassination attempts on Habsburg officials, such as those in Galicia in 1908, in Zagreb in 1912 and in the Romanian-inhabited part of Hungary in 1914;¹⁸ neither does ethnically motivated political violence

in other countries, such as the assassination of the Russian governor in Helsinki in 1904,¹⁹ seem to be worthy of mention. Had Clark put Princip's act in some kind of relation with these events, their common denominator would be the policy towards minorities in the empires, growing nationalisms on the entire continent and the growing feeling that political violence was appropriate strategy – some historians have even called the period between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and 1914 the "golden age" of political assassinations.²⁰ But finding some other cause apart from Serbian nationalism does not fit Clark's goals.

Clark's biased one-sided perspective is most evident in his notion of crisis: crisis does not mean instability, increased risk or possible escalation. In spite of the fact that the Austrian ultimatum was written so as to be rejected, which Clark admits himself (p. 457), and that the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade received instructions to reject Serbia's reply regardless of its content,²¹ Clark claims that Russian politics enabled and permitted escalation of the crisis (pp. 480 and 483). From the author's specious argument it follows that what led to the war was not Austria's decision to attack Serbia, or Germany's decision to stand by Austria, but Russia's decision to stand by Serbia.

greb: SKD Prosvjeta, Gordogan, 2006), 127–211.

¹⁹ T. R. Weeks, "Managing Empire: Tsarist nationalities policy", in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. II *Imperial Russia 1689–1917*, ed. D. Lieven (Cambridge 2006), 40.

²⁰ *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Political Thought*, eds. G. S. Jones & G. Clays (Cambridge 2011), 247.

²¹ F. Fellner, "Austria-Hungary", in *Decisions for War*, ed. K. Wilson (UCL Press, 1995), 15.

¹⁸ Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2010), 331–333; V. Ćorović, *Odnosi Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u 20. veku* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1922), 618; J. Horvat, *Pobuna omladine 1911–1914* (Za-

Clark's explanation of Austria's politics in July 1914 is based on the presupposition that the assassination rendered "old options obsolete" (p. xxvii). But a pertinent question arises: was the Austrian politics in July 1914 really new? How new the war option was if Conrad von Hotzendorf, chief of the Austrian general staff, urged attack on Serbia twenty-five times in 1913 alone?²² Hotzendorf noted in 1907 that "only aggressive" politics could bring success. That Hotzendorf was not lonely in his belligerent attitude, as Clark suggests, is evident from the instruction he had received from the Austrian foreign minister Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal: "The goal of [Austrian] Balkan policy is the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and incorporation of parts of Serbia." This same instruction states that the rest of Serbia should become Bulgarian.²³ This instruction had been created in December 1907; obviously, Austria-Hungary's top officials had contemplated destroying Serbia almost eight years before the Sarajevo assassination.

Clark does not quote this part of Hotzendorf's memoirs, but he does resort to them when they appear suitable to corroborate his picture of the peaceful nature of Austrian politics (pp. 105 and 117). Clark has every reason to ignore such passages, because Hotzendorf's testimony can reveal major gaps in his argument. If we accept Clark's claim that decision makers in Vienna were gradually provoked into giving up their aversion to extreme measures (p. 291) by the aggressiveness of Serbian public opinion during the Bosnian Crisis, by organisations such as National Defence or Black Hand, and also by Serbian politics during the Bal-

kan Wars – how come that the Austrian foreign minister had wanted to destroy Serbia in the winter of 1907? What kind of Serbia's action could have provoked Austria-Hungary in 1907, when none of the abovementioned organisations, National Defence, Black Hand or Young Bosnia, had existed? It is quite clear that Vienna had thought of destroying Serbia long before 1914, even before the Bosnian Crisis in 1908, which renders the thesis of Austria's gradual change of politics untenable. Clark does not write about the Pig War which "started" in 1906 either. The Austrian attempt to crush Serbia economically, by closing its borders to Serbia's most important export product, just because Serbia had signed an economic agreement with Bulgaria, a country which did not even share borders with Austria, could not be easily fitted into Clark's picture of Austria-Hungary as a benevolent and peaceful neighbour. This is where it becomes obvious why Clark avoids writing about the Bosnian Crisis. The episode in Austro-Serbian relations where Austria annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina and threatens to attack Serbia, and where Serbia responds with public outburst of anti-Austrian sentiment and creates National Defence for rapid mobilisation in the event of war, which could be summed up as "Austria acts and Serbia responds", not the other way around, does not seem to be appropriate for Clark.

If the assassination was not just a pretext for war, as Clark claims, why does he not quote the joyful comment made by senior officials in Austrian foreign ministry at the news of the assassination: "This is a gift from Mars."²⁴ Clark does not mention correspondence between the Austrian and German chiefs of the general staff, Conrad von Hotzendorf and

²² Strachan, *First World War*, 69.

²³ Feldmarschall Conrad, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit 1906–1918* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1921), 528, 537.

²⁴ N. Stone, *Europe Transformed 1878–1918* (Wiley-Blackwell, 1999), 247.

Helmuth von Moltke, who, at the end of the Balkan Wars, expressed the opinion that a suitable *casus belli* should be found as soon as possible.²⁵ An ultimatum was not a new instrument; Austria used ultimatums during the Bosnian Crisis and the Balkan Wars, not just against Serbia, but also against Greece.²⁶ For Clark, the fact that the Kingdom of Serbia was not willing to submit its foreign policy to Austrian interests means that Austria had justifiably lost confidence in diplomatic procedures (p. 285). Pointing out that one Serbian politician wrote, back in 1844, that there could be no agreement between Serbia and Austria (p. 28), and making a cynical remark that the Austrian ultimatum was perhaps asking for the impossible – to halt the expansionism of ethnic Serbia (p. 467), Clark gives final touches to his picture of Serbia as a perpetual element of instability.

While writing about the last days of the July Crisis, Clark rounds off his panegyric to one warring party and indictment for the other. Like in other parts of *Sleepwalkers*, incomparably more attention is devoted to *hawks* – militarists and aggressive politicians – in France and Russia than in Germany and Austria-Hungary. For Clark, the most important decision in July 1914 is not Vienna's decision to draw up an ultimatum that could not be complied with,²⁷ or Berlin's decision to give

Vienna a *carte blanche*; the key event is Russian mobilisation, which is a provocation to Germany. In Clark's understanding of the concept of crisis, to resist means to cause. It is a fact, and historians are well-aware of it, that from 6 July, when Austria received a blank cheque from Germany, until 23 July, when Austria sent the ultimatum, it was Austria that dictated the tempo of international relations.²⁸ Clark, however, tries to repudiate it by claiming that the system was fast and unpredictable (p. 557). The answer to the question as to how a local, Balkan, conflict could spread to the entire continent, he finds in Russia's actions; Germany and Austria in fact wanted localisation of the conflict, not a European war, but it was made impossible by the Russian decision to defend Serbia. If we choose not to comment Clark's perception of local war as being a good thing in itself, we should not leave uncommented his claims that Austria-Hungary and Germany did everything they could to prevent a European war. American historian Graydon Tunstall, who has devoted a book to Austrian military planning prior to 1914, states that it is obvious from the documents of the Austrian high command that the Austrian military knew that a war against Serbia most likely meant a war against Russia.²⁹ When Franz Joseph was warned by one of his ministers that the ultimatum would bring about war with Russia, the Austrian emperor replied: "Certainly, Russia cannot

²⁵ A. Kramer, *Dynamics of Destruction* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 75–76.

²⁶ F. R. Bridge, "Foreign Policy of the Monarchy", in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary. A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth Century Europe*, ed. Mark Cornwall (University of Exeter Press, 2006), 29.

²⁷ The wife of the Austrian foreign minister Leopold Berchtold recalled: "...poor Leopold could not sleep on the day he wrote his ultimatum to the Serbs as he was so worried that they might accept it. Several times during the night he got up and altered

or added some clause, to reduce the risk", cit. in Sked, *Decline and Fall of Habsburg Empire*, 248.

²⁸ Strachan, *First World War*, 75.

²⁹ G. A. Tunstall, Jr., "The Habsburg Command Conspiracy: The Austrian Falsification of Historiography on the Outbreak of World War I", *Austrian History Yearbook XXVII* (1996), 181.

possibly accept this note.”³⁰ Even when it became clear to Berlin that Russia would not abandon Serbia, Bethmann Hollweg just continued his earlier politics.³¹

Sleepwalkers are not a methodologically coherent book. At the famous German military council held on 8 December 1912, the Kaiser and highest-ranking officers agreed that war was inevitable and that it would be better for Germany if it came sooner than later. As this important episode was impossible to avoid completely, Clark mentions it briefly, denying its importance and claiming that the meeting had no consequences. His approach is different when it comes to the opposing bloc, including Serbia. He does not attach importance to the fact that a ruler of a great power with the most powerful and numerically strongest army had accepted that war should come in the near future, and that the same ruler gave a blank cheque to Austria less than two years after the December meeting. On the other hand, the fact that Clark sees as being of consequence for the war of 1914, and thus deserving of a place in a book about the origins of the Great War, is the statement of a Serbian politician from 1844 that agreement between Serbia and Austria is impossible. Apart from this mid-nineteenth century statement, Serbia's alleged guilt for war is corroborated by the events from the end of the twentieth century: “since Srebrenica and the siege of Sarajevo, it has become harder to think of Serbia as a mere object of great power politics”, and “it is easier to conceive of Serbian nationalism as an historical force in its own right” (p. xxvi). So, he would have it that 1844 and the 1990s are more relevant and closer to 1914 than 1912. Clark's methodology is obviously

arbitrary; it is there only to prop his argument. *Sleepwalkers* do not offer a scientific inquiry that follows the evidence to see where they lead, they pick from the body of evidence to support a preconceived conclusion.

Faced with strong arguments that German aggressiveness is to blame for the creation of another bloc in Europe, Clark rejects any causal relationship between German foreign policy and the creation of alliances. He struggles to show that the alliances did not have to be shaped as they were in 1914, and that German politics did not raise fears in other countries. As for the outbreak of the war in the west of Europe, Clark, unable to use the black-and-white villain/victim pattern, as he does in the case of Serbian-Austrian relations, claims that it came as a consequence of numerous temporary changes. It is known that Alfred von Schlieffen's plan, developed from the 1890s, had envisaged a simultaneous German war against France and Russia;³² it is also known that the contemporaries had described the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 as a revolution in international relations.³³ If, with this in mind, we also remember that in the years before the war Great Britain, concerned for the safety of the Isles, transferred most of its naval forces to the North Sea,³⁴ and if Clark himself states that the German ambassador in London had been informed in 1912 that in the event of war between Germany and the Franco-Russian alliance Great Britain would side with German enemies (p. 329), it becomes extremely difficult to accept Clark's idea of temporary changes.

³⁰ Sked, *Decline and Fall of Habsburg Empire*, 257.

³¹ Strachan, *First World War*, 86.

³² H. Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster 1995), 204–206.

³³ W. Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 49.

³⁴ Kennedy, *British Naval Mastery*, 220–229.

The book before us offers a biased interpretation of the events that took Europe to the First World War. It offers a defence of German politics as against blunders and unjustified attitudes of leading politicians in the countries that opposed Germany and Austria-Hungary, a narrative of the Habsburgs' moral and political superiority over Serbia, that perpetual element of instability. However hard one searches through *Sleepwalkers* for even a slightest hint that the Central powers contributed to the outbreak of war in any way, the search will be a futile one. Instead, the author speaks of "obscure and convoluted events that made such carnage possible" and "complex war causality". It is precisely by means of this kind of vague and ambiguous statements that Clark evades answers to many important questions. Although he insists that he is not interested in "why" questions because they are associated with war guilt, his alternative approach is just as much connected with question of war guilt. As Todorova noted, Clark often confuses intentions with causes. At the same time, while he "assiduously pretends to avoid the why questions", Clark surreptitiously does build his causal explanation.³⁵

Clark is very often uninterested in what the necessary prerequisites for the war to happen were. His attention is going in a different direction. He holds that the contemporary system of international relations, which replaced the bipolar stability of the Cold War period, is in a state that calls for comparison with 1914. In that sense, *Sleepwalkers* has some features of a partisan political pamphlet, and the author offers his view of the nature of international relations. Clark insists that observing the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia only in terms of violation of Serbia's

sovereignty does not give the right picture. He finds it mild in comparison with the NATO ultimatum to Yugoslavia in 1999 (p. 456), and does not know what kind of comparison Edward Grey may have had in mind when he described it as "the most formidable document ever sent from one nation to another". To make it clear what he means, Clark draws a strange analogy between Serbia in 1914 and Syria in 2011: Russia's and China's opposition to intervention has made further massacres possible, and they have done it by insisting on Syrian sovereignty (p. 559). Clark's analogy between Serbia and Syria is one last call to his readers to appreciate Austria's politics. The fact that the first massacres in 1914 were committed by Austrian troops in western Serbia does not seem relevant. The reader cannot but feel greatly disappointed. The promising book of an established and well-known historian turns out to be little more than a collection of unproven assumptions, which sometimes sound as if they were produced by one of the warring parties eager to place the blame on "the other" and depict its own conduct as plain self-defence. The most dangerous aspect of Clark's book lies in the way in which his already equivocal arguments may be interpreted, as Clark's last interview blatantly shows: it was conveniently titled "Suicide bomber triggered the First World War", and Gavrilo Princip's act reached proportions comparable to Al Qaeda.³⁶ Perhaps the best description of Clark's book is given by Maria Todorova: "Christopher Clark is a gifted and informative storyteller; it is a pity that he is also a moralizing one."³⁷

³⁵ Todorova, "Outrages and Their Outcomes".

³⁶ "Selbstmordattentäter lösten Ersten Weltkrieg aus": <http://www.welt.de/geschichte/article112633581/Selbstmordattentaeter-loesten-Ersten-Weltkrieg-aus.html>

³⁷ Todorova, "Outrages and Their Outcomes".

VASILIJ ŠTRANDMAN [BASIL DE STRANDMAN], *BALKANSKE USPOMENE* [BALKAN REMINISCENCES]. BELGRADE: ŽAGOR, 2009, pp. 466.

Reviewed by Miroslav Svirčević*

The memoirs of the Russian diplomat Basil Nikolaievich Strandman, who served as a representative of the imperial government of Nicholas II Romanov in the early twentieth century, were published for the first time in Serbian in 2009. Basil Strandman served in almost all Balkan capitals: in Sofia and Constantinople (1908–1909), Cetinje (1910–1911), Belgrade and Niš (1911–1915 and 1919–1924). As a participant in and witness to the dramatic events that shook the Balkans – the Young Turk revolution in Constantinople, Bulgaria's declaration of independence, the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908), the Pig War between Serbia and Austria-Hungary (1906–1909), the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), and the outbreak of the First World War (1914) – the conscientious diplomat Strandman maintained official correspondence with his government in St. Petersburg, the governments of the countries to which he was accredited as well as with other foreign diplomats. He also kept a diary, noting down his personal impressions about persons and events and, in doing so, produced valuable material which later served as a basis for this book.

The *Balkan Reminiscences* are now accessible to the readers owing to the effort of Jovan Kačaki, who spent years searching for the manuscript, and the Belgrade-based Žagor publishing house. The Serbian edition of these memoirs has been the first to see the light of day, thus paying homage to a man and diplomat who devoted his entire life to the good of Russia and Serbia, the countries he equally considered his own.

Emperor Alexander II, through his personal envoy, stood as godfather at Strandman's baptism in the church of Al-

exander Nevskii in Paris. In 1888, at the age of eleven, he enrolled in the prestigious Page Corps in St. Petersburg, also attended by Serbian Princes Djordje and Alexander Karadjordjević. He graduated in 1897 as top cadet in his class with the rank of sergeant. On the occasion of the coronation of Emperor Nicholas II in 1896, Strandman was a designated bearer of the imperial insignia. In 1906, after four years of service at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was appointed secretary of the Russian diplomatic mission in Darmstadt, the hometown of Tsarina Aleksandra, and at her suggestion. Two years later, he was transferred to the same post in the Russian Legation in Sofia and in 1910 to the Embassy in Constantinople as second secretary. During the latter posting he was sent to assist the Russian minister in Cetinje during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Prince Nikola Petrović's reign and his coronation as King of Montenegro, which Strandman described in his memoirs.

Promoted to first secretary of the Legation in Belgrade in September 1911, he arrived in Serbia and remained there for nearly three decades (with the exception of the four-year period between 1915 and 1919). In Belgrade, he witnessed the tortuous negotiations between Serbia and Bulgaria about a Balkan alliance, preparations for, the outbreak and consequences of the Balkan Wars in 1912–1913, and the prominent role played, throughout these events, all of which are detailed in the memoirs, by the Russian minister Nikolai Genrikhovich Hartwig. In particular, Strandman revealed the extent to which his superior was involved in the

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conclusion of the Serbo-Bulgarian agreement aimed against the Ottoman Empire, which largely coincided with his own view of the political situation: in facilitating this convention Hartwig showed little regard for the Russian minister of foreign affairs, Sergei Sazonov, whom he disliked as much as he disliked his colleague in Sofia, Anatolii Nekliudov.

After the outbreak of the Great War Strandman moved from Belgrade to Niš together with the Serbian government and spent there the first year of the war. In December 1914, Count Grigorii Nikolaevich Trubetskoi was appointed Russian minister to Serbia. He was considered to be a pro-Bulgarian diplomat. However, in his writings, Strandman tried to defend him against these "malicious assessments". Trubetskoi promoted Strandman to the post of first secretary of the Russian Embassy to Italy. It was in Rome that he received the news of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the brutal execution of the imperial family. This tragic event plunged him into depression from which he never fully recovered. In 1918, the last year of the war, he was a volunteer in the "heroic" Serbian army. Regent Alexander greeted him cordially and bestowed the rank of cavalry captain 1st class on him. He remained on the Salonika Front until November 1918, when Sazonov summoned him to the Russian Embassy in Paris during the Peace Conference. After the war, he remained in Belgrade as "extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister" of the White Russian government headed by Admiral Kolchak until 1924. After the Second World War and the communist revolution in Yugoslavia, he became an exile again, spending the last days of his life in Washington, USA.

It was in Washington, in the 1950s, that he wrote his *Balkan Reminiscences* without any intention of ever having them published, which adds to the credibility of his account. It should be noted that

he chose to write his name in its French form, as Basil de Strandman, probably for political reasons: for the most part of his life he was officially and privately engaged in opposing aggressive Germandom and for that reason must have found the use of the "von Strandman" form out of place.

Strandman's memoirs offer a wealth of information about the nature of diplomacy, behind-the-scenes actions of diplomats, their mutual relations, largely dependent on the relations between their respective countries, the attitude of the Russian diplomats serving in Belgrade towards the imperial government in St. Petersburg and the Russian diplomatic representatives in other countries. His records provide a lucid account of the complexity of diplomacy, of the occasional brutality, ruthlessness, discomfort and contradictions in which a diplomat's personal traits can sometimes interfere with official policy despite the instructions received. Nothing essential has changed in diplomacy over the centuries: relations have always been determined by the relative strength and power of different states. In particular the great powers have never been too scrupulous in pursuing their goals.

Strandman's memoirs fill a major lacuna: they shed light not only on Russia's policy towards the Balkans, but also on his personal views on the troubling "Balkan questions". These views evolved from the restrained official attitude at the beginning of his service in Belgrade to an overt pro-Serbian stance during and after the First World War. In this context, Strandman's views seem to fall somewhere between two polarised opinions which marked Russian diplomacy in the Balkans and were propounded by Strandman's superiors in Serbia. Hartwig, Russian minister in Belgrade, was an Austrophobe, pan-Slav and decidedly pro-Serbian, and he was quite inclined to interpret the official policy of his For-

eign Ministry according to his own lights, which made him immensely popular in Serbian governmental and political circles and among the general public. In conversations with Strandman, officials of the Serbian Foreign Ministry used to refer to prime minister Nikola Pašić's almost daily consultations with Hartwig in a characteristic manner: "Our beard is consulting with your beard" (both men grew impressive beards). Hartwig's many opponents in St. Petersburg thought of him as being a representative of Serbia at the Russian court rather than Russian minister in Belgrade. Strandman recalls that the influential Russian politician N. Girs wrote that Hartwig should follow the interests of Russia and not Serbia – Hartwig's Austrophobia was outmatched only by his Anglophobia. Girs also added that Hartwig, on account of his pronounced pro-Serbian stance, should be moved to Bucharest "where he would cause less damage".

After the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia in July 1914, Hartwig died of a heart attack, and was buried in Belgrade. His funeral was attended by all prominent Serbian political and public figures, even by a delegation of farmers who came from various Serbian regions to pay their respects to the diplomat whose name they affectionately Serbianized: Nikola Hartvić. In the fateful days following the Sarajevo assassination and Vienna's firm reaction, Strandman became, in his capacity as *chargé d'affaires*, a temporary head of the Russian diplomatic mission in Belgrade. During this nerve-wrecking political and military uncertainty, the eyes of Serbian politicians and the court were turned to him as a representative of mighty Russia, Serbia's traditional protector and ally. He was not prepared for such a tremendous burden of responsibility: his late superior failed to acquaint him more closely with Serbian politicians and intellectuals, pre-

sumably partly because he disapproved of Strandman's initially firm adherence to the official policy of the Russian Foreign Ministry which required utmost caution, suppression of "Serbian excessive foreign policy ambitions" and avoidance of provoking Austria-Hungary in any way.

More important for the history of Serbia are Strandman's accounts of his conversations with Regent Alexander, in particular the one in the course of which the former persuaded the latter that he rather than his father, King Peter I (as suggested by the Cabinet), should send a telegram to Tsar Nicholas II pleading for urgent help and support to Serbia at the critical moment following Austria-Hungary's ultimatum. The description of Pašić's and Strandman's reaction to the long-awaited reply of Nicholas II that confirmed Russia's decision to stand by Serbia in any eventuality is rather striking: "On that day, late in the evening on 28 July, I was handed a coded telegram from Sazonov which took longer than a day to arrive. It contained the following reply of Tsar Nicholas II to Prince Regent Alexander's telegram: 'Your Royal Majesty, having addressed me at the extremely difficult moment, you have not been mistaken about the feelings which I nourish for You and my abiding affection for the Serbian people. The current situation commands my most serious attention and my government spares no effort to overcome the current difficulties. I have no doubt that Your Majesty and the Royal Government will be imbued with desire to make that task easier and will not fail to do anything possible that will bring about the solution which will prevent the horrors of a new war while preserving the dignity of Serbia. As long as there is the slightest hope to avoid bloodshed, all our efforts must be directed towards that goal. If, however, despite our most sincere wishes we fail in our endeavour, Your Majesty may rest as-

sured that Russia will not be indifferent to Serbia's fate in any eventuality.' I was ordered to forward the telegram to the addressee. Given the late hour at which the deciphering had been completed, I decided to wait until morning, hoping that Prince Regent would arrive in Niš during the night. But my expectations did not materialise so I decided – in order to avoid further delay – to hand in the telegram to Pašić. Despite the early hour, I found Pašić in his office. Having quickly read the telegram, he – it seemed to me – turned to stone at first, and then got extremely excited. He crossed himself and said: 'Lord, Great Merciful Russian Tsar.' He got out of his chair, came up to me and we kissed each other. His eyes were full of tears. Such manifestation of the emotional distress of a man whose entire life had been a difficult school of self-control and restraint and who had faced death several times in the past could illustrate the extent to which he had been emotionally strained over the last few days – since the survival of his beloved and dear Serbia was at stake. The telegram of Lord Emperor provided not just hope, but also a confirmation of the rectitude of firm reliance on the support of Russia. Although the Prince Regent's arrival was not expected before the evening, the content of the Tsar's reply was immediately relayed to Kragujevac on the telephone."

Interestingly, Strandman devoted several chapters to the aggressive media campaigns of some countries, notably Austria-Hungary, during the Balkan Wars. The Austro-Hungarian press wrote at length and with abhorrence about the barbaric war of the Ottoman succession waged between half-civilized Balkan states and voiced constant charges of the alleged crimes committed against "innocent Muslim civilians" in "European Turkey". These charges were levelled against the Serbian army, although it duly

respected all conventions of international law in times of war, as confirmed by the newspapers correspondents from the theatre of operations. The Serbian army was highly disciplined, unlike the Bulgarian army. Strandman points out that the Bulgarian army committed many massacres on the frontline, but they were not reported by the international press. It was Austria-Hungary, anxious about Serbian victories that hampered her Balkan and Middle Eastern policy, that stood behind such an aggressive media campaign against the "evil Serbs".

According to Strandman, Austria-Hungary was keeping a close watch on every step of the Belgrade government in order to seize on any opportunity which could be used against Serbia and her political goals. Since such opportunities were not forthcoming, the Dual Monarchy did not shrink from staging them, seeking for international legitimacy to send her army to the Serbian border. The case of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Prizren, Karel Prohaska, clearly demonstrated the lengths to which Vienna was prepared to go in order to falsely accuse Serbia. In November 1912, there were rumours that the Serbs mistreated, even killed, the Austro-Hungarian diplomat. The "unacceptable" behaviour of the Serbian army towards the representative of the "friendly" Austro-Hungarian Empire was widely reported about across Europe.

What really happened in Prizren? The Serbian military prevented Prohaska from maintaining encrypted communication with Vienna and restricted his activities to purely consular affairs. This measure was provoked by the consul's overt instigation of local Albanians to rise against Serbia. The incident strained relations between Serbia and Austria-Hungary so much that it brought them to the brink of war. In Strandman's opinion, Austria-Hungary came very close to delivering an ultimatum to the Serbian

government on that occasion and plunging Europe into a full-scale war. It took Prohaska's return to Vienna and his confession that he had not been deprived of anything in Prizren, less alone tortured, to relieve the tension.

Strandman's impressions of the diplomatic representatives of other European countries, gained on his arrival in Belgrade, are rather interesting. He revealed that in 1911 the Russian minister Hartwig had nurtured friendly relations with his French counterpart Descos alone. The two diplomats had already met in Tehran, and their cordial relations in Belgrade were interpreted to have stemmed from the mutual exchange of information concerning the latest developments in the Balkans. However, Hartwig was cautious in his dealings with Descos and kept really confidential matters to himself; purportedly, he began to doubt the Frenchman's good judgement since the latter did not consider the outbreak of a war in the Balkans possible.

As for the British minister to Serbia, Sir Arthur Paget, Strandman did not find him politically far-sighted either. The Briton was convinced that Serbia would eventually be absorbed by the Habsburg Monarchy. On one occasion, Paget told Strandman that the British government had no plans to build its Legation in Belgrade "because there was no reason to do so".

As for the German minister to Serbia, Baron Griesinger, Strandman wrote that he had been a "nothing in every respect". Due to her commercial interests, Germany had her consulate in Belgrade the head of which, consul Schlieben, was "much smarter and more sociable than his Minister and, along with his wife, a quite frequent guest at Hartwig's".

Austria-Hungary was represented by Baron Ugron. His predecessor, Count Forgách, was remembered by the Serbs for his active role in the farcical 1909

"High Treason Trial" of leading members of the Serbian community in Croatia in Zagreb and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908. For those reasons, Strandman noted, Baron Ugron had to count with an open national boycott of trade with Austria-Hungary. He left the impression of a kind person prepared to discuss matters, but he was not like that on further acquaintance. He used to walk down the middle of the street rather than the sidewalk. It was rumoured in Belgrade that Ugron did so out of fear of a possible attack and to avoid having something dropped on his head from the upper stories of buildings.

Basil Strandman's memoirs bear witness to the abiding affection with which he came to view Serbia and the Serbian people. He manifested his affection and concern for Serbs during the first year of the war in Niš, when he spared no effort to impress on the Russian government and other Allies the necessity to alleviate the difficult position of occupied Serbia and her people.

Strandman's *Balkan Reminiscences* have importance as a source for the political and social history of the Balkans, diplomatic history, anthropology, political science, even for literary consideration.

ÁRPÁD HORNYÁK, *HUNGARIAN-YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1918-1927*.
BOULDER, COLORADO: SOCIAL SCIENCE MONOGRAPHS, WAYNE, NEW JERSEY:
CENTER FOR HUNGARIAN STUDIES AND PUBLICATIONS, NEW YORK: COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2013, pp. x + 426.

Reviewed by Dragan Bakić*

This book analysis Yugo-Hungarian relations from the end of the First World War until the conclusion of the Italo-Hungarian friendship agreement of 5 April 1927 which truly marked the end of a distinct phase in those relations. Its greatest strength lies in the impressive range of both Hungarian and Yugoslav primary sources and literature on which it is based – it is certainly unrivalled in this respect. This reviewer was rather surprised to learn from Hornyák's bibliographic essay that Hungarian primary material deposited in the Hungarian National Archives concerning Hungarian foreign policy after the First World War is less preserved than the corresponding documents held in the Archives of Yugoslavia – given the vast destruction that Yugoslav material suffered during the Second World War.

Hornyák presents an excellent account of the chaotic and dramatic situation in which the defeated Hungary found itself in 1918 and the attempts, invariably abortive, to extricate itself from the dismemberment pinning all hopes, at least initially, on the Peace Conference. Relations between Hungary and the newly-created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) unfolded within the framework of the emerging new European order. From the demarcation line established by the Belgrade Military Convention until the signing of the Trianon Treaty it took a year and a half for the borders between the two neighbouring countries to finally take shape. The conclusion of the peace treaty did not pacify the relations between them. Hungarian irredentism – which, incidentally, does not receive much attention in this

study (the organisations such as Awakening Hungarians) – and the danger of a Habsburg restoration cemented the solidarity among Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania that eventually took the form of the Little Entente alliance. The unsettled situation in Danubian Europe was further aggravated by different and mutually competitive designs of Great Powers, most notably France and Italy. The two failed attempts of the ex-Emperor Charles IV to regain the Crown of St. Stephen nearly led to an armed confrontation between the Little Entente and Hungary, and thus demonstrated the fragility of peace on the Danube.

Hornyák's analysis of the foreign policy of Hungarian Prime Minister, Count István Bethlen, who remained in office for ten years (1921-1931), after a series of unstable and short-lived cabinets, is rather lucid. The author explains that Bethlen drew on the experience of his native Transylvania, which had once survived as a principality by balancing between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. He realised that the weak post-war Hungary had to pursue a more moderate policy than that of his predecessors. Rather than defying all of its neighbours, it had to focus on internal stabilisation of the country and achieve a set of clearly defined objectives which would greatly improve Hungary's standing and create more favourable conditions for the ultimate goal that remained the same for Bethlen as for anyone else – the restoration of historic lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. Bethlen and his supporters thus opposed those professional diplomats from

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the Imperial Ballhausplatz who argued that Hungary should wait for Germany's recovery and the changed constellation of power to pursue a more active policy (p. 259). The former's clearly defined and realistic objectives included Hungary's admission to the League of Nations, floatation of a loan for economic reconstruction and the liquidation of military supervision, all of which were attained by Bethlen. For quite some time, one of the objectives was to seek for a rapprochement with Yugoslavia, albeit for tactical reasons alone. It was bound to remain elusive as the difference between the two countries was irreconcilable. As Hornyák clearly points out, Hungary needed an agreement with Belgrade in order to drive a wedge between the Little Entente countries, whereas Yugoslavia was determined not to allow splitting up from her allies.

On the other hand, the author's account of Yugoslav foreign policy is less satisfactory. He makes some erroneous assumptions and, based on them, jumps to conclusions which can hardly be supported by the available evidence. For example, it is professed that during "the Peace Conference it was the Yugoslav delegation that protested most vigorously against the establishment of Albania as an independent country" (p. 133). Quite the contrary, the Yugoslavs plumped for the independence of Albania in her 1913 frontiers as sketched by the London Conference after the First Balkan War, under the slogan "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples". Only if the Great Powers had rendered that independence impossible to achieve, the delegates would have fallen back on a reserve policy – the absorption of the northern parts as far as the Drin River in order to gain the strategically more viable border.¹ More-

over, Yugoslavia did not consider the Albanian problem with a view to an "open access to the Adriatic" as she had already possessed the wide Dalmatian littoral (p. 134). And any reluctance that Belgrade might have had to come to terms with Hungary had nothing to do with Italian economic and political penetration into Albania. From the strategic point of view the Yugoslavs were frightened of the peril of Italians "joining hands" from Albania with the Bulgarians across the Vardar valley in Serb Macedonia, thus cutting off the vital Belgrade–Salonica railway in the same fashion the Bulgarian army had actually done in 1915.² It was mainly this consideration that prompted Belgrade to

memoir submitted to the Peace Conference at Paris in relation to revendications of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, undated; No. 874, The Serbo-Croato-Slovene state and Albania [memorandum in English], 6 September 1919; No. 932, Pašić to Davidović, 13 September 1919; No. 933, Delegation to Clemenceau, 17 September 1919; No. 964, Record of the Delegation's meeting of 17 December 1919; No. 968, Pašić to Davidović, 23 December 1919; No. 972, Memorandum on Albania submitted to Wilson [American President], undated; *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, No. 12, The position of the Yugoslav Delegation in relation to the memorandum of 9 December 1919, 8 January 1920; No. 17, The record of the Cabinet meeting, 11 January 1920; No. 86, Delegation to Clemenceau, 9 January 1920; No. 108, Pašić to Protić, 21 March 1920; No. 114, Memorandum submitted to the American Embassy at Paris, 29 March 1920 [the interpretation concerning the frontier rectifications given by Radović contradicts the content of the document]; No. 129, The current position of the Adriatic question written by Otokar Ribarž, 13 May 1920.

² *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, No. 14, Dr Trumbić's [Foreign Minister] expose at the meeting of the allied Prime Ministers on 10 and 12 January 1920.

¹ *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, eds. Ljubodrag Dimić and Djordje Borozan, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1998), I, No. 822, From the

support Albania's independence. It was not the Yugoslav Minister in Tirana, Branko Lazarević, but Military Attaché, Lieutenant-Colonel Tanasije Dinić, that reported to the Great General Staff in May 1926 that Ahmed Zogu had definitely transferred his and his country's allegiance to Italy in return for generous financial support (p. 375, n. 44).³ In fact, Dinić vehemently argued that Lazarević was causing an immense damage to Yugoslav interests through his unrelenting support of Zogu's regime and requested to be removed from his post if there was no change at the head of the Legation.⁴ Later on, Hornyák revisits his argument that Yugoslav-Hungarian relations in 1924–26 were but a function of the vacillations that characterised the relations between Rome and Belgrade and the attendant – but not specified – failures of King Alexander's Balkan policy (pp. 228–229). In doing so, he entirely overlooks the fundamental premise of Yugoslavia's conduct of external affairs: the Little Entente's main value to Yugoslavs was that it allowed them to focus on the Balkans and Italian danger by protecting them from the north. Italy was no doubt a bogey that endeavoured to besiege Yugoslavia both from the direction of Central Europe and in the Balkans but not to the point of depriving her of any diplomatic initiative. Otherwise, she would not have been capable of conducting any active policy that Hornyák mentions.

The author is also mistaken in assuming that Belgrade did not earnestly believe that Hungarian breaches of the

restrictive military clauses of the Trianon Peace Treaty were substantial and constituted a real threat to Hungary's neighbours (p. 137). However, it was not just the Hungarian irredentist organisations and the suspicion of disarmament's being effectively carried out that accounted for Yugoslavia's firm opposition to Hungary's adherence to the League of Nations or, for that matter, the floatation of a loan for economic reconstruction. The Yugoslav Minister in Budapest, Milan Milojević, dismissed the prospect of establishing closer and more loyal relations with the Hungarians whose government, he was adamant, did not want any rapprochement as it was intent on the restoration of Great Hungary.⁵ Milojević thus found that Hungary remained a serious adversary and advised his government accordingly: "The weaker she is economically, the less [of an adversary] she would be."⁶ His views also chimed with those held in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry at large. The account of Yugoslavia's role in the Chanak crises of September 1922 (pp. 153–154) is also somewhat problematic. Belgrade was certainly not willing to side with France against Great Britain regardless of a loan for arms purchase. It was rather anxious that such a conflict might bring about an overt rupture between the two Allies and force the smaller states to take sides, a contingency that spelled uncertain prospects for the future. Most importantly, Belgrade could not afford to resort to military ac-

³ Belgrade, Vojni arhiv [The Military Archives], registry 17, box 95b, fascicle 1, doc. 4, Dinić to Great General Staff, 25 May 1926.

⁴ Živko Avramovski, "Akcijska jugoslovenske vlade protiv Zogovog režima u Albaniji preko Cena-bega Kryeziu, 1926–1927", *Albanološka istraživanja* 2 (1965), 235–238.

⁵ Belgrade, Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ)], London Legation, Milojević to Ninčić, 26 August 1923, confid. no. 1374; his experience of Hungary at that time the Yugoslav Minister described in his autobiography Milan Milojević, *Balkanska ravnoteža* (Belgrade: Signature, 1994), 186–188 and 192–206.

⁶ AJ, London Legation, Milojević to Ninčić, 26 August 1923, confid. no. 1374.

tion on a larger scale in order to support the British in their confrontation with the Turks when no tangible Yugoslav interests were involved.

The chapters dealing with the plans to materialise a "Central European" and "Balkan Locarno" on British initiative are least satisfactory and contain a number of inaccuracies. These stem from the fact that the prominent role of Sir Austen Chamberlain and the British Foreign Office is examined on the basis of Hungarian and Yugoslav material rather than British primary sources.⁷ For that reason, some major points are either distorted or not clear. To begin with, it is important to understand that neither Central European nor Balkan Locarno – had they been materialised – could have been a true replica of the original agreement between Germany and France for the simple reason that there was no power willing to act as a guarantor of a potential pact in the same way that Britain and Italy had done in Western Europe. In this case, a Locarno-like pact would be reduced to arbitration treaties on the pattern of those concluded by Germany, on the one hand, and Poland and Czechoslovakia, on the other. Yet, Hungary was opposed even to that as such arrangement could have been interpreted as a tacit acquiescence in the terms of the Trianon Treaty. The Little Entente countries were also suspicious, so chances were slim that the British initiative could bear any fruit. Hornyák seems to suggest that Britain and Italy acted in agreement although he clearly points out that the latter country was solely interested in establishing its own

sphere of influence in the region and excluding France. That was certainly not the case. Chamberlain co-ordinated his efforts with Aristide Briand of France and Mussolini avoided their repeated invitations for co-operation. Nevertheless, the British Secretary of State did not lose hope that Italy would be finally induced to promote British plans and he remained extremely lenient towards the Duce. He was proven wrong and therefore a united front of Great Powers that could only have roped the smaller Danubian countries into making at least arbitration agreements never took shape. Without it and without good will among the potential signatories, a Locarno-modelled treaty was just a pipe dream. It is only against this international background that it is possible to comprehend the – inevitable – failure of Chamberlain's noble initiative.

The concluding chapters detailing the final break-down of all attempts to reach a Yugo-Hungarian agreement are of particular interest as they clearly demonstrate that Mussolini's disruptive influence was a decisive factor in this matter. He was intent on isolating Yugoslavia, while Bethlen considered, not without foundation, to have achieved a major diplomatic success by concluding a pact of friendship with one of the Great Powers. Their pact was also a harbinger of militaristic plans hatched by both countries: Mussolini promised Hungary a military loan and the weapons captured in the war from the Habsburg Monarchy as well as full diplomatic support to Budapest at the time of its showdown with Czechoslovakia (p. 279). Another unpublished study based on Italian primary sources claims that the details of this arms smuggling into Hungary as well as the training of Hungarian pilots in Italy and the purchase of three hundred aircraft in contravention of the Trianon Treaty were worked out during the visit to Rome of Bethlen's personal

⁷ For a full account of the British role see Dragan Bakić, "'Must Will Peace': the British Brokering of 'Central European' and 'Balkan Locarno', 1925–1929", *Journal of Contemporary History* 48:1 (Jan. 2013), 24–56.

emissaries in July 1927.⁸ Hornyák does not add any new information on this clandestine military co-operation. Perhaps Hungarian records have not survived, if they existed at all.

There are some minor deficiencies that should also be pointed out. Serbian Colonel who negotiated armistice with the Hungarian delegation in early November 1918 was Danilo, and not Daniel, Kalafatović (p. 285, n. 5). The *Politika* and *Tribuna* were government-controlled newspapers and not parties (pp. 104 and 326, n. 16 respectively). VMRO stands for the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation and not Macedonian Liberation Organisation (p. 146). Miles Lampson was Head of the Central Department of the British Foreign Office, not a “deputy foreign minister” or an “un-

dersecretary of state” (pp. 220 and 240 respectively).

In conclusion, Hornyák has produced the most comprehensive study on the subject of Yugo-Hungarian relations in the first decade after the Great War which will serve as a sound foundation for international historians interested in the Danube region. It is rather unfortunate that his diligent work is seriously marred by poor English translation which often makes it difficult to follow the text.⁹ There are also a number of typographic errors (for instance, Vešnić instead of Vesnić). The worst example of an inadequate proof-reading is no doubt the disparity in a few chapters between the actual number of references in the main body of texts and the endnotes listed.

⁸ Vera Jelinek, “The Hungarian Factor in Italian Foreign Policy, 1918–1927” (unpublished PhD thesis, New York University, 1977), pp. 319–320.

⁹ Originally published as *Magyar-jugoszláv diplomáciai kapcsolatok 1918–1927* (Forum, 2004).

DEJAN DJOKIĆ, NIKOLA PAŠIĆ AND ANTE TRUMBIĆ: *THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES*. LONDON: HAUS PUBLISHING, 2010, pp. xxi + 227.

and

ELUSIVE COMPROMISE: A HISTORY OF INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA. LONDON: HURST & COMPANY, 2007, pp. xvii + 311.

Reviewed by Dragan Bakić*

The first book forms part of the *Makers of the Modern World: The Peace Conferences of 1919–23 and Their Aftermath* series edited by Professor Alan Sharp, which brings new insights into the proceedings and legacy of the Paris Peace Conference through biographies of the most prominent participants. Dejan Djokić has contributed parallel biographies of two leading members of the Yugoslav delegation, Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić. The for-

mer was a long-serving Prime Minister of Serbia and the latter a distinguished Croat politician who vigorously campaigned for a Yugoslav union during the First World War as the head of the London-based Yugoslav committee, a body composed of Croat, Serb and Slovene exiles from the Habsburg Monarchy. In drawing attention to differences between the two men,

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Djokić has also provided a useful addition to the literature on the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929). His contribution lies in interpretation rather than in unearthing any new information. Indeed, his work is almost exclusively based on the existing literature and, in particular, draws heavily on the classic studies of Lederer and Mitrović.¹ This is all the more understandable as the author has catered for non-academic audiences and not just experts. The book is easily read thanks to Djokić's concise but clear elucidation of arguments.

Part I of the book overviews the history of Yugoslav lands, Serbia and Croatia in particular, prior to 1914, the origins of the Yugoslav idea and the political paths of Pašić and Trumbić. It is a pity that their views on a Yugoslav union before and during the war are not explored more fully, but Djokić nevertheless seems to suggest that, in the end, both men were somewhat overwhelmed by the dynamics of events. Pašić vacillated between a Yugoslavia and a Greater Serbia, "caught between the 19th-century ideals of a Serbian struggle for liberation and unification and the reality of the new, Yugoslav century" (p. 24). However, he might have easily not seen these two options as alternatives to be chosen from, as he had long perceived the bickering between Serbs and Croats as being over imposing leadership and tradition "during the unification of Serbo-Croats" (the author gives Pašić's quote on p. 20). As for Trumbić, Djokić concludes that he could see "no alternative to Yugoslavia" as Croatia alone, or rather what would be left of her, would found herself in a precarious position at the end of the

war in which she had fought on the side of the defeated (p. 52).

Part II deals with the activities of the Yugoslav delegates in Paris. The delegation was headed by 74-years old Pašić who was not Prime Minister at the time due to King Alexander's veto. In fact, it was the only major delegation not led by a prime minister or a president, which, along with the poor system of communication with the government in Belgrade, seriously hindered the capacity of the delegation to make important decisions on the spot. Having been appointed Foreign Minister, and also being a leading Croat, Trumbić was the second most important figure. Besides Serbs and Croats, the delegation, or rather the Political Section of it, included Slovene representatives so as to reflect the composition of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes founded on 1 December 1918 on the premise that they constituted a single – though three-named – South Slav nation. The newly-formed state was, however, not recognised by the Principal Allies and the Yugoslav delegation was officially regarded as that of the Kingdom of Serbia. Consequently, the foremost task facing the delegates was to secure the recognition of their country and also to contend with the competing territorial claims of six out of seven neighbouring countries, allies and enemies alike. The main opponent of Yugoslavia was allied Italy which coveted the Slovene- and Croat-populated provinces of Istria and Dalmatia which had been promised to her under the terms of the secret Treaty of London in 1915 in exchange for her entry into war. As signatories of that treaty, Britain and France were bound to support Italian claims on the Yugoslav territories – in what is known as the Adriatic question – whereas the American President, Woodrow Wilson, the champion of the right to national self-determination, sided with the Yugoslavs. The peacemakers were not capable of settling this problem, which even caused the

¹ Ivo Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study in Frontiermaking* (Yale University Press, 1963); Andrej Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na Konferenciji mira 1919–1920* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 1969).

Italian delegation's temporary withdrawal from Paris. It was finally settled directly by the two rivals concluding the Treaty of Rapallo in November 1920.

Tensions between Pašić and Trumbić put additional strain on the work of the delegation. The main difficulty stemmed from their different approaches to advocating the Yugoslav cause before the Allies. Trumbić insisted that the Yugoslavs should strictly adhere to national self-determination as the basis of their territorial demands in keeping with the Wilsonian doctrine. Always an archrealist, Pašić was not too impressed with professions of a new era in international relations, nor did he believe that the world had just liquidated "the war to end all wars". In his view, the nationality principle should be fully exploited in Dalmatia and the Banat (the region eventually divided with Romania), where it clearly justified Yugoslav claims, but in other cases he was prepared to advance geostrategic reasons in order to obtain rectification of borders in Yugoslavia's favour. Djokić goes so far as to state that differences between Pašić and Trumbić emerged, at least partly, due to their conflicting ideologies, "the nationality principle vs *Realpolitik*" (p. 151). This appears to be a simplification of what in reality hardly was a clear-cut line of division. Pašić was mainly concerned with territorial acquisitions that would directly benefit pre-war Serbia and secure strategically more viable borders regardless of the nationality principle and of whether that would be at the expense of a former ally or enemy. In that, he was a true practitioner of *Realpolitik*. Trumbić's exclusive motivation by the Wilsonian principles is highly doubtful, however. He did expound the nationality principle with a view to settling the Adriatic question, but, in doing so, he was, just like Pašić, led by more narrow "tribal" interests – border delineation with Italy was an exclusively Croat affair. A native of Split, the largest town

in Dalmatia, Trumbić feared, along with another resident of Split and Croat delegate, Josip Smoljaka, that Pašić's strategic requirements concerning Bulgarian or Hungarian border might undermine the Yugoslav superior moral position in the Adriatic and lend justification to excessive Italian claims. Conveniently for him, Trumbić could defend all Croat interests under the popular banner of national self-determination. After all, it was hardly surprising that Serb, Croat and Slovene delegates alike were more willing to make concessions when such losses were to be suffered by a "tribe" other than their own. On the other hand, Djokić rightly argues that differences between them should not be overstated since "they maintained a remarkable show of unity when communicating with other delegations" (p. 67).

The author briefly recounts the claims, expectations, and results of the Yugoslav delegation, dealing separately with each contested border, as well as the Yugoslav attitude towards war crimes and war guilt. The Treaty of Versailles did not concern the territorial scope of the new state which did not border on Germany, but the delegation's signature in the form of "Serbie-Croatie-Slavonie [*sic*]" constituted a *de facto* recognition of the Yugoslav Kingdom. Territorial disputes – with the noted exception of the Adriatic question – were settled by the provisions of the (Austrian) Treaty of St. Germaine, the (Bulgarian) Treaty of Neuilly and the (Hungarian) Treaty of Trianon. Overall, the Yugoslavs could claim to have had much success under difficult circumstances. Djokić's account of these events makes an excellent reading but contains two minor distortions. When the Allies asked Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs to join Romanians in military intervention against the Bolshevik regime of Béla Kun in Hungary, the latter did not jump at "an opportunity to secure their claims in the north". Pašić may have been in that frame

of mind, unlike Trumbić, but it was the government in Belgrade that made decisions and it was unenthusiastic about any such venture (pp. 137–138). Discussing Yugoslavia's internal instability, Djokić speaks of "alienation among many Montenegrins and Croats because of the way Yugoslavia had been united" (p. 150). This implies the similarity in the causes and levels of dissatisfaction in Montenegro and Croatia while, in fact, any such comparison is wide of the mark.

Part III looks at the legacy of the Peace Conference as seen from the Yugoslav experience. It is noted that differences between Pašić and Trumbić were "symptomatic of the wider Serb-Croat dynamics in Yugoslavia". In this connection, Djokić seems to overemphasise "their mutually competing visions of a united Yugoslavia" (p. 151); this difference was very real and had manifested itself during the war, but it was not on the agenda of the conference and thus caused no dissent among the delegates. Pašić's and Trumbić's careers after the conference, however, reflected the rift between Serbs and Croats centred on the dilemma of centralism versus decentralised state. Despite his advanced age, Pašić remained a pivotal figure in Yugoslavia's political life until his death in late 1926, whereas Trumbić soon resigned as Foreign Minister and became a staunch opponent of centralism and even abandoned his earlier Yugoslavism, but he never again played an as important role as at the time of the conference. Finally, the author draws an interesting parallel between the Versailles settlement and the settlement of the South Slav question which took the form of the Yugoslav state. He does away with the often repeated blunder of labelling Yugoslavia a Versailles creation. Indeed, the facts speak for themselves: Yugoslavia was formed prior to the gathering in Paris and the Peace Conference can be said at most to have sanctioned its existence (pp. 63–64, 163–164). As for the claim that Yugosla-

via was an artificial state bound to disintegrate, as it eventually did in the 1990s, Djokić soundly dismisses it as a product of daily politics rather than historical analysis. He points out that Yugoslavia's durability throughout most of the violent twentieth century is a proof that it was not a miscarriage from the start. His hint at the possibility that "it may yet return one day in another guise within the EU framework" (p. 166), on the other hand, is, to this reviewer's mind, unrealistic altogether. It would certainly be interesting to find out what the author's views are as to the connection between the break-up of Yugoslavia and the at least partial reconfiguration of the Versailles settlement that took place at the end of the twentieth century. He presumably remains silent on this matter in keeping with his refutation of the notion that Yugoslavia was a Versailles creation. Moreover, his sympathy for Yugoslavia, although not explicitly stated, is apparent while he describes the terms of the Versailles Treaty as "infamously harsh" (p. 131). In doing so, he comes down on the side of those who continue to decry the peace settlement of 1919 as the source of all ills that were to follow and culminate in the Second World War despite the nearly unanimous view of international historians offering a much more balanced account.²

In conclusion, Djokić has provided a very readable, useful and thought-provoking work for those interested not just in the Yugoslav delegation at the Paris Peace Conference but also in the lives of Pašić and Trumbić, and, more widely, in the fate of Yugoslavia.

Djokić's other book, his expanded doctoral dissertation (University College

² For the most recent and excellent discussion see Sally Marks, "Mistakes and Myths: The Allies, Germany, and the Versailles Treaty, 1918–1921", *Journal of Modern History* 85:3 (September 2013), 632–659.

of London, 2004), closely looks at the tortuous attempts to find a Serb-Croat compromise on the administrative form of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) throughout its interwar existence. Choosing a quest for an agreement rather than reasons behind the conflict as a central topic is revealing of the author's argument. He claims that the internal instability of Yugoslavia cannot and should not be reduced to confrontation between Serbs and Croats; in doing so, he challenges the ossified assumption from Banac's classic study that the national ideologues of the two largest Yugoslav nations grew so irreconcilable in the early and formative years that the Kingdom established on the basis of the 1921 *Vidovdan* Constitution was in fact still-born.³ According to Djokić, there were many developments in political contest that cut across the purely ethnic divide and therefore required a different paradigm through which to be scrutinised. Moreover, he considers "political events as they developed after the unification as equally if not more important for an understanding of the period" (p. 10). His great contribution is in that he offers us a fresh perspective which might yield interesting findings.

It must be said though that the subtitles are unsuitable and misleading. This book is certainly not comprehensive enough to be considered "a history of interwar Yugoslavia". Perhaps, the author is not to be solely blamed for such an error at a time when catchy titles – and subtitles, for that matter – are susceptible to certain distortions in order to please publishers and secure the best possible sale. Be that as it may, Djokić changed the subtitle for the Serbian edition to meet the case: it reads "Serb-Croat Question in Inter-

war Yugoslavia".⁴ To his credit, the book rests on extensive research. In addition to the relevant archives located in Belgrade and Zagreb, this study draws on collections held in the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European Culture at the Columbia University and the Hoover Institution Archives at the Stanford University, which are of crucial importance but have so far been largely neglected by historians. The only other collections that could have been beneficially consulted are Hinko Krizman Papers in the Archives of Yugoslavia and Svetozar Pribičević Papers deposited at the Bakhmeteff Archive – the two were the most prominent members of the Independent Democratic Party which formed a coalition with the Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) in 1927 known as the Peasant Democratic Coalition. The book is very well-written and accessible not just to specialists, but also to wider audiences. Djokić's main argument, however, can only be partially sustained. He stands his ground in demonstrating that the dynamics of political struggle, including that between Serbs and Croats, became even livelier post-1921 by reviewing its ups and downs and the involvement of many actors. In that context, it is rather intriguing to ponder how a tragic event, or even a coincidence, could have decisively shaped the course of events. For example, the murder of Stjepan Radić and two other members of the Croatian Peasant Party by a Serb fellow deputy in the National Assembly in June 1928 had reversed the situation created by the 1925 agreement between the Croat leader and Prime Minister Pašić. The author wonders, and this reviewer as well, "what the effect on Serb-Croat relations it would have been if Pribičević, a Serb [who was also shot at], had been murdered too" (p.

³ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: origins, history, politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

⁴ Dejan Djokić, *Nedostižni kompromis: srpsko-hrvatsko pitanje u međjunatnoj Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Reč, 2010).

67, fn. 92). Or perhaps murdered instead of Radić? On the other hand, Djokić greatly overstates his case concerning the alleged over-pronounced significance of Serb-Croat rivalry. He is at pains to support his claim when discussing both major developments and certain details, but almost invariably fails to do so. This will be discussed in more detail below.

The first two chapters, in Djokić's words, set the scene for an in-depth exploration that is to come. The major events of the First World War are reviewed to show how the unification of Yugoslavia took place on 1 December 1918. In doing so, Djokić also debunks the oft-repeated claims which have reflected political needs in Serbia and Croatia since the turbulent 1990s rather than historical analysis. The British proposal of the summer of 1915 that Serbia should cede her southern parts, i.e. Vardar Macedonia, to Bulgaria in exchange for the large tracts of the then Habsburg territories has been too simplistically interpreted as an offer of an extended (Greater) Serbia which the Pašić government rejected and opted for a Yugoslav state (pp. 16–17), a disastrous mistake in that interpretation with the benefit of hindsight. The Croatian *Sabor* (Diet) dissolved itself on 29 October 1918, more than a month before the creation of Yugoslavia, with the motivation that it was not needed as the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS) was formed and historic Croatia ceased to exist (pp. 25–26) – this fact contradicts the myth of the continuity of Croatian statehood transferred into Yugoslavia. Of particular interest is the account of the deliberations of the November 1918 Session of the National Council of the State of SCS, which disclosed a variety of opinions among the Habsburg Yugoslavs as to the internal structure of a Yugoslav state. However, it was a foreign danger, namely the advancing of Italian troops in Dalmatia, that cut the Gordian knot and effected

a prompt and unconditional unification with Serbia predicated on the notion that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were the three tribes of a single Yugoslav nation.

The differences made apparent in the National Council carried on in the Provisional Parliament of the newly-established Kingdom of SCS (Yugoslavia). Djokić stresses that the division into the supporters of the Democratic-Socialist Bloc and the Parliamentary Union did not run along ethnic lines. Yet, the two largest Serbian parties agreed in the aftermath of the November 1920 elections to promulgate the centralist *Vidovdan* Constitution against the wishes of all other parties. Therefore, it does not seem plausible to divorce the constitutional debate between centralists and autonomists from a Serb-Croat conflict, although the author admits that the former contest “gradually turned into” (p. 43) the latter. It has long been demonstrated that this clash stemmed from the opposing political traditions of the two nations: the Serbs had lived in a centralist unitary state prior to the Great War, whereas Croats had been used to complex state arrangements such as that of the 1868 Compromise (*Nagodba*) with Hungarians.⁵ The centralist-minded Croats were a tiny minority just as Stojan Protić could not gather much support for the autonomy of historical provinces on the Serbian side. “The volatile twenties”, as Djokić aptly describes them, provide perhaps most evidence for his argument since this period witnessed Radić's political alliances with three Serb leaders, Davidović, Pašić and Pribičević. The mercurial Croat leader recognised the state and the Kardjorđević dynasty and even spent some time as a Minister in

⁵ Srdja Trifković, “The First Yugoslavia and Origins of Croatian Separatism”, *East European Quarterly* XXVI:3 (September 1992), 345–370.

Pašić's government. Following his death, however, the Serb-Croat confrontation became rather crystallised, much more than Djokić would have it. The dictatorship of King Alexander and the government-sponsored "integral Yugoslavism" designed to erase all "tribal" identities and forge a single Yugoslav nation further aggravated the Serb-Croat divide.

All attempts to find a solution to the "Croat Question" within the framework of integral Yugoslavism failed dismally. After the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles in October 1934 and the 5 May 1935 elections which fully legitimised Radić's successor at the head of the CPP, Vlatko Maček, as the leader of the entire Croat people, it fell to the Regent, Prince Paul, and his new Premier Milan Stojadinović to seek a solution to internal disruptions. The latter two considerably relaxed the dictatorship and immediately showed good will – by releasing Maček from prison – and readiness to come to terms with Croats. They were not devoted to integral Yugoslavism as King Alexander had been, but they were not willing to abrogate the octroyed Constitution of 1931 or accept a federal solution either. Djokić recounts Maček's parallel contacts with the regime and the Serbian opposition parties which formed an informal and rather loose coalition known as the United Opposition (UO, composed of Democrats, Agrarians and the faction of Radicals loyal to the party's Main Committee). He attaches great importance to the formation of the Bloc of the National Agreement on 8 October 1937 comprising the Peasant Democratic Coalition and the UO, and goes so far as to present it as "the Serb-Croat democratic opposition" (p. 272). In line with that, he presents a detailed account of Maček's "triumphant" visit to Belgrade in August 1938 for the purpose of conferring with the leaders of the UO. However, both the democratic potential and the overall importance of

the said Bloc are highly dubious. For the Serbian opposition, restoration of full civil liberties and political freedoms was indeed the chief objective; once achieved, it would create favourable conditions for a democratic solution to the Croat question. Maček and his party, on the other hand, were exclusively concerned with attaining broad autonomy for Croatia. They knew that the Crown alone could grant them concessions and guarantee any agreement, quite apart from Maček's personal sympathy and respect for Prince Paul. In addition, the Serbian political scene was so fragmented that there was no single political party or leader that could speak for the majority of Serbs. Under the circumstances, the Croats directed most of their energies to negotiations with Prince Paul and whoever enjoyed his confidence. Flirtation with the UO was rather a tactical move. It strengthened the CPP's position towards the government – Stojadinović's Radicals, Slovene Clericals and Bosnian Muslims gathered in the Yugoslav Radical Union. Maček flaunted the abolishment of the dictatorship as a popular slogan, but that was of no importance to him. In fact, a return to democracy might have been an obstacle to reaching an agreement with the Crown since he was aware of Prince Paul's intense dislike for all the leaders of the UO. Maček was perfectly content to have an autonomous Croatia under the Karadjordjević dictatorship and that was exactly what happened in 1939. Djokić provides plenty of evidence for the CPP's somewhat cynical attitude towards the UO (esp. pp. 162–163) and that is what makes his praise of the Bloc of the National Agreement surprising. Equally surprising is his statement that the Bloc "and even the Pašić-Radić pact of the mid-1920's were political compromises arguably more deserving of the label 'Serb-Croat'" than the 1939 *Sporazum* which gave life to an autonomous Croatia (p. 276).

Stojadinović encouraged Maček to deepen his cooperation with the UO so that a two-party system could be established pitting unitarists and federalists against each other – with Serbs and Croats, particularly the former, in both camps – but the Croat leader dismissed the proposal as detrimental to the Croatian cause. This may have led Djokić to claim that “unlike Maček, Stojadinović did not see divisions between the government and opposition as strictly ‘national’ (i.e. Serb-Croat) but as ‘political’ (i.e. centralism vs. Federalism)” (pp. 149–150). The claim is not convincing: Stojadinović simply employed the tactics used by Pašić in the 1920s trying to persuade the Croats to put an end to their boycott of political institutions and thus transform their national struggle into a regular political and parliamentary contest – for that reason Maček rejected his suggestion, as mentioned above. Furthermore, Djokić entirely neglects the international dimension to the Croat question and Stojadinović’s foreign policy in particular. By concluding the 1937 pact with Italy and nurturing cordial relations with Germany, Stojadinović made sure that no foreign help would be forthcoming to Maček or the terrorist *Ustaša* organisation. Admittedly, Maček remained intransigent but he could not use foreign support as a means of pressuring Belgrade into concessions. The same lack of appreciation for the decisive impact of the international situation on the Croat question in the late 1930s accounts for Djokić’s claim that the fall of Stojadinović “should be understood primarily in the context of the internal political debate on the future of Yugoslavia” (p. 174).⁶

A further instance of downplaying the essential importance of the Serb-Croat rift is the author’s insistence on the fact that the coalitions which took part in the 1935 and 1938 elections, both governmental and opposition, were not made on ethnic basis. That is no doubt true, but it proves little more than the pragmatism of Yugoslav politicians who were able to put aside all differences in order to overcome technical difficulties of an electoral law and boost their chances of success. That is how, for example, a freakish alliance between the CPP and the Yugoslav National Party, pledged to unitarism and integral Yugoslavism, came into being. It is revealing, however, that the opposition list headed by Maček failed to issue a joint election manifesto both in 1935 and 1938 (pp. 185–186). On a much smaller scale, it is an exaggeration to conclude, from an anecdote which involved sending a cake to Maček in his prison cell, that “leading Serbian academics supported cooperation between the Serbs and Croats” (p. 123) – though it is not said here that some of them did not. The same can be said of drawing far-reaching conclusions based on an incident in a Croatian village (pp. 146–147). “The enmity between Stojadinović and Živković [Prime Minister during King Alexander’s dictatorship] matched and even overshadowed the one between the Prime Minister and Maček, providing yet another example of an intra-ethnic, political conflict”, Djokić concludes without much regard for the nature of the relations between Stojadinović and the other two (p. 180).

Dragiša Cvetković, Stojadinović’s successor as premier, continued talks with Maček acting as Prince Paul’s personal envoy. This time the pressure of the precarious international situation loomed even larger, but the Croat leader was now in a position to sound Italy out – Berlin turned down his overtures so as not to wound Italian susceptibilities. Djokić

⁶ Dušan Biber, “O padu Stojadinovićeve vlade”, *Istorija 20. veka* VII (Beograd, 1966), 5–71, makes it clear that the reasons were much more complicated.

seems to underrate what the British saw as Maček's blackmailing tactics and the difficulties in which Prince Paul found himself. The deal was finally struck on 26 August 1939: the ethnic-based *Banovina* of Croatia, unlike King Alexander's *banovinas*, was formed the territorial scope of which exceeded that of the Habsburg historic or, for that matter, today's Croatia. Djokić describes the situation in the newly-created Croatian *banovina* marked by a number of violent incidents in which Serbs and pro-Yugoslav Croats were victims. Yet, he tries to argue that these conflicts were "in many aspects personal and ideological, not necessarily 'ethnic'" (pp. 217–218). Djokić focuses on the town of Split to prove his point and stresses how the local branch of the CPP split into a number of mutually hostile factions (pp. 220–222) and the conflict arose as much among Croats as between Croats and Serbs. But from the evidence he quotes it is clear that these realignments among Croats were caused purely by hunger for power, not by any ideological reasons or different attitude towards local Serbs. Similarly, he argues that the demand of Serbs from the Croatian town of Vukovar to have their district transferred "to the jurisdiction of the Dunavska *banovina*" was some "local goal" (p. 242), although it was no doubt motivated by their wish to be excluded from the scope of Croatian *banovina*.

The 1939 *Sporazum* did not settle down the heated atmosphere in Yugoslavia since it was incomplete. It marked the beginning of the federalisation of the country, but that process was never completed. Djokić provides an excellent overview of the political confusion that engulfed the Serbs who did not receive their own ethnic *banovina* – just like the Slovenes – which provoked the "Serbs, rally together" movement. The status of Bosnia was also an open question. The author seems to display certain dissatisfaction with the 1939 agreement on account of its failure to bring about a return to democracy, but still maintains that it "marked a positive step toward finding a Serb-Croat compromise" (p. 268). It was the Axis aggression, and not domestic instability, that liquidated Yugoslavia in April 1941. Djokić briefly sketches these events but not without some highly contentious assertions, such as his endorsement of the 27 March military coup and Anthony Eden's allegedly prophetic advice to Prince Paul, as well as his speculation on what might have befallen Yugoslavia had she survived the war intact.

Overall, Djokić has produced a thoroughly researched, well-written and somewhat contentious book which will be a mandatory reading for any student of Serb-Croat relations in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

ZORAN MILUTINOVIĆ, *GETTING OVER EUROPE. THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE IN SERBIAN CULTURE* (STUDIA IMAGOLOGICA SERIES). AMSTERDAM – NEW YORK: RODOPI, 2011, pp. 288.

Reviewed by Veljko Stanić*

A study on the images of Europe in the Serbian culture of the first half of the twentieth century by Zoran Milutinović appeared as the eighteenth volume in the Amsterdam-based Rodopi publisher's

Studia Imagologica series. Milutinović, professor of South-Slavic literature and literary theory at the School of Slavon-

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ic & East European Studies, University College of London, is a specialist in comparative literature and drama theory. In addressing such a complex subject he chose to examine literary, scholarly and philosophical texts, travel accounts and essays of some fifteen Serbian authors of the first half of the last century. Even though some of the studies included in the book had been published independently, the book can be read as a monograph in its own right. The adept selection of representative examples is a very welcome contribution to the cultural and intellectual history of modern Serbia.

The book before us calls to mind the thought of the French historian Christophe Charle that every cultural history is comparative, since cultures, especially in contemporary times, measure themselves against each other, and not only "small" cultures against greater, "dominant [cultures] which have universalist pretensions". Milutinović starts from a similar premise in his attempt to define the place of Serbian culture against or, more precisely, within European culture. Focused on the period between the two world wars, marked by fundamental uncertainties about the fate of Europe and its civilisation, he in fact encompasses a longer period, the decades between the beginning of the twentieth century and the end of the Second World War. At the beginning of that road stands Jovan Skerlić, a man of the nineteenth century in many respects, with his unwavering faith in the rationalism of the West. The road ends with the most mature of Ivo Andrić's works, *The Bridge on the Drina* and *Bosnian [Travnik] Chronicle*, where the notions of East and West, Europe and the Balkans, are sublimated and "got over" in the author's philosophy of history. During the few decades between these two milestones, the Europe issue features in the mainstream of Serbian culture. The First World War marks a tectonic politi-

cal and cultural shift which, as in other European societies, decisively influences the process of stratification and ideological differentiation within the Serbian intellectual elite, and the image it constructs of itself and of others.

Milutinović's study, while recognising the diversity and complexity of the images of Europe in Serbian culture, essentially reveals the notion of Europe as necessarily dual, contradictory and ambivalent, as "an illness and a cure". At the same time, however, he suggests that the dialogue of Serbian culture with Europe is an irreversible process with lasting and far-reaching effects. From looking up to Europe to questioning it, from the Europe of materialism, technological progress and modernisation to the Europe of spiritual, cultural values, the faces of Europe are examined thoroughly in the writings of Serbian intellectuals. One pole in writing about Europe is predicated on rationalism and strives for the incorporation of Serbian culture in the European mainstream. It naturally relies on Serbia's nineteenth-century development, combining the national idea and the liberal political stream of developed European nations. Speaking of pre-1914 Serbia, Milutinović therefore refers to Predrag Palavestra's arguments for describing it as a "golden age" of Serbian culture, with "constitutional monarchy, liberal parliamentary democracy, open borders, freedom of the press, and prevalent French cultural influence" being its "main political and social features". The First World War, however, sets the stage for a powerful surge of irrational aesthetics marked by, among other things, Expressionist poetics and Spenglerian pessimism. Therefore, in a climate of cultural internationalisation in the years following the Great War, some Serbian intellectuals are not an exception in radically redefining the image of Europe.

The *cosmopolitan nationalists*, exemplified by Jovan Skerlić and Isidora Sekulić,

continue the nineteenth-century trend of Serbia's modernisation. To them, the political, social and cultural model for Serbia to follow is Europe at its best. Skerlić, although not disinclined to criticise Europe – the Europe of empires and plutocracy – is a pronounced Westerner in Serbian culture. “The West or death” is his motto. This West of his is above all France and authentic European values such as democracy, rationalism, progress, education, energy. Skerlić's vision of Europe therefore entails a social and political modernisation of Serbia in accordance with European standards. Isidora Sekulić, despite her different literary sensibility, joins Skerlić in this respect, though in purely intellectual terms. She sees Europe as an irreplaceable canon and framework for Serbia to draw from. She develops the concept of cultural nationalism as a higher quality which would make Serbia lastingly become part of the European cultural tradition.

To the same circle of Serbian intellectuals which may tentatively be described as liberal, Milutinović adds a few more remarkable figures. The chapter *The Gentleman* acquaints us with Jovan Dučić. For Dučić, great culture is the only culture; consequently he identifies fully with French culture as an expression of Eurocentric universalism. Bogdan Popović and Slobodan Jovanović ponder on the national character of their people and its relation to Europe. While cultural deficiencies of the Serbian people are apparent to the former, the latter argues that the nation is not a value in itself but can only attain value through universal cultural ideals. There is neither a domestically devised cultural pattern, nor has one of the existing European models been adopted: the French *honnête homme*, the German *gebildeter Mensch* or the English *gentleman*. The lack of such a model has as a result the lack of national self-control, Jovanović believes. Milan Kašanin exem-

plifies an erudite Serbian intellectual, a Francophile. His vision of Europe looks up to France which, in Milutinović's view, remains “the unattainable world of culture in which one can stay for a while, admire and respect, but can never dream of recreating at home”. The Expressionist Rastko Petrović, to whom the chapter *Oh, to be a European! What did Rastko Petrović learn in Africa?* is devoted, also makes a distinction between the Europe of culture and the Europe of empires and colonies. Petrović can only see himself as an insider in the former, because European cultural identity provides him with the necessary European legitimacy. This is why he “must not let go of the idea of Europe from his Belgrade books, for if he did he would be no more than a grandson of a Sultan's subject ... for their existence is his only chance of being a European insider”.

Drifting away both from the Eurocentric perspective and from the traditional view of Europe as a desirable model, some intellectuals introduce noticeably different images of Europe in Serbian culture. To them the author devotes the chapter indicatively entitled *In search of a Slav mission*. Jovan Cvijić thinks of “larger cultural syntheses, a Yugoslav and a Slav one”, as a means of not only cultural but also political development, independent of the West. Although Miloš Crnjanski speaks of Slav barbarians and the unity of European culture, the leading role is played by proponents of the “philosophy of life” (*Lebensphilosophie*) powerfully influenced by Bergsonian intuitionism and “creative evolution”. Glorification of patriarchal culture, national and Eastern mysticism, modern European schools of philosophy, all of these are elements that mark their thought. Miloš Djurić believes in Slavdom's cultural mission; the original Yugoslav culture brings about new values as a lasting part of the world's cultural heritage. Vladimir Vujić and Prvoš Slankamenac develop a “new humanism”

and the doctrine of “liberated”, “Slavic” thought. Vladimir Dvorniković, on the other hand, although an advocate of integral Yugoslavism, does not believe in “Slav civilization or its salutary cultural mission”: “Only the West is culturally Europe. If Europeans are Hellenes, we are only Macedonians, if not barbarians.”

On the other hand, the chapter *The prophets of Europe's downfall and rebirth* contrasts Nikolaj Velimirović and Dimitrije Mitrinović. Although both have the crisis of Europe as their starting point, the former demands a radical break with Europe, while the latter sees the future in a new Europe. Milutinović stresses that Velimirović belongs “to the broad spectrum of European antimodernists”. Much like Paul Claudel or T. S. Eliot, he is a “conservative revolutionary” opposed to the secular, rationalist and individualist Europe. From being an advocate of Europe's spiritual rebirth in Christianity in the early 1920s he becomes an opponent of all things European twenty years later. Mitrinović, on the other hand, assigns the central role in the spiritual rebirth of humanity to Europe which will unite all its cultures into one.

Two concluding chapters of the book, *The great mechanism passes through Višegrad* and *Misunderstanding is the rule, understanding is a miracle*, offer an analysis of the work of Ivo Andrić. Situating it in the centre of European literary modernism, Milutinović observes that Andrić's understanding of modernisation is considerably different from Skerlić's from the beginning of the century. In other words, the road travelled suggests not only positive but also “dark aspects” of the process. In the spirit of fin-de-siècle cultural pessimism, Andrić speaks of the “defeat of the substantial and consequent triumph of the structural and functional”. Also, his work provides critical insight into almost all debates about Europe conducted in the few previous decades. Milutinović there-

fore uses the example of *Bosnian Chronicle* to sum up the following elements: “the image of enlightened, benevolent and progressive Europe, which has a lot to offer to the Balkans; Europe's imperialism and care only for its own interests; the disdain with which the Balkans were regarded in other parts of the continent; the false opposition between East and West; the class differences transformed into national differences by European observers; the cult of France; and the vision of the unity of human culture”. “Andrić deconstructs this opposition and shows that just as there are many Europes, so there are many Bosnias,” Milutinović concludes.

By acquainting the reader with the most significant images of Europe created by some of the leading Serbian intellectuals, Zoran Milutinović also offers a study on Serbia's intellectual generations of the first half of the twentieth century, which should encourage historians to embark on a more versatile approach to Serbian cultural and intellectual history. Milutinović shows that the image of Europe has been a central question in modern Serbia's cultural orientation, inextricably linked with her national and cultural development. Firmly holding to the imagological perspective, Milutinović also observes the inner logic of the intellectual field in Serbian culture, paradigm shifts and interdependence between different images of Europe. His view could have been even richer had he encompassed the broader, Yugoslav, field, especially in the inter-war period. Still, the diversity of visions of Europe suggested by his findings may be seen as a precious intellectual legacy in Serbian culture, still relevant and inspiring almost a century after its creation.

MINORITIES IN THE BALKANS. STATE POLICY AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS (1804–2004),
ED. DUŠAN T. BATAKOVIĆ. BELGRADE: INSTITUTE FOR BALKANS STUDIES, SERBIAN
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS, 2011, pp. 364.

*Reviewed by Vladislav Lilić**

The edited volume *Minorities in the Balkans* published by the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, offers a wide historical overview of various interrelations of the Balkan peoples and of diverse state policies aimed at arranging these relations within the Balkan nation-states over the past two centuries. Most Balkan nation-states emerged during the nineteenth century, and the territorial and ethnic reorganisation of the region is still under way. Therefore, the object of analysis in this volume, namely the official policies of the Balkan nation-states towards ethnic, national, religious and other minorities, has not just significantly marked the political and social history of the region but is a deep-rooted potential source of instability and conflict.

The territory of the modern Balkan nation-states emerging in the nineteenth-century had been controlled by two once mighty empires, the Ottoman and the Habsburg. They both embodied a mixture of different ethnic groups but pursued divergent policies to define and regulate the status of minorities within their borders. On the one hand, the Dual Monarchy was regularly perceived as a *prison of nations*, while, on the other, stood the multicultural *millet system*, under which numerous confessional communities of the Ottoman Empire ruled themselves to a certain extent. The ethnic and religious mosaic in the territories of the two empires, created by numerous voluntary or forced population movements, could not cease to exist after the demise of *foreign rule*. The Balkan population was often ethnically mixed, and regardless of where new administrative, national lines were

laid, substantial minorities of other nations remained on the *wrong side* of the border.

However, even before the formation of nation-states in the Balkans, according to M. Hroch, a usually non-linear process of transformation of previous tribal, ethnic and ethno-religious groups into nations had been taking place. The development of national consciousness of an ethnic group undergoes three phases. In phase A, some members of the group start to explore the group's history. This is, as noted by Dimitrije Djordjević, to justify the revolutionary awakening of the nation-state and legalise its inclusion in the community of modern nations. In phase B, there occurs mass mobilisation for the purpose of raising national awareness. In final phase C, wider social groups begin to share a common national identity as a separate, principal value.

Such processes are long-lasting. Uniform national identity stabilises only after decades of transformation. Coherent and consistent historical narratives are being produced to bind the discontinuity of individual experiences. Such continual narratives, present and developed in the vast majority of modern European nations, serve to facilitate the merging of different local groups of identities into a dominant, national one. This is not a specific, exclusive feature of the Balkan political experience.

Nonetheless, an exclusive, ethno-centric version of emerging nationalisms was indeed present in the Balkans from the

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nineteenth century onwards. These nationalisms brought not only the feelings of national uniqueness and impetus for resistance in the face of powerful foreign invaders, but also national exclusiveness, localism and the denial of values held by others. In the words of D. Djordjević, the vision of the demise of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires could come forth only in dreams of national revolutionaries, and Balkan nationalisms followed the European political mainstream embodied in the principle *one nation one state*. In the Balkans, the implementation of this formula was not simple, and it often resulted in tragic divisions, desultory development, conflicts and religiously and ethnically motivated crimes. Although the national factor contained elements of cultural, social, economic and political emancipation, it continues to cast a long shadow on contemporary Balkan minority issues.

Bearing that in mind, the texts assembled in *Minorities in the Balkans*, given either in English or French, analyse the rationale behind official minority policies in the period from 1804 to 2004 and their (un)intended consequences. Catherine Horel offers arguments to support the claim that development of Austrian-Hungarian federalism after 1867 was *impossible*. The reasons were institutional development after the *Ausgleich*, and the rise of national consciousness of various ethnic minorities within the Dual Monarchy. Numerous minority groups designed different national projects of struggle for autonomy or independence, while dominant groups pursued their own visions of Austria-Hungary's future political development. That of Austria involved the dominance of the Habsburg dynasty, whereas the Hungarians held on to the previously attained political rights and privileges. In such circumstances, federalisation of the Monarchy indeed proved impossible.

An excellent group of contributions arose from academic and research interest in the status of minorities in the Ottoman Empire. Bernard Lory concisely addresses the Aromanian national question (which seemingly was of marginal interest to the Ottomans) and concludes that in some situations widespread corruption hindered any attempt to formalise minority rights, but also could help in particular cases where one minority group found itself endangered. At the local and provincial levels, arbitrariness and corruption unfolded endlessly, thus preventing, according to Lory, every attempt to introduce a uniform imperial minority policy in the Ottoman Empire.

Danko Taboroši describes the nineteenth-century processes of Circassian settlement in the Balkans, in Kosovo in particular, after their expulsion from the north-western Caucasus following the Russian invasion. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, most of them withdrew to Anatolia. Furthermore, the recent interethnic conflicts in Kosovo reduced their numbers even further. Today, only a tiny group survives in the contested southern Serbian province as the last community in the Balkans.

The historical origins of the Serbian-Albanian conflict in Kosovo and Metohija during the communist dictatorship and the realities of mass exodus of the Kosovo Serbs following the war of 1999 is examined in two articles by Dušan T. Bataković. He shows how shifts in state policy can cause a dramatic and long-term change in status from a majority to a minority population, which, amidst a mixture of communist and nationalist ideologies, leads to escalating interethnic conflicts. In this sense, equally important is Harun Hasani's article on the Goranians, a Muslim Slav, Serbian-speaking community in the southernmost area of Kosovo and Metohija. Hasani analyses the intolerance toward non-Albanians in the Ko-

sovo province and the aggressive attempts to force Muslim Albanian identity on the Muslim Slav Goranians.

Two studies take a look at the history of minority policies and issues in Romania. Traian Sandu deals with interwar Romania, the question of national identity and nationalism, and the question of national integration from an international perspective, while Ruxandra Ivan examines the minority policies in Romania under the communist regime, the solutions offered by the official ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and reconsiders the issue of Romanian-Hungarian conflict in Transylvania.

Mladenka Ivanković revisits the history of the Jewish population in the pre-1941 Kingdom of Yugoslavia, their position in Yugoslav society and its legal framework. It is stressed that the Jewish community had always been *on good terms* with the pre-1914 Serbian kingdom and that such state of affairs continued in interwar Yugoslavia. This conclusion is made by putting the issue in a broader European context. In addition to this analysis, the author focuses both on the tragedy of the Yugoslav Jewish community during the Nazi occupation (1941–1944, when eighty percent of the Yugoslav Jews, or 60,000 people, were killed) and its place under the new communist regime (until 1953), when many members of the Jewish community contributed to the post-war reconstruction of Yugoslavia.

The history of Bulgarian minority policies is addressed by Blagovest Njagulov and Evgenia Kalinova. Njagulov follows the Bulgarian national integration and nation-building process in the pre-1945 period, and further focuses on the minority questions in Bulgaria after 1878. Kalinova examines the history of the Turkish minority question in Bulgaria, underlining concepts of interethnic tolerance and human rights as highly important in surpassing restrictions imposed upon minority groups by national legislation.

Vojislav G. Pavlović addresses the birth of the concept of *minorities* in the Balkans. He concludes that, as Serbian national consciousness rose and the institution-building process commenced in nineteenth-century Serbia, the main mechanisms of dealing with minority issues were migration at first, then integration and assimilation. This was common to all newly-born nation-states in the Balkans that pursued the *Megali Idea* concept or exclusive national programs. Similarly, Slobodan G. Markovich compares the experience of the ethnically quite homogeneous Kingdom of Serbia with the multi-ethnic composition of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941). As the national question of pre-1914 Serbia was resolved, the Serbian political elites did not understand the difficulties arising from the belief that the Yugoslav idea could provide a basis for constructing a new state and national identity. Yugoslavism, or the notion of *one people – three tribes (names)*, proved to be incompatible both with the antagonistic stance of non-Slav minorities of interwar Yugoslavia and with the populist Croatian movement.

The historical devolution of the Serbian question in Croatia is examined by Gordana Krivokapić-Jović. She traces the substantial long-standing presence and often tragic fate of Serbs in Croatia. The Serbs in Croatia had struggled for equal rights in the Habsburg era and enjoyed equal rights only during the Yugoslav kingdom, only to become victims of genocide by the pro-Nazi Ustasha regime in Hitler's satellite Independent State of Croatia (1941–1945), which encompassed the Serbs of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Srem and Baranja as well. Their post-war reconciliation with Croats was enabled by their being granted the status of constitutional nation in Croatia in the federal framework of communist Yugoslavia, only to be reduced to minority status by Franjo Tuđman's regime, leading to their

eventual persecution and mass expulsion during the wars of Yugoslav succession (1991–1995).

Katrin Boeckh analyses the compromises in the minority policies of communist Yugoslavia in 1945–1980. She claims that, as the experiment of *Yugoslavism* failed to consolidate the fragile political system of the first Yugoslavia, the communist elites in 1945 adopted the Marxist-Leninist solution, namely, the Soviet federal model. And from then on, if national feelings arose in Yugoslavia, it was necessarily due to the remnants of civil society and its ideological products, such as alleged Serbian unitarism and nationalism. Grave compromises that were made, such as granting collective without political rights, resulted in the appalling disintegration of Yugoslavia after the death of the communist dictator J. B. Tito, the last factor of ideological cohesion.

Finally, Vojislav Stanovčić offers an elaborate text on democracy in multiethnic societies. He underlines the importance of the rule of law, separation of powers, dispersion of power, pluralistic civil society and democratic political culture as prerequisites for truly democratic rule in multiethnic societies. Furthermore, he concludes that in multinational political entities, simple majority rule has to be

reshaped and strengthened with institutions of consociational democracy.

Overall, national questions, or minority questions, still continue to burden relations among the neighbouring states of the Balkan region. Even though some of these have already become full members of the European Union, the standards of promotion and protection of minority rights are far from being thoroughly implemented. Besides, various legacies of the past and many unresolved (even unaddressed) issues will continue to set the minority questions on the top of the Balkan political agenda. It is a fact that mono-ethnic nation-states in the Balkans are non-existent. Contemporaries are, therefore, facing a dilemma: should they search for institutional arrangements that can enable and enhance peaceful and progressive coexistence or should they continue promoting models of domination over minority groups, which often involve outbursts of ethnic or religious hatred, pogroms, or forced assimilation? The *Minorities in the Balkans* not only assesses the failure of former Balkan minority policies, but expresses a clear message that what is needed is a sustained commitment to nurturing tolerance and diversity as fundamental democratic principles and widely held social values.

ROBERT M. HAYDEN, *FROM YUGOSLAVIA TO THE WESTERN BALKANS: STUDIES OF A EUROPEAN DISUNION, 1991–2011*. LEIDEN: BRILL, 2013, pp. 406.

Reviewed by Miroslav Svirčević*

The new book by Robert M. Hayden, professor of anthropology, law and international affairs, and director of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, makes a significant contribution to the knowledge and unbiased understanding of the Yugoslav crisis and its various aspects. Its particular

merit is that the research into phenomena is done across disciplinary perspectives (law, political science, anthropology, philosophy and ethics, psychology, sociology). Based on fact, Hayden's well-argued discussion largely explains the causes of the

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war among the once “brotherly peoples” in the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the only Yugoslav entity with no single majority ethnic group. In dignified contrast to widespread prejudices and constructs of the Balkans, so amply present in current academic and popular writing, Professor Hayden’s balanced, convincing and unpretentious conclusions demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the history and culture of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia and provide the groundwork for a more objective approach to the study of the Balkans in the West.

The first part of the book analyses the causes of the collapse of the principles on which the life of South Slavs under one state roof was premised, notably in the course of the 1980s. One of the focuses is the “brotherhood and unity” principle on which the Titoist system of post-Second World War Yugoslavia was predicated. Contrary to the widespread stereotype of the Balkans as a region of dissent and hatred which has little in common with European culture, Hayden suggests that the peoples of Yugoslavia were accustomed to living together and aware of potential threats to such a way of life, and that, therefore, it took much effort to make them start shooting at each other: “Before beginning the analysis, however, a few comments on the similarities among and distinctions between the Serbs, Croats and Muslims are in order. [...] suffice it to say that there are as many ‘objective’ differences (e.g., of language [dialect], religion, food, economy) between Bavarians and Prussians than between Serbs and Croats, and not many more between these peoples and the Bosnian Muslims.” Hayden also finds that the breaking of the union of the Yugoslav peoples was a process unfolding in stages, initially manifest in the introduction in public discourse of hatred-inducing “negative stereotypes” dating from the Second World War. These

efforts, aided by many intellectuals, were successful because they were complementary. Thus, many Croat intellectuals and politicians began to subsume, unjustifiably, all Serbs under the “chetnik” category, and some Serbs adopted the emblems and slogans of the chetnik movement. On the other hand, many Serbian intellectuals and politicians subsumed, unjustifiably again, all Croats under the term “ustasha”, and leading Croatian politicians and intellectuals adopted ustasha emblems and slogans. Speaking of a later phase, when hostilities already began, Hayden says: “While the war included a large array of political actors and their military and paramilitary groups, the Četniks and Ustaša came to symbolize the worst elements of murderous extreme nationalists among Serbs and Croats [...] The personal styles of Četniks and Ustaša marked the members of the two groups more than did their uniforms. [...] In part, the Ustaša resembled their mentors, the Nazis, while the Četniks invoked images of the hajduks, hill bandits famed for their opposition to the Ottoman rulers. More importantly, though, the grooming styles of Četniks and Ustaša reflected the difference between Orthodox and Catholic clergy. Since the confessional difference had become the defining characteristic distinguishing Serbs from Croats, the immediate reflection of this in the physical appearance of the two groups of fighters was part of an overriding symbolic structure of distinction.” The ultimate result was the demonised image of one group in the eyes of the other, which led to further tensions and, eventually, to bloodshed between the two numerically strongest ethnic communities, Serbs and Croats, which naturally affected all other interethnic relations. Socialist Yugoslavia had constructed a negative image of both chetniks and ustashas, and their public promotion was prohibited by law. In the 1980s, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch

criticised this as infringement of freedom of speech. It now is obvious that the reaffirmation of the two terms and of what they stood for eventually took a heavy toll in human lives, and Hayden rightly draws attention to the fact that today these same organisations might well support such a ban as controlling "hate speech". As the conflict escalated, the discrepancy grew between their policy of human rights protection of the 1980s, when they had criticised Yugoslav authorities for repressing nationalistic attitudes and statements, and their policy since the 1990s, when they began to criminalise nationalistic public discourse.

The second part of the book sheds light on the emergence of all particular, mostly economic, programmes which gave a further impetus to nationalisms, undermining the Yugoslav state idea and creating the atmosphere in which all troubles were blamed on "others". Hayden gives the examples of the Slovenian National Programme and the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy: "Thus at the same time that the 'group of intellectuals' at the Serbian Academy was writing the Memorandum, a conceptually similar Slovenian National Program was being written by a group of Slovenian intellectuals. It should be noted that this expression of Slovenian nationalism, which revealed a strong bias against Yugoslavs from all other republics, arose before Slobodan Milošević came to power in Serbia, and he was able to build some of his earliest appeal in Serbia by seeming to counter Slovenian attacks on Serbia." As for the similar developments in Croatia, Hayden draws attention to the book (*Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti*) of the future president of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman, published in 1990. The book justifies genocide in general and the genocide against the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia (1941–45) in particular, by claiming that "throughout history there have always been attempts at a 'fi-

nal solution' for foreign and undesirable racial-ethnic or religious groups through expulsion, extermination, and conversion to the 'true religion'. [...] It is a vain task to attempt to ascertain the rise of all or some forms of genocidal activity in only some historical period. Since time immemorial, they [genocidal practices] have always existed in one or another form, with similar consequences in regard to their own place and time, regardless of their differences in proportion or origin.

The Yugoslav union-breaking endeavour was supported by many prominent "national" intellectuals of the 1980s, paving the way for the disintegration of the common state and the surge of mass violence in the wars of 1991–95. These bloody conflicts introduced into international communication the term "ethnic cleansing" to denote forced and permanent expulsion of members of one ethnic, national or religious group from the regions in which they are living in order to group these regions into a national territory of the group that carries out the expulsion. Over time, this process became part of a broader set of genocide accusations, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly through a well-run campaign of Bosnian Muslims (later renamed Bosniaks). In Hayden's view, the horrible crimes committed in Bosnia were in fact misused to draw analogy with the Holocaust, with which they were not comparable. Arguing that accusations for genocide were not a new thing in Yugoslavia, that they were used to foment conflict in the first place, Hayden analyses the politicised use of the terms "ethnic cleansing", "genocide" and "population transfer" in order to remove all vagueness and to highlight subtle differences between them. He argues that the political use of these terms depended on the political response the user expected to produce: if the goal was to incite action against one of the parties in conflict, the latter was accused for genocide; if the

goal was only to denounce and demonise one side without calling for action against it, then the term of choice was “ethnic cleansing”. The term “population transfer” was also used in negative connotations, being unfortunate and inhumane, but an unavoidable or, at a given moment, only solution. In conclusion to his in-depth discussion on this delicate and intricate topic, Hayden expresses his own view on genocide and ethnic cleansing using the example of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina: “So let me be blunt: ‘genocide’ draws its moral force, and conceptual horror, precisely because of the exceptional nature of the Holocaust. Hitler wanted the Jews utterly exterminated, not simply driven from particular places. Ethnic cleansing, on the other hand, involves precisely such removals rather than extermination, and is not exceptional, but rather common in particular circumstances. Further, ethnic cleansing may be sponsored by the very powers that profess horror at genocide. In other words, ethnic cleansing may lead to international rewards. The rhetorical device of labeling some ethnic cleansing ‘genocide,’ and other ethnic cleansing a ‘population transfer,’ constitutes the legitimization in the second case of what, to the victims, is surely a process of horror.” Finally, Hayden looks into the phenomenon of mass rape during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, making estimates of the intensity, frequency and spatial and temporal distribution of such assaults, and comparing the data with similar occurrences in South Asia.

The third part of the book enters the field of ethics. It deals with that which had to be protected during the war and mass violence in the former Yugoslavia – human rights, and with all international actions whose goal was human rights protection. Hayden finds that war developments in the former Yugoslavia led to boundaries of some principles, hitherto standard in international relations, being

moved: the principle of state sovereignty withdrew before the universally accepted demand for mandatory protection of human rights, which involves the obligation of the international community to intervene anywhere in the world in the event of organised and mass violence, even against the will of the government in whose territory the violence is taking place. In the case of the former Yugoslavia, a special international tribunal (ICTY) has been set up for prosecuting persons responsible for crimes committed during the wars of 1991–95 and 1999. Hayden analyses the policy of the international community towards the warring parties, stressing that only a small amount of money was set aside for those who needed it the most, while most of it went to the Tribunal, its staff and experts, with expectedly unsatisfactory results. He criticises the flawed proceedings of the Tribunal in many cases, which has been eroding its authority and its professed role as an aid in achieving reconciliation.

The fourth and last part of the book is devoted to the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the 1995 Dayton-Paris agreement which ended the war. Carefully analysing the political structure of, and relations within, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hayden argues that the international community has been carrying out a sort of a constitutional experiment, creating a democracy without a “demos”, given that there has never been a single population as a political unit, as a basis for democracy, but three political electorates with their particular political demands. Hayden also suggests that there have been attempts, usually through external pressure, to constitute a single political community using various unfounded myths and ideological premises (such as a myth of a single Bosnian people divided into Muslims, Orthodox Christians and Catholics), most of them ending in failure and producing further

polarisations in society: “The lack of use of the general term ‘Bosnian’ as a noun to describe the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is symptomatic of the absence of a self-defined Bosnian nation that includes all of the peoples living there. Overwhelmingly, the Serbs and Croats classify themselves apart from the Muslims and from the idea of a Bosnian state, preferring to describe themselves as Serbs and Croats and to accede to Serbia and Croatia, respectively. Many Serbs and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina are as likely now to identify themselves as ‘Bosnians’ as the Muslims of Pakistan are to identify themselves as Indians. The Muslim utilization of ‘Bosniak’ to describe themselves stresses their own connection to Bosnia, but thereby implies a Muslim identity for the population of the country. Thus the terminologies of description used since 1991 by the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina to describe themselves indicate the lack of a shared concept of a Bosnian nation.”

Hayden analyses the attempt of the USA to impose a constitutional order that would ensure domination of one people (Muslims/Bosniaks) over the other two (Serbs and Croats), which also ended in failure, for each of the three peoples has its own programme and vision of Bosnia and Herzegovina ever since the first multiparty elections held in 1991. On the surface, each of the three ethnic groups elects its representation. Their powers, however, are limited by the broad powers of an international authority, including the power to impose laws and recall the elected organs if they are “found” to be in violation of the constitution, something already seen both under socialist Yugoslavia and, earlier, under Austria-Hungary.

In conclusion, the author points out that Yugoslavia was a multiethnic state which disintegrated in blood under the pressure of a number of factors, and that its experience may prove to be invaluable to a similar multiethnic community, the European Union.

KNJIŽEVNA ŽIVOTINJA. KULTURNI BESTIJRAJ II. DIO
[THE LITERARY ANIMAL. A CULTURAL BESTIARY. PART 2].

ED. BY SUZANA MARJANIĆ AND ANTONIJA ZARADIJA KIŠ. ZAGREB: CROATIAN
UNIVERSITY PRESS AND INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE RESEARCH, 2012,
pp. 1144.

Reviewed by Ljubica Djurić*

The thematic volume *Književna životinja. Kulturni bestijraj II. dio*. [Literary Animal. A Cultural Bestiary, Part 2] was published in 2012 by Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada [Croatian University Press] and Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, as part of the research project “Cultural animal studies: literary, folkloristic, ethnological and anthropological contributions” directed by Antonija Zaradija Kiš. While the first volume (published in 2007; see review by Smiljana Djordjević in *Balka-*

nica XXXVIII) explored the ethnological, anthropological and folkloristic aspects of the animal, this second volume views the animal as a literary fact, from the earliest literary works until today. However, not all of the articles focus exclusively on the animal in the light of literary interpretation: some include a very strong zooethical dimension. By analyzing literary works, the

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editors, Antonija Zaradija Kiš and Suzana Marjanić, wanted to foreground the animal, thus pointing out that the humanities have every theoretical and ethical reason to include animals in their research.

The volume contains 48 papers by 52 authors, mainly Croatian researchers, but also scholars from other centres: four from Slovenia, three from Serbia, and one from Bulgaria, Ukraine, Poland, Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, the United States and Canada each. The topics are not exclusively Slavic in their orientation: several papers discuss the portrayal of animals in the Bible, as well as in English, American, Russian, French or German literature.

The volume is organized into eight chapters, following the chronological succession of literary movements. Instead of keywords, every text gives key *animals*.

The first chapter, "Mythical and ethno-literary animals", assembles texts dedicated to the role of animals in oral literature and traditional culture. Most papers discuss animals in Slavic folklore, but some also focus on the role of animals in other literatures and cultures, such as Baltic, Indian, Korean, Chinese and that of colonial Mexico. The animal is shown to be an integral part of cosmogonical, etiological and demonological legends, as well as religious rituals.

That the animal is a very common motif in medieval literature, both biblical and non-biblical, is demonstrated in the second chapter, "The literary middle ages and the humanism of the animal", which assembles papers on the depictions of animals in the Bible and its translations, in religious texts, short folklore forms and works of great humanist writers, such as Dante.

The third chapter, "Animal of the Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque", explores the development of the allegorical role of the animal in these periods. Most papers compare an animal as it is depict-

ed in the literatures of the Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque with its depictions in earlier or later literary periods. An ecocritical reading of literary classics, such as the plays of Shakespeare, is shown to be not only possible but also very fruitful: the animal is more than just a stylistic means – it can reflect how a given society and a given age view its environment.

"The contemporary literary animal" explores the role of animals in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and popular culture. Some animals assume new symbolic meanings, some further develop their original folkloric traits, and some change as life changes throughout history. The animal becomes a symbol through which we interrogate humanity and boundaries between human and beast, and condemn the absurdity and self-destructiveness of human society.

In the fifth chapter, "The fictional animal", these ideas are further discussed through fictional animals which embody human fears and symbolize unknown dangers which bring about the downfall of human society. Science fiction brings us new animal species, and new environments, usually set somewhere in outer space, which, by giving insight into man's ideas on "other" worlds, enables us to examine his role in this world, his attitude towards animals and, in general, the relationship between "nature and nurture".

"Children's literary zoo" discusses the representations of animals in children's books, while the seventh chapter, "The animal in literature and philosophy", examines the role of animals in ancient philosophy, on the one hand, and in the contemporary world, on the other, where the relationship between man and animal gains ever more attention. Thus, for example, the validity of the term *holocaust* when applied to the relationship between man and animal is discussed.

The concluding eighth chapter, "Life of animals through literature", offers a

wide variety of texts, from impressionistic essays to articles which discuss animals from the perspective of literary theory and history and those which examine animals in literature and folklore from a mythological or a psychological point of view.

It should also be noted that the book is exquisitely done, with remarkable graphic design and numerous illustrations ranging from medieval manuscript illuminations to photographs, which is quite rare

when it comes to scholarly publications. Quotations about animals from Leonardo da Vinci, Albert Einstein, Mark Twain and many others inserted between texts illustrate the general idea of the volume, which is to highlight the role of the animal in the human world. Despite occasional oversights in the final editing of some papers, this volume stands as a significant contribution to cultural animal studies.

LADISLAV HLADKÝ ET AL., *VZTAHY ČECHŮ S NÁRODY A ZEMĚMI JIHOVÝCHODNÍ EVROPY*. PRAGUE: HISTORICKÝ ÚSTAV, 2010, pp. 367.

Reviewed by Miloš Luković*

The book *The Czechs' relations with the nations and lands of Southeast Europe* originated from the research project of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic entitled "The Czech historical space in European context: diversity, continuity, integration" (Český dějinný prostor v evropském kontextu: diverzita, kontinuita, integrace). The head of the group of authors – and the editor-in-chief of the book – is Ladislav Hladký and the reviewers are Mirjam Moravcová and Václav Štěpánek. The authors are mostly members of the Historical Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences (Prague, Brno) or on staff at the universities in Prague, Brno and Pardubice, but some of them come from other institutions, such as the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, the National Technical Library in Prague, the Institute for Folklore of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, or the Greek Embassy in Prague. In the *Foreword* (pp. 7–10), L. Hladký points out that the aim of the authors "has not been to provide a thorough synthesis of Czech-Southeast European relations, squarely based on new and hitherto unpublished historiographical findings from primary sources", but rather to "provide a

brief and complete factual survey of the contacts between the Czechs and the nations and lands of the region in question", and the main contribution of this book lies "in its complexity". In the *Introduction* (pp. 11–17), the development and wider context of Czech-Southeast European relations are outlined. These relations are divided into two phases: the medieval period (9th–15th centuries) and the more recent past (19th century until the present). Therefore, the relations between the Czechs and the individual nations and regions in Southeast Europe are examined during these two phases, with special reference to the post-1878 period when the Habsburg Monarchy (which included the Czech people within its boundaries) extended to the new lands in the Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina) up to the contemporary times during which some new states emerged in the region. Two maps are added to the *Introduction* (pp. 18–19): (1) the contemporary states in Southeast Europe (in 2010); and (2) a political map of Southeast Europe in 1878 (following the Congress of Berlin). The chapters on

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relations between the Czechs and the individual nations and lands are as follows:

- Czecho-Slovenian relations (pp. 21–45) by Ladislav Hladký and David Blažek
- Czecho-Croatian relations (pp. 47–72) by Petr Stehlík
- Czecho-Bosnian relations (pp. 73–96) by Ladislav Hladký, Adin Ljuca and Jiří Kuděla
- Czecho-Serbian relations (pp. 97–124) by Tomáš Chrobák and Jana Hrabcová
- Czecho-Montenegrin relations (pp. 125–146) by František Šístek
- Czecho-Macedonian relations (pp. 147–166) by Petr Stehlík and Ladislav Hladký
- Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations (pp. 167–188) by Tomáš Chrobák, Miroslav Tejchman and Jana Hrabcová
- Czecho-Kosovo relations (pp. 189–196) by Kamil Pikal
- Czecho-Romanian relations (pp. 197–219) by Filip Šisler and Miroslav Tejchman
- Czecho-Moldavian relations (pp. 221–223) by Filip Šisler
- Czecho-Bulgarian relations (pp. 225–252) by Jan Rychlík, Vladimír Penčev and Miroslav Kouba
- Czecho-Albanian relations (pp. 253–262) by Pavel Hradečný, Ladislav Hladký and Kamil Pikal
- Czecho-Greek relations (pp. 263–274) by Pavel Hradečný and Konstantinos Tsivos
- Czecho-Cyprus relations (pp. 275–279) by Pavel Hradečný and Konstantinos Tsivos
- Czecho-Turkish relations (pp. 281–294) by Petr Kučera

These chapters are followed by illustrations (pp. 295–304): portraits of the most important personalities who influenced the said relations and photos of scientific and artistic works of Czech authors relating to the nations and lands of Southeast

Europe. There are also a list of abbreviations (pp. 305–306), a bibliography, an index of personal names, a summary in English (pp. 341–365) which mirrors the structure of the book, and a list of authors (p. 367) containing information about their institutional affiliation.

Each contribution precisely recounts all the territorial changes in the various states of Southeast Europe with which the Czechs gradually established relations. For that reason, Czecho-Yugoslav relations required a study of its own i.e. a study of relations between the state of Czechs and Slovaks (Czechoslovak Republic and Czecho-Slovak Republic) and the state of South Slav peoples (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). Certain nations from Southeast Europe lived, and still do, in various states so their contacts with the Czechs took place within different frameworks. For example, Czecho-Serbian relations included political, cultural and economic contacts between the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia, the Czech part of Silesia) and those inhabited by Serbian ethnic community: during the middle ages the Serbian lands were those within the independent Serbian state, situated in the central region of the Balkans, and later this term also referred to other provinces which were inhabited by Serbs in the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries; at the beginning of the nineteenth century these relations became relations of the two modern nations, Czechs and Serbs.

This book reaffirms the traditional and considerable interest of Czech historiography in the nations and lands of Southeast Europe. It provides a wealth of information and points to many relevant sources in an encyclopaedia-like manner. It is thus exceptionally useful to all researchers (and other readers) interested in relations between the Czechs and Southeast European peoples and lands.

SEMANTYKA ROSJI NA BAŁKANACH [SEMANTICS OF RUSSIA IN THE BALKANS].

COLLOQUIA BALKANICA, VOL. I. ED. BY JOLANTA SUJECKA. WARSAW: INSTITUTE FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES "ARTES LIBERALES", UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, 2011, pp. 204.

*Reviewed by Bogdan Trifunović**

In 2011 Balkan studies have been enriched with a new series "Colloquia Balkanica" and its first volume, a collection of works in Polish and English titled *Semantyka Rosji na Bałkanach* (The Semantics of Russia in the Balkans). The editor of the entire series and this volume is Prof. Jolanta Sujecka of the University of Warsaw Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies "Artes Liberales", and the members of the Editorial Board are Ilona Czamańska, Victor Friedman, Robert Elsie, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, Irena Sawicka and Jolanta Sujecka. The publishers of the series are the Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies "Artes Liberales" and DiG Publishing, Warsaw.

In her *Introductory remarks* (*Uwagi wstępne*), Jolanta Sujecka explains that the "Colloquia Balkanica" series has been started as an international forum for researchers concerned with Balkan studies, one of the youngest disciplines in Poland. The nine articles assembled in this volume (six in Polish and three in English) are focused on the images/mythologems of Russia in the Balkans, primarily as they figure in literature, culture, religion and historiography. In the editor's words, this volume "can sketch a map of Russian influence in the region, but it also enables the presentation of cultural mediation of Russian civilization in the transmission of symbols and meanings".

The contribution of Jolanta Sujecka, "Obraz sąsiedztwa w kręgu Slavia Orthodoxa na Bałkanach w XVIII wieku" (The Image of Neighbourhood in 18th-Century Balkan Slavia Orthodoxa) opens the first segment of the volume, *Historyczne uwarunkowania/Historical Conditions*. "The Image of Neighbourhood"

should be understood as a multilayered structure — the sources used shaped the way of thinking of the analyzed authors and verbalized "the image of the history" of the Balkans. The analytical materials for this paper are histories written from the mid-eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth by polymaths from the *Slavia Orthodoxa* circle in the Balkans: Paisius of Hilandar, Jovan Rajić and Gjorgjija Pulevski. The author argues that all histories are linked together through language, the Ruthenian redaction of Old Church Slavonic, which is a genetic reason for choosing them, beside typological reasons. The other feature linking these texts is common sources used by all authors: Mavro Orbini, Djordje Branković, Charles du Fresne du Cange, the sixteenth-century *Chronicles* by Marcin Kromer, etc. These texts, where ancient history is highlighted writers, created an image of the Balkans where ancient rulers are transformed into Slavic tsars, kings and princes. Sujecka concludes that the main "supplier of antiquity" in the writings of these authors was the Byzantine tradition, as it was throughout the period of Ottoman rule, "domesticated" by iconography and transferred to native traditions of contemporary writers.

The central topic of Kazimierz Jurczak's article "Religijnie bliscy, etnicznie obcy, kulturowo niepojęci. Rosja i Rosjan-

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ie w odbiorze rumuńskim od końca XVIII do początku XX wieku” (Religiously related, ethnically foreign, culturally different. Russia and Russians in Romanian perception from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century) is the image of Russia and Russians in the Romanian culture of the (long) nineteenth century. The author argues that these nineteenth-century images shaped the way, essentially negative, in which Romanians perceived Russia throughout the twentieth century. The main negative characteristics of Russians, or the negative image of Russia as perceived by Romanians, were imperialistic behaviour and Asian mentality. These negative images led to a Russophobic sentiment in Romanian society during the period under study.

The first segment of the volume is concluded by the article “The role of Russia in the publication of the collection of folk songs by the Miladinov brothers”, by Valentina Mironska-Hristovska. This interesting title, however, offers a problematic text, ridden with tendentious conclusions and one-sided interpretations of historical events, and aiming to prove that “political interests of England, France, Russia, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and other countries did not prevent the period of Macedonian revival”, or claiming that “in line with the Berlin Agreement” [the 1878 Congress of Berlin] Macedonia was “also supposed to gain independence”. This article is arguably the weakest point of the volume, given that the author has unnecessarily introduced loose facts or false statements, which do not support the main thesis of the article and stand as an ideological construction lacking any firm foundation in research. Otherwise it would be very difficult to understand why only a lesser part of the text deals with the clear influence of Russia on the Miladinov brothers, in their effort to publish the collection of folk poetry before 1861, which the author has used to, again, raise

the old and well-known dispute between Macedonian and Bulgarian researchers over the name of the collection, its origin, language, character, etc, which is awkward way in presenting the topic supposedly discussed here.

The second part of the volume, titled *Mit. Wspólnota krwi. Ideologia* (Myth. Community of Blood. Ideology), is devoted to the image of Russia, analyzed in literature and cultural contexts (Nikolay Aretov), cultural narratives (Maciej Falski) and the sphere of consciousness (Rigels Halili). It starts with the article by Nikolay Aretov “Forging the myth about Russia: Rayna, Bulgarian Princess”, which analyzes the role of the figure and narrative of the Bulgarian Princess Rayna, daughter of King Peter (927–969), as a mythologem used in Russian nineteenth-century literature for ideological and mythological constructions about Bulgarians. The image of Rayna — “charming but helpless” — was the dominant image of Bulgaria among Russian Slavophiles before 1878. This image was and still is the main mythologem of the Balkans in the western “imperialism of the imagination”. Alexander Veltman’s novel *Rayna, Bulgarian Princess* (1843) for the first time in the history of Russian culture linked Bulgarian identity with that of Russian identity, introducing ideological construction of imagined conflict between Russia and Bulgaria (represented by Grand Princess Olga and Princess Rayna) with Byzantium (in the figure of Empress Theophano). Veltman’s intention was clear: to connect Bulgaria with the historical and political traditions seen favourable to Russia and, at the same time, to broaden the gap with the Bulgarian heritage based on the centuries of close relations with Constantinople, which could be seen as a symbol of both Greeks and Turks. This approach made *Rayna* popular in Bulgaria during the national revival among unprejudiced readers, because of its patriotic pathos and the

image of Russian-Bulgarian friendship. Aretov also discusses another variation of the figure of Rayna, created during the Bulgarian national revival, whose primary intention was a radical revision of Bulgarian national mythology, with a shift from narratives about a glorious or traumatic past towards narratives about the present. This shift introduced the contemporary figure of Rayna Popgeorgieva Futekova (1856–1917), who took activities during the April uprising and later were caught and outraged in Turkish imprisonment. Aretov emphasizes that this historical figure “pushed out” similar figures (in this case her namesake) and replaced them as their collective image or as a symbol “partly purged from concrete elements”.

Maciej Falski’s article “Wspólnota krwi, różnica wyznania. Rosja jako znak w chorwackich narracjach historiozoficznych do roku 1914” (Of the same community but of different faith. Russia as a symbol in Croatian historiosophic narratives before 1914) analyzes the presence of Russia as a political and historical factor in Croatian public discourse, thus emphasizing the role of narratives in creating the image of the other. Although Russia rarely appeared as a topic among Croatian writers before the First World War (Falski analyzes the writings of Juraj Križanić, Andrija Kačić Miošić, Ljudevit Gaj, Josip Juraj Štrossmayer, Ante Starčević), it can be traced as a “historiosophical and political” symbol, which in their writings from the sense of belonging to the same Slavic origin (*narod*) to the negative image of Orthodox Christianity, connected with Serbian nationalism (as it was seen by Starčević). Falski traces two prototype meanings of Russia, as a symbol of an Orthodox state and of a Slavic people, perceived as two models of interpreting Croatian narrative identity through their relation to Russia as a symbol; the former is represented by Štrossmayer and the latter by Starčević.

The article “Daleko i blisko — kilka uwag o obrazie Rosji w albańskiej świadomości kulturowej” (Far and near — a few remarks about the image of Russia in Albanian cultural consciousness) by Rigels Halili addresses the image of Russia and the Soviet Union in the Albanian context, mainly with cultural origins, political ties and developments from the early nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth. Halili analyzes how this image of Russia shifted from traditional enmity in the period before and after 1912 and the creation of the Albanian state to a positive image after the Second World War, to become again negative image at the end of the twentieth century, during the Kosovo crisis. Admitting that his article is far from being a full catalogue of Russian-Albanian relations, needed for a proper portrayal of the image of Russia, Halili emphasizes that there is one interesting development among Albanians themselves, regarding the image and feelings towards Russia today: a mainly negative attitude among the Albanians living in Kosovo and a rather ambivalent and sometimes positive attitude towards Russia among the Albanians living in Albania. Halili identifies the recent political events in the Balkans and Kosovo as the main source of such division within one nation.

The third and final part of the volume, titled *Rosja podróżników. Rosja lewicy. Bizantyjska Rosja* (Russia of Travellers. Left Russia. Byzantine Russia), comprises three articles, concentrated on left-wing and socialist images of Russia (of the Soviet Union at the time) and on connections between Byzantine and Russian cultures and implications on the Balkan cultures.

Alexandra Ioannidou, in her article “Travel writing: Greek intellectuals in the Soviet Union”, tackles the question of the ideological position of Greek intellectuals towards the Soviet Union. She analyzes

the writings and memoirs of four Greek travellers to the Soviet Union between 1925 and the 1960s: Nikos Kazantzakis, Themis Kornaros, Giorgos Theotakos and Elias Venezis. These intellectuals had different political views (belonging to the left and right), which enabled not just an insight in their views and opinions about a different country, culture and political system, but also about specific differences among themselves, according to their political beliefs and expectations. Ioannidou chooses several subjects presented in their memoirs, for comparison and analysis: the relationship between Greece and Russia (USSR), thoughts about Soviet political leaders (Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky and Khrushchev), social situation in the USSR, Russian and Soviet literature. She concludes that regardless of their political views, the narratives of all Greek travellers carried strong prejudices about the Soviet Union (which they sometimes identify as Russia), both positive and negative. Most of them sought ties between Russian culture and Greek-Byzantine civilization.

The article "Obraz Rosji w pismach lewicy jugosłowiańskiej okresu międzywojennego. Miroslav Krleža i August Cesarec" (The image of Russia in Croatian left-wing writings of the interwar period. Miroslav Krleža and August Cesarec) by Adam F. Kola deals with the perception of Russia in Croatian left-wing literature between the two world wars. He chooses to analyze texts of Krleža and Cesarec, which dealt both with the two authors' postwar disappointment with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and with their fascination with the October Revolution and the socialist model of the state in the USSR. Both Krleža and Cesarec aimed in providing different perspective over the future, criticizing the current situation in interwar Yugoslavia (where, in their eyes, little had changed since the time of Austria-Hungary) and

giving an image of Russia (Soviet Union) as a modernized and industrialized country and as a state of general social and political advancement. Krleža identified Moscow as a Third Rome after his tourist visit to the USSR, as a reflective view over the communist capital and over an imagined role that communist revolution and Third International will have in the world. Against these images of Russia, in the concluding part of the article, Kola contrasts later changes among intellectuals in socialist Croatia, with the general negative view over the Russia (Soviet Union). These changes were spurred by the split between Tito and Stalin, reforms made in Yugoslavia and a growing nationalist discourses, religious differences and perceived everlasting "clashes of civilizations" in the Balkans.

The volume ends with Maria Kuglerowa's "*Jurodivy i jego odmiany w prozie Jordana Radichkova*" (The image of the sanctified fool (yurodivy) and its variations in Yordan Radichkov's prose). Kuglerowa analyzes the significance of the image of *yurodivy* in Bulgarian and Balkan cultures, through the writings of the Bulgarian prose writer Yordan Radichkov. She acknowledges that "sanctified fool" is a typical phenomenon of Russian culture, but with strong Byzantine origins, so it is possible to trace it in other Byzantine-related cultures. The image of *yurodivy* in Radichkov's texts — *The hot Noon* (Горецо пладне, 1965), *The Savage Mood* (Свирепно настроение, 1965), *We, Sparrows* (Ние, врабчетата, 1968) — is analyzed from the author-narrator's point of view, who has the nature of *yurodivy* and surrounded by an anti-world. The author exemplifies some typical features of *yurodivy* (sanctified aggression, provocation in the name of Christ, etc) and how they were transformed and transgressed in Radichkov's prose, with an emphasis on influences from Balkan cultures or particular national traditions.

The volume is furnished with a very useful index of names, compiled by Krzysztof Usakiewicz. Overall, the reader can find a structured and concentrated collection of works, important for better understanding not just of the semantics of

Russia in the Balkans, as an encompassing topic of the volume, but many other contemporary research problems dealing with the studies of Balkans, culture, philology, literature, memory, history, to name just a few of them.

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