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TRAVELLING, THE PHENOMENON OF TIME DILATION AND THE ORIGIN OF CHRONOTOPES

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SUMMARY: The introductory part of the paper is dedicated to a brief description and analysis of the theory of chronotopes in science at the start of the 20th century, with emphasis on Bachtin's implementation in literary history and theory. The second part focuses on the group of narrative texts, compiled primarily from the folklore tradition of world literature, which contain the motif of time dilation – particular disturbances in the physical and biological passage of time, caused by the contact of two fundamentally opposed chronotopes, thanks to the spatial relocation of the protagonist, i.e. situations in which the protagonist experiences the “chronotopic” transformation by crossing/travelling from one world/chronotope into another.

KEY WORDS: chronotope, time dilation, folklore, motif of travelling, M. M. Bachtin

One may say that a journey in folklore is never just a journey, but partially or entirely a journey of life; choosing a path means choosing a life's path; a crossroads in folklore is always a point of change in a person's life; setting off on a journey from one's home and returning home are usually *age-related* stages in life (a young man leaves, a mature man returns); road signs are the harbingers of destiny, etc. That is why the chronotope of a journey in novels is so particular, organic, so deeply permeated by folklore motifs. M. M. Bachtin, *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel*

1.

This paper briefly demonstrates how the idea of the chronotope can be used as the starting point for observing and interpreting a specific motif from the group of narrative texts that were compiled primarily from the folklore/anonymous tradition of world literature; these are the fables in which, during the protagonist's journey into another world, the phenomenon of time dilation appears – a particular ‘stretching’ of time, or a characteristic disturbance in

both the physical and biological passage of time. Varying in several basic forms, the said motif of deviation from the usual passage of time, which could be referred to as the chronotopic motif in a stricter sense, comes into existence as a consequence of contact between two fundamentally opposed spaces, caused by the spatial relocation/travelling of the protagonist, i.e. in situations in which the protagonist experiences the “chronotopic” transformation by crossing from one world/chronotope into another. The starting world is that of everyday life, while the other is one of the other side, where supernatural/unnatural forces are at play.

2.

Before we begin the concrete analysis of the material, however, we should say a few words about the actual concept of the chronotope and the motif complex of the journey, in light of the theoretical discoveries from the start of the previous century. Namely, in the first decade of the 20th century, the theoretical assumptions of shaping the literary-artistic world, just like the assumptions of the topicalization of the journey, indirectly experienced fundamental change – the movement (of the protagonist) in the world, primarily viewed as spatial relocation, obtained new aspects of meaning from the new theories of Einstein and Minkowski in physics and mathematics, as well as of Ukhtomsky in biology and Bakhtin in the study of literature, which, for their part, influenced not only the interpretation of the actual motif complex of the journey, but also the expansion of possibilities of its literary shaping.

The new view of the world in science has decisively supplemented the Newtonian mechanics with a new, fourth dimension – time, i.e. it has led to a stance that space and time had to be observed as an inseparable whole, expressed through the concept of the chronotope (space-time continuum), and through the idea of the *world line* (the unique trajectory on which an object moves through space-time) and *events* (as the building blocks of the world line), etc. On the other hand, the world became relativized along the temporal axis by being broken up into reference systems and observers/travelers in different inertial states; the assumptions of the theory of relativity, both special and general, have led to the consequences that surpass the common-sense experience – primarily the idea that time does not pass in the same way in identical reference systems that differ in velocity or gravity. Namely, according to the special theory of relativity, the observer in one reference system, travelling at high speed (close to the speed of light), will establish that, in a reference system that is moving slower than his or standing still, the clock that is identical to his clock runs faster to a greater or lesser degree. Furthermore, according to principles of the general theory of relativity, space-time is curved differently in points (events) at different gravitational potentials, so the clock that is more distant from a body with a large mass ticks faster than the clock closer to it. This means that a man in a reference system travelling at a great speed, or exposed to a strong gravitational field, would age more slowly than his twin in a reference system travelling at a lower speed or in a weaker gravitational field, wherein in a system

with a constant velocity, it cannot be established whether it is moving or standing still, or if time passes differently [Einstein 1905; Einstein 1924; Minkowski 1909].

In biology, on the other hand, the concept of space-time is applied to the perceptive and cognitive relation between an individual and the world in which the individual exists. The chronotope is defined here as a collection of predetermined schemes of temporal and spatial relations between the individuals and the events that surround the human organism, a kind of test drawing whose pre-existing signs/markings/symptoms precede the concrete reality, the veracity of which is always determined by a concrete inspection [Ухтомский 2002: 70–71]¹. Even so, it is suggested that the functioning of the system depends on its previous states, that is, on its history, and indicates that overcoming the discrimination between psychological and physical time is yet to take place also in physiology – their blending into one through the equalization of the cognitive and historical man².

The new view of reality has found its application in poetics, too: the interpretation of the literary-artistic world as one that is significantly determined by the permeation of space and time, also through the notion of the chronotope, was given an important place in literary theory through the research of Michail Bachtin. In his main and most voluminous work dedicated to the reality shaped in literature, *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel. Experiments in Historical Poetics* [Бахтин 1937–1938/1975]³, in the analysis of the historical development of literature, in many places, in introductory remarks and later in the paper, Bachtin put forward incidental observations about the nature of chronotopes; his claims are accompanied by numerous concrete literary examples that indicate the various aspects, that is, levels of a phenomenon. In other papers with similar topics, however, the use of the term is practically negligible⁴.

In the discussion of the novel, Bachtin primarily determines the origin of the concept, indicating that the term “chronotope” originates from the natural sciences – mathematics, physics and biology are listed as the main disciplines⁵.

¹ The directions of research are focused on the influence of space-time categories on relations between the sensory and motoric nerves, and on linking with the search for the cortical “system of systems”, i.e. the “dominant” that is viewed as the idea that is equivalent to the idea of the chronotope. The “dominant” is interpreted as the ability of the human body, among the multitude of possible reactions in a concrete situation, to choose the one that actually takes place and, accordingly, it is defined as the form that is obtained by the most adequate reaction.

² Ukhomsky’s theories of the chronotope and the dominant have been applied in the most varied fields, from clinical psychology to neurology and evolutionary bio-cybernetics [Gusev, Romanov and Efankina 2006: 42–48; Red’ko 1995: 422–429].

³ The last chapter of „Заключительные замечания“ was written in 1973.

⁴ Chronotope is one of the extremely rare non-Russian words that compose a part of Bachtin’s technical vocabulary. (More extensively about this issue: [Holquist 2002: 109]). In the paper about Rabelais, the term is used only eight times, and that in the adjectival form “chronotopic”, while it is not used at all in the text “Author and Protagonist in Aesthetic Activity”.

⁵ Alongside the explicitly mentioned Einstein’s theory of relativity, Minkowski’s theory about four-dimensional space is also included in the interpretative field; attention is also drawn to the ideas of A. A. Ukhomsky, a physiologist and aesthetician, whose lectures about the chronotope in biology Bachtin listened to in 1925. Bachtin also searches for philosophic foundations of the idea by confronting Kant’s ideas. “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel”, in: [Бахтин 1989: 194].

With its transfer into the study of literature, the chronotope loses its original meaning and is used almost metaphorically⁶, marking primarily the semantically labeled mutual link between temporal and spatial relations, artistically adopted in literature [Бахтин 1989: 193], in accordance with the discerning of *realistic*, historical chronotopes and their particular forms that appear in literary art works.

As a literary category, the chronotope has a fundamental genre meaning for Bachtin – literary genres and genre forms (primarily novel-like) are determined by the chronotope, wherein its temporal side acquires fundamental significance. The creation of genres is determined by a concrete historical time, but they are not linked solely to the time of creation – while enduring through the tradition of genres that have long lost their fruitful and appropriate meaning, phenomena from prominently different times converge in literature, which leads to a significantly more complex literary historical process, but also provides chronotopes with a particular typological consistency [Бахтин 1989: 372]. The artistically shaped space-time equally has an impact on the content and the form of the work, i.e. it is both formal and substantial in nature. Besides, this term largely determines the image of man in literature, since the protagonist's traits are necessarily linked with the particularities of the time and space in the work [Бахтин 1989: 194].

While tackling the concrete analysis of development of various genre forms of European novel, Bachtin considered several types of chronotopes, starting from the Greek temptation novel, via the adventure novel with topics from everyday life, the (auto)biographic novel, all the way to Rabelais' novel. In that, he discusses several chronotope planes in the analysis (in the closing remarks, Bachtin himself determines them as “chronotopic values of various levels and scopes”), starting from the highest, directed towards the unifying principle of time and space in the work and encompasses a proportionally limited number of traits that are applied on the text as a whole⁷, all the way to the elementary level, where chronotopes acquire the role of motif or function with a plot meaning – they represent the “organizational centers of basic plot events of the novel” [Бахтин 1989: 379]⁸.

In the further development of the idea of chronotopes, it emerges that it is applied in practically all fields and planes: one chronotope may be included

⁶ In a self-critical fashion, Bachtin warns about the not entirely precise utilization of the term, i.e. about the fact that theoretical formulations regarding the chronotope are “not entirely accurate and complete” and allows for a possibility that subsequent research of time and space in art and literature would “supplement, and even fundamentally correct the characteristics of the chronotope of a novel” which he proposes in his own analyses [Бахтин 1989: 195].

⁷ Thus, for example, the “adventure time” of the Greek novel is significantly determined by chance, which governs fortuitous simultaneousness and the non-coincidence of phenomena, or as a shapeless, unnamed force, or as fate, or divine providence, or in the form of “ill-doers” or “mysterious benefactors” [Бахтин 1989: 206].

⁸ While describing the latter case, Bachtin freely alternated between “chronotope” and “motif” in the text, e.g. when he speaks about the “chronotope of an encounter” or “motif of an encounter”, occasionally merging them, for example in the syntagm “chronotopic motif of an encounter”; in that, not only does he attribute no significance to the difference between science fields, but also (deliberately) neglects the levels of the phenomenon (the encounter is a motif/chronotope, but is also part of the composition of the higher-ranking chronotope).

in another, they can exist in parallel, be intertwined, alternate, confronted, be opposed or exist in more complex mutual relations, outside the limit of mutually linked chronotopes. These are relations of dialogue, which are not included in the world depicted in an act, or in any of its chronotopes: dialogue remains outside the depicted world, albeit not outside the world as a whole, since it enters the world of the author, performer, and the world of listeners and readers [Бахтин 1989: 382].

The overall dialogical correlation of chronotopes is thus introduced into the author-work-reader-world communication system, which is also chronotopic. As a result, an extremely complex network of meaning is developed, which is difficult to formalize, especially in the case of different fields and levels of space-time⁹.

The characteristic theoretical, methodological, “metaphorical” broadness in the description and analysis of chronotopes is conditioned not just by the nature of Bachtin’s thought, that is the conveying of concepts from original, stricter science fields, but also perhaps by Bachtin’s intention, while developing the idea of chronotopes, to create a thought system that would correspond to the basic assumptions of the theory of relativity in physics/mathematics/biology, but would in the end be adjusted to the nature of artistic creation and of man’s universe through semanticization¹⁰. Thus, chronotopes are simultaneously semantic elements of texts, higher-ranking structures, but also cognitive strategies, implemented by concrete readers and writers, in keeping with Bachtin’s

⁹“Within the limits of one work and the limits of creation of an author, we observe a multitude of chronotopes and complex correlations between them, which are specific of a work of the author, wherein one of them usually exists as the framework or dominant (...). One chronotope may be included in another, they can exist in parallel, be intertwined, alternate, confront, be opposed or exist in more complex mutual relations. The mutual relations between chronotopes can no longer be included in either of the chronotopes that are in correlation. The common character of the mutual relations is one of dialogue (in the broad sense of the term). However, that dialogue cannot enter the world depicted in a work, or any of its (depicted) chronotopes: it exists outside the depicted world, although not outside the world as a whole. That dialogue enters the world of the author, performer, the world of listeners and readers. And these worlds are chronotopic” [Бахтин 1989: 382].

¹⁰“In the conclusion, we must discuss one more important problem – the one of the limits of chronotopic analysis. Science, art and literature also deal with the *semantic* moments that, as such, are not subject to the temporal and spatial definitions. Such are, for example, all mathematical notions: we use them to measure spatial and temporal phenomena, but they themselves have no space-time definitions; they are subjects of our abstract thought. That is an abstract-notional creation, it is necessary for the formalization and the strict scientific study of many concrete phenomena. However, notions do not only exist in abstract thought – artistic thought also deals with them. These artistic notions also are not subjected to temporal-spatial definitions. Moreover, it is us who *conceive* every phenomenon, i.e. include it not only in the sphere of temporal-spatial existence, but also in the sphere of meaning. That conceiving also includes the element of valuing. However, the issues about the form of existence of that sphere and the character and form of meaningful assessments are often philosophical in nature (understandably, not metaphysical) and we cannot discuss them here. The following is important here: whatever these notions may look like, in order for them to be included in our experience (hence the social experience), they must have a spatial-temporal expression, i.e. acquire a symbolic form, which we hear and see (hieroglyph, mathematical formula, vocal-language expression, drawing, etc.). Not even abstract thinking is possible without such temporal-spatial expression. Therefore, every entry into the sphere of notions takes place solely through the door of chronotopes”. [Бахтин 1989: 387–388].

view of literature as a dialogue between texts, i.e. the necessarily concretized/personalized previous experience of writers and readers¹¹.

3.

Regardless of its characteristic theoretical openness or, more exactly, ambiguity, a chronotope as a heuristic notion undoubtedly sheds light on particular general characteristics of the literary world, shaped in the novel/narrative literature¹². On the other hand, thanks to the particular theoretical approach, the analysis of chronotopic traits also places in the forefront some concrete literary phenomena that, without the previously developed theoretical apparatus could not be observed or interpreted in the appropriate way. That is also the case with the motif of time dilation during traveling to other worlds, characteristic of the corps of specific folklore texts¹³. Considering that the stories that form it are not commonly known, we will briefly describe the main plot moments of the most important examples that belong to the literatures of geographically very different world cultures and literatures¹⁴. We will then consider the basic structural characteristics of the motif and observe them from the perspective of the theory of chronotopes¹⁵.

The oldest European tale that contains the chronotopic essence expressed through time dilation is found in the work *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius, in chapter 10, dedicated to one of the seven ancient wise men, Epimenides. Diogenes describes an anecdote from the wise man's youth, in which Epimenides, while herding sheep in a field, took a brief rest in a nearby cave and dozed off. When he woke up and came out of the shelter, he was unable to find the sheep or recognize the family farm; he found out in conversation with the locals that he had slept for 57 years, but had not aged in his sleep. Near the end of his life, however, his physiological

¹¹ More details in: [Keunen 2000].

¹² The lyrical chronotope remains outside the limits of Bachtin's consideration, but appears in subsequent research by other authors, to this day. Compare more recent examples: [Segal Rudnik 2004: 75–107; Захариева 2007].

¹³ Considered here are primarily the ancient or medieval, collective/anonymous sources, or authors' works which most probably represented the recording of spoken tales.

¹⁴ Thus, the motif can be observed in ancient Greek, Jewish, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Irish, Italian, German and Serbian literature.

¹⁵ The included material can certainly be considered from different theoretical starting points – in the text 'Heterochronia' in Thomas of Erceuldoune, Guingamor, 'The Tale of King Herla', and The Story of Meriadoc, King of Cambri' [Cross 2008: 163–175], Roseanna Cross considers three medieval stories in which the motif of time disturbance appears during the protagonist's transfer to the other world. While noting that the difference in the passage of sacred, Christian time was pointed out already in the psalms, Roseanna Cross believes that the final semantic goal of the mentioned plots is to compare the other and our worlds in the heterotopian key. "Heterochronic" worlds, with inhabitants living "on the other side of time" represent the embodiment of the idea of eternal divine presence/present time; the knowledge of the world that is so like ours, and yet so different, allows for a better understanding of our own world. Cross's view represents an original interpretation, but neglects both the similar phenomena from other times and spaces and the specific motif traits in concrete stories; be that as it may, the analysis underscores one of the very rare plots in which time on the other side passes faster than in this world ("The Story of Meriadoc").

time rapidly caught up with the delay – Epimenides quickly aged, in as many days as the years he spent sleeping [Диоген Лаертије 1979: 37–39]¹⁶.

A variation of the motif is also found in the subsequent medieval tale of the British King Herla. In order to fulfill the promise he gave to the dwarven king, that he would return the visit and attend his wedding, Herla and his band set off to the underground kingdom of the gnomes, passed through an opening in the cliff and reached the destination through darkness. After three days of celebration, while preparing to return, Herla was given a small hound as a present, with a warning that, when they return to the kingdom of men, none of his friends should dismount before the dog jumps down to the ground. On returning home, the king learned from a shepherd that, in the three days that they spent at the wedding, several hundred years had passed in their homeland and that the Saxons had been ruling the island for two centuries. Some of the king's men dismounted in disarray and, on touching the ground, instantly turned into ash. Herla warned his men not to dismount before the dog settled on the ground but, since that did not take place, all the members of the party remained wanderers for eternity [Мап 1983; Петоја 2005: 65–68].

The motif of a chronotopic transformation linked with a wedding is contained in the “Legend of the Eternal Prince” [Петоја 2005: 69]¹⁷. In it, a young prince invites an old man, whom he met by chance, to help him with preparations for a wedding celebration. When the oldest guest turns out to be an excellent organizer, on their parting, the young man asks him to continue their friendship. As arranged, he went to visit the old man after three days, first with a party of knights and then alone, traveling on a donkey, through a dark and narrow gorge, in order to finally arrive in an idyllic landscape of magnificent beauty, and into a company of prominent personalities who, dressed in white and with crowns on their heads, surround the old man and shine a light that is stronger than sunlight. After three hours in their company, the young man reluctantly set off homewards, where he saw an unknown landscape and people and found out that his castle had been turned into a monastery. When he learned from the monks that he had been away for 300 years, and that his entire family had long been dead, he sensed that his end was approaching, too: as soon as he tasted the meal from the table, prepared by the abbot in his honor, his youth and strength rapidly waned and he soon died.

The legend “Guingamor and the White Boar” explicitly introduces the female principle as the motivator of the plot, through the motif of a queen who imposes herself on a young knight and causes the events that significantly

¹⁶ Variations are present in the “Seven Young Men from Ephesus”, in the Quran, Surah 18 (“Cave”). A similar concept is found in the Talmud, in the tale of Honi Hamagel (Taanit 23a), and in the Chinese legend about woodcutter Ranca. Subsequent examples are found with *Nachtigal* in the tale of Peter Claus, with the Grimm brothers in the fable of Karl Katz, *Rip van Winkle* by W. Irving, etc.

¹⁷ Petoia states that the fable is set in Italy, but that the text does not appear in any of the Italian manuscripts or books; there are versions in German and Latin – the last being kept in a manuscript of the Raczyński Library in Poznań, linked to Eberhard, the bishop of Bamberg, who claims that he heard it from an abbot of a Cluniac monastery situated in the Alps.

determine his fate¹⁸, such as the rules prohibiting the protagonist's diet on returning to the homeland. After rejecting the queen's love, the handsome knight Guingamor is challenged to go on a hunt for a white boar, across the river and into a forest from where nobody ever returned. There, he came upon a beautiful meadow with a magnificent castle made of silver, gold and ivory, and a girl of unbelievable beauty who invited him to stay and, after three days, she helped him catch the boar. When Guingamor expressed the desire to briefly return home and inform the court about his feats, the girl told him that three centuries had passed in his homeland and that he should not eat or drink there, because a great misfortune would befall him if he did. On learning that everyone he knew at home was truly dead and that the castles and cities he remembered had been reduced to rubble, the knight became overwhelmed by deep sadness, and then by hunger, and he took a bite from a juicy wild apple that made him immediately grow old and powerless. Two noble girls appeared on horseback, took Guingamor and transported him to the other side of the river by boat.

Two Irish legends – one about Ossian and the other about the Voyage of Bran – enrich the complex of motifs with new elements; first, the motif of a girl who dares a protagonist to a journey/the quest for an enchanted land of eternal spring and youth. According to the first narrative, Ossian, one of the warriors of the Fianna, is invited by the beautiful Niamh of the Golden Hair to ride with her to Tir na Nog, the mystical land of eternal youth, located beneath the waters of the Loch Lein Lake. After spending three years in happiness and love, Ossian was overcome by nostalgia and he expressed the wish to once again see his homeland and his family. While reluctantly letting him go, the Lady Niamh warned him of the danger of the time difference that arose during his stay in Tir na Nog – in the three years he spent with her, three centuries had passed in his homeland; thus, if he were to only touch the ground, he would age by that many years. On arriving in the fatherland, Ossian did not dismount. However, when he attempted to help a group of locals who were unblocking a road, and show them that, as a hero of Fianna, he can move a huge boulder with one arm, his saddle strap snapped, he fell to the ground and aged immediately.

In another text, the attempts of the son of Febail, Prince Bran, to find a wonderful island with an ideal landscape and eternal youth, begin with the mysterious appearance of a silver branch covered in flowers made of jewels, and a girl who sings the song about a land from which the branch originates, listing its beauties¹⁹; after inviting Bran to overcome his laziness and find the

¹⁸ The Lai of Guingamor, the source of the legend, belongs to the Breton cultural heritage, which flourished in Old French in the 12th and 13th centuries, in works by authors such as Mary of France [Héroja 2005: 75].

¹⁹ I come from a distant island, around which the glistening horses of Lear's son run. It leans on four white bronze pilasters that shine through time, and consists of a plain in which all types of flowers grow. Down there, in the plain of the Silver Cloud, there is no death, no treason, no work, no effort, only pleasant melodies that are heard together with bird song. Anxiety, pain, death, disease and old age have been expelled from our island. It is surrounded by fog of immeasurable beauty, while the sea is gently absorbed by the shores. Our island is full of treasures and excellent wine is drunk there. In the fields, under the eternally clear sky, peaceful and beautiful horses graze,

island, the girl disappeared together with the branch. On the next day, the prince sailed westwards with several friends and, after various events, arrived at the Women's Island. Having been invited by the most beautiful of them, they agreed to disembark after some hesitation and spent several months enjoying romantic experiences, feasts and dancing in a huge house on the island. However, nostalgia and Bran's wish to find the island where silver branches grow, led them to set sail again, despite their hostess's attempts to talk them out of it at all cost. At their departure, she warned them that, when they arrived in Ireland, they should under no circumstance set foot on its soil. After a few days of sailing, they reached some land and, after talking to the people who were ashore, they realized that they had come home, but that several centuries had passed since they departed and that everyone they knew was dead. While trying to understand what had happened to them, one member of the group jumped from the ship and, without even reaching the shore, turned into "a pile of ashes, as though his body had been buried several hundred years ago [Петроја 2005: 156]. They continued sailing after that event and were never heard of again.

In the Far East, a Japanese fable with a similar topic – about the fisherman Urashima who rescued a turtle, reached the Water Kingdom, returned home to learn that several hundred years had passed during his brief absence and promptly aged – is found in many significantly different versions. What makes up the pillar of the fable is Urashima's crossing from this world to the other, yearning to return home, a gift he is given that he is not to open, facing the fact that there had been a temporal deviation from the reference system; finally, the violation of the taboo and the equalization of the temporal discrepancy (prompt aging and/or death) [James 1996: 209–214].

The Indian tale of princess Revati and her father, the ruler of a powerful underwater kingdom and large swathes of land, who, in the desire to find a suitable groom for his daughter, went to Brahma to ask for advice, also contains a variation of the mentioned motif. After reaching the area where the divinity dwelled, and asked whom he should choose, Kakudmi found out that, in the brief period of his absence, 27 cycles ("catur-yuga") had passed in the human world, lasting 108 human ages. The king and princess were awestruck by what they saw on returning home: not only had the landscape and surroundings completely changed, but humanity itself had, as well, and for the worse – people were shorter in height, were less joyful and they were less intelligent.

Finally, examples of such motifs can also be found in Serbian folk literature. In the story "Change" [*Двадесет сръпских народних њриповедака* 1925: 55–58]²⁰, which straddles the border between tradition and the fable, a God-loving king returns from a tour of the beauties of heaven, believing that he had

with gold and blue hair. In the ocean, towards the West, there are other distant islands and each is larger and more spacious than Ireland". [Петроја 2005: 154].

²⁰ A less extreme form of time dilation is observed in the fable "Twelve Crumbs", in which an expelled son returns to the place of his birth where, after the initial impression of nothing having changed at home during his absence, he observes that his father, step-mother and servants had aged significantly in the meantime, while his sister became a beautiful girl [*Двадесет сръпских народних њриповедака* 1925: 13–19].

spent a day in the heavens. However, when he tries to find his own court, he finds a new town, bridges, roads and, in conversation with the people, learns that his stay in the other world lasted 300 years. In the tale “How quickly time passes” [*Српске народне приповејке* 1988: 384], a groom goes to the cemetery to fulfill a promise and invites his deceased blood brother to be his best man, and accepts his invitation to descend into the grave for a moment; when he comes out of the grave, he tries to find the wedding party, but realizes that 200 years have passed since the wedding that was not to be.

4.

The mentioned texts show that the problem of chronotopic consequences of crossing from one reference system to another – physical, physiological, psychological – is expressed in terms of the mythical and folklore experience of the world, which has been present in the heritage of (inter)-national experience since long ago and shaped in several main variations. From the aspect of structure of the motif complex, the first and simplest variant of a chronotopic journey and transformation is the protagonist’s crossing to the other world, deliberate or not, a brief stay there and the creation of the temporal disturbance on returning. The error, or culpability that provokes the punishment of expulsion from one’s world could be sought primarily in the protagonist’s negligence/laziness, embodied in the deviation from performing the entrusted (shepherd’s) duty (Epemenides), or simply in the excessive desire to reach the area of reality on the other side, which turns out to be unfitting for a man, even if it is the heavens (“Change”). The next round of the motif complex introduces the female element, via the motif of a wedding, one’s own or someone else’s, and a series of different events that would decisively separate the wedding party from their home. The fulfilling of a promise given to a being from an underworld kingdom, or to a blood brother who has since died, a journey to a deity to ask for advice about the best groom – all these events mark the crossing of the point of no return. Furthermore, mainly with the appearance of a beautiful girl/princess/queen, physical love is expressed to the protagonist, or he learns about the existence of an idyllic land/island where, among other wonders, nobody grows old, or he is invited to be a guest in another kingdom or into an intimate relationship. Whether he finds himself in an Arcadian landscape or not, after spending some time on a search or in happiness and joy, the protagonist is overwhelmed by a desire to see his home and his family again. In all variants, he finds out that returning is practically impossible and that violating the rule on touching the land, food or drink, or opening a box in the homeland, results in instant aging and/or death.

The most comprehensive and diverse variations of the motif complex are present in the Japanese fable of fisherman Urashima: in some cases he is a young man/fisherman, head of the family, in others he is a boy; he rescues a turtle, on land or at sea; he rescue it from other boys or releases it from a net, all by himself; the turtle sometimes turns into a girl or a dragon’s daughter, or stays a turtle on other occasions; Urashima meets a sea fairy, without an explicit

indication of her theriomorphic nature, or encounters the sea dragon in person. He accepts the invitation and, on reaching the underwater world or island kingdom, he stays there for a night, or longer; the underwater world is depicted as a submerged cave, or is developed into an intricate image of a world with an exquisite palace. On his departure home, Urashima is promised the girl's hand in marriage, or is parting with her forever, while the girl/princess gives him a little chest/box made of jewels/shells, which he opens on land, or when he returns to the underwater world. In some versions, Urashima ages and dies, while in others he just turns into an old man or a crane.

Still, regardless of the different versions of the fable of Urashima or some other protagonist, the dominant direction of movement is the same, as a rule: one strives towards the world on the other side. The formula of the journey, while including the open-type spatial motifs – water, forest, mountains, hills – permeates their suppressed mythical and folklore content, describing the protagonist's venture into the world of the dead [Станковић-Шошо 2006: 161–162]. The journey with that goal represents the age-old mission based on the refusal to reconcile with the existing and to search for the higher meaning of existence, incited by the hope of an extension of life in this world; thus, depending on the variant used in the plot, one can recognize the following motifs in the foundations of the fables, tales and narratives that contain a chronotopic transformation in the journey towards the other side: the search for fundamental knowledge, i.e. a lost paradise, the initiation motif of an engagement, fraternizing with death, the idea about an eternal wandering through space and time. However, the fate of the protagonist of chronotopic plots differs from the usual, principally successful venture, during which the protagonist learns about the other world, finds the key to the secrets of creation and disappearance and happily returns home and continues living without conditions. As a rule, there is no happy ending for protagonists of chronotopic plots: thanks to time dilation, they are forever expelled from their homeland and, as prisoners of the unreserved yearning for the *world on the other side*, they are forgotten; or furthermore, they lose the possibility to return to that other world due to a repeated mistake or weakness, and they meet their demise.

5.

When we move from considering the structure of the plot to the analysis of aspects of the formed world, the mentioned examples, to some extent, amend the usual picture about the characteristics of reality contained in folklore texts. Namely, the model of space is one of the oldest cultural categories: in it, there is coded information about the time, society and culture that it originates from [Станковић-Шошо 2006: 28]. In that light, space in the mythical-folklore space (fable) is typologically most significantly marked by the *border* [Лютман 1976: 300]: the world is divided into two completely separate areas – on the one side, to closed space, expressed in the texts in the form of the most varied everyday spatial images (house, city, homeland) with certain positive aspects (“birth”, “warm”, “safe”), and on the other – open, “external” space, with

negative aspects (“alien”, “hostile”, “cold”); accordingly, the crossing of the border always represents a critical event.

Furthermore, if the plot is determined as a developed event/crossing the semantic border, the plot is obviously considered to be reversible, since the overcoming of one border within the same semantic field can develop into two plot chains of opposite directions. Thus, for example, the image of the world that envisages a division into humans (living) and non-humans (gods, beasts, dead people), or into “us” and “them”, presupposes two types of plots: man overcomes a border (forest, sea), visits the gods (beasts, dead people) and returns with an object he took on that occasion; or, a god (beast, dead person) overcomes the border (forest, sea), visits the gods (beasts, dead people) and returns with an object he took; or, a god (beast, dead person) overcomes the border (forest, sea), visits the humans and returns with an object that he took [Лотман 1976: 310].

If, however, the time dimension is considered within the crossing of the border, that is within the plot event, the mentioned examples show that overcoming the border and crossing into the non-human domain is not always a reversible event, i.e. that the return journey is impossible because the resulting time dilation represents an insurmountable obstacle. Bachtin’s idea about the literary protagonist being chronotopic in great measure is concretized here quite literally – the traveler’s physiology ticks in the rhythm of the clock in the world that he reached, but he is not free of the temporal links with the place of his birth, even if he is physically separated from it. In this light, in more complex variations of the motif, curiosity, or the yearning to continue the journey, prevent the protagonist from settling down either in the place of birth or in the other world; nostalgia, on the other hand, as the spiritual force of attraction, represents a psychological manifestation of the chronotopic origin of the protagonist. Continuing the journey/returning home brings about the risk of the temporal dimensions of the old and the new world converging within the protagonist and synchronizing, causing the protagonist to promptly age and/or die. When he crosses the spatial – and temporal – border of the homeland, the protagonist of a chronotopic narrative can no longer return to it; he becomes a prisoner of the space he traveled to, of the reference system in which different, other-worldly laws apply, or of the journey itself. For their part, the inhabitant of the other world warns the protagonist about the danger, or gives him the means to avoid the demise, visit the homeland at least temporarily and return to his new dwelling place. In principle, it is shown that emotions that arose with the protagonist’s realization of the true state of affairs are too powerful for him, that he fails to overcome them, violates the prohibition and meets his demise. If there is a company traveling, its members continue their unwanted journey and disappear from this world.

The only means that enables the protagonist to try to return to the starting point on the world line, his home, in the given circumstances, would be introduced into literature much later, and would become characteristic of a particular type of literature, which greatly relies on chronotope-related theories. It is a device used for controlled travel through time and space – the time machine

– in science fiction literature, that enables traveling in both directions of the time axis, to the past and the future alike. Still, on the basis of (literary) experience of chronotopic journeys and transformations, it is not completely certain that the protagonist, on returning to his time, also returns to his space, or arrives in a different possible or parallel universe. Thus, the crossing of the border between separate time-space systems still remains a critical moment, connected with many uncertainties for the protagonist, as well as potentials for shaping unusual plots and literary worlds.

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THE KOSOVO COVENANT AND THE SERBS' NATIONAL IDENTITY

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SUMMARY: For more than six hundred years, Serbs have been singing songs and telling tales about the battle at Kosovo Polje. The search for the truth about the Kosovo tragedy and its deeper meaning began almost the day after the two armies left the field of battle. Unusually durable and vital, the stories of the battle of Kosovo have, by changing their shape through cults and prayers, heroic poems, literature and art, scientific research, and political slogans, for centuries inspired people in making fateful decisions. They have also been called the Kosovo Covenant, the Kosovo Cult, the Kosovo Commitment, the Kosovo Myth, the Kosovo Legend, Vidovdan (St. Vitus Day) Idea, Vidovdan Cult, Vidovdan Ethics.

What is the secret of durability of Kosovo lore? What and how much influence does it have on the Serbs' national consciousness? Thus posed questions do not require hasty answers. Let us, therefore, map out the routes and set signposts for future research.

KEY WORDS: Battle of Kosovo, 1389, lore, Serbian national identity, Kosovo Covenant, epic poems, science and politics

“SACRED SOURCES” AND “COVENANTAL NATIONS”

The works of Anthony Smith (1939–2016), one of the most prominent theorists of nation, national identity and nationalism, offer a useful theoretical model for researching these questions¹. Smith's works were created in constant dialogue with modernist theories, according to which the nation is a modern phenomenon created in the 18th or 19th century, with primordialist interpretations, for which nations are as old as human history itself, as well as with the

¹ Over the course of his academic career spanning almost half a century, Anthony Smith occasionally changed his standpoints. These are mainly his final works: A. D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, London and New York 2009; A. D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nationalism: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic*, Oxford 2008; A. D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Oxford 2003; A. D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford 1999.

neoperennialist school, which finds nations in the Middle Ages and the early modern age [Smith 2003; Smith 2008:1–27; Smith 2009: 3–21].

Anthony Smith called his approach ethnosymbolism. Unlike modernistically oriented researchers, he did not seek the most important answers in the domain of politics, the economy and the state, but rather in the domain of religion and culture. According to his interpretations, the key factors in the creation of nations are stories, memories, myths, and symbols. Their origin is, most often, pre-modern or even very ancient, which is why there can be no talk of the creation of nations “out of nothing,” and only in the modern age. He found these *sacred sources* or *sacred foundations*, *symbolic resources* with pre-modern *ethnies*, but also with modern *nations* [Smith 1998: 37–114; Smith 2009: 23–40].

However, writing about pre-modern, even ancient epochs, Anthony Smith also used the term *nations*. It was, thus, rightly noted that he could be counted among neoperennialists [Bakić 2006: 242–244]. Smith found the first nations among the Old Testament Jews and in ancient Egypt, as well as in Armenia in late antiquity. He did not dispute the neoperennialists’ conclusions about the existence of national consciousness at the time of the Hundred Years’ War between the English and the French, in the 14th and 15th century, or with the Czechs during the Hussite Wars in the 15th century. In his opinion, the true beginnings of nations should, nevertheless, be sought in the 16th century, in the Reformation period [Smith 2008: 16, 93, 109, 114–130; Smith 2003: 44–130; Smith 2009: 41–59; Smith 1996: 21–125].

It is important for the theme of this paper to mention that Anthony Smith accepted the opinion of modernist Eric Hobsbawm, according to whom there was noticeable “proto-nationalism” among pre-modern Serbs and Russians, and that in England, in the Tudor period, “something close to modern patriotism” can be found [Smith 2008: 108]. Hobsbawm claims that Serbs are a good example of a “proto-nation” “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 canonized most of its kings” [Hobsbawm 1996: 86].

It was exactly in the lap of religion that, according to Anthony Smith, the pre-modern “sacred sources” of national identity were created. Religion turned “ethnies” into “sacred communities” [Smith 2003: 25, 33]. “Sacred sources” will also represent the foundation on which nations and national ideologies would be built in the modern age. Smith explains the resilience of “sacred sources” by their religious origin. The deeper and more stable they are, the more durable an ethnies and a nation are. The most important among them are the myths of ‘ancestry’, ‘election’, ‘golden age’, ‘holy land’, and the ‘glorious dead’ [Smith 2003: VII–X, 9–43; Smith 2008: 39–46; Smith 2009: 90–99].

The myth of ancestry is very often tied to the moment of theophany, the birth of a saint or hero, acceptance of a new cult or faith, like in the case of Tirdates III in Armenia, Chlodovech I in the Frankish Kingdom, or St. Vladimir in Russia. This myth can be altered and adapted to new needs, like, for example, in the case of the French storming of the Bastille prison on July 14, 1789 [Smith 2008: 40–41; Smith 2009: 91–92].

What is particularly important, however, is Smith's understanding of *chosen peoples* who can be divided into *covenantal* and *missionary nations*. The self-awareness of pre-modern peoples, but also of present-day nations is, Smith notes, frequently tied to the belief in the quality of being "chosen". The belief of the special grace of God and the community's covenantal relationship with God was among Christian peoples based on modeling after the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch, the Books of the Maccabees, Prophets, and the Psalms. Where historical sources frequently cite Moses, the Exodus, the Mosaic covenant, arrival in the Promised Land, or the Books of the Maccabees, careful separation of literary conventions of the epoch from traces that could lead to the actual presence of awareness of "chosenness" is needed – on a case-by-case basis. At the same time, a Covenant entails not only the grace of God and care for the "chosen people", but also the punishment that will befall that people should it violate the covenant. The aim is to preserve the covenant, cults and customs and thereby become, as Smith points out, according to the Second Book of Moses, "a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation" [Smith 2008: 107–134; Smith 2003: 44–130]¹.

Covenantal peoples strive to keep the covenant and the grace of God by setting themselves apart and refusing to be assimilated by other religions. That is especially evident in periods of defeat, loss of state, independence, and emigration. An example are Jews, with whom the bearer of the covenant are the people, Armenians, for whom the church is "New Israel," and Ethiopians, with whom the bearer of the covenant is the ruling dynasty [Smith 2003: 44–94; Smith 2008: 76–80].

Missionary peoples aim to spread their cults and stories. Among the peoples who see themselves as an "instrument" in spreading God's will, Smith mentions, among others, the English, Scots, the French, Russians, American colonists, and Arabs. Present-day West continues that missionary work in the name of, at least superficially, secularized goals [Smith 2008: 95–130]².

In his book *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*, Smith would divide nations into *hierarchical nations*, which find their role models in Middle Eastern states and the Roman Empire, *covenantal nations*, which model themselves after the Old Testament Jews, and *republican nations*, whose role models are the Greek poleis and the republican Rome. While hierarchical nations would include medieval monarchies in England, Russia, France, or Scotland, republican nations were created in the French and American revolutions. Covenantal nations are, besides Jews, Armenians and Ethiopians, from the period of Reformation also the English, the Dutch, the Swiss, American colonists, and Russians. To be "covenantal", it is important that a nation has holy scripture in the language of the ethnic or nation, and in the Christian West of Europe, unlike – as Smith notes – the Orthodox East, that would be possible only as of the Reformation period. The teachings of Calvin and Zwingli already contained faith in being "chosen" and "covenantal". It was fortified by the experience of persecution

¹ S. 2 Moj. 6; 1 Петр. 2, 9; Откр. 1, 6.

² On the contemporary Western, missionary type of "chosenness," based on the works of Anthony Smith and other researchers, s. [Šljukić 2011: 38–46, 71–90].

and exodus during the religious wars of the 16th and 17th century and expanded from individuals to communities of believers. Protestantism, in Smith's opinion, became the key mainstay of English and Dutch nationalism thanks to Cromwell's puritan, and the Dutch revolution. In both cases, the rebels identified with "new Israel", whereas they saw their enemies as the forces of the Egyptian pharaoh [Smith 2008: 122–130; Smith 2003: 115–123]. The identity of most nations, however, has throughout history remained a palimpsest of hierarchical, covenantal, and republican layers. "Covenantal nations," for example, most often accept egalitarian political and social ideals and can easily transform into "republican nations" [Smith 2008: 76–159].

Ethnies and nations remember the second most important "sacred source" of national identity, "the golden age," as the time of greatest glory and heroism, religious restoration, and great political and artistic achievements. Commemorated in epic poetry, history or art, it serves subsequent generations as a moral, political and artistic source. Violation of norms established during "the golden age" can even lead to a curse on and doom of the community. The origin of myths about "the golden age" is pre-modern, as shown by the lore of the ancient Greeks about the Homeric age, of the Romans about the time of the republic and the Punic Wars, or of the Jews about the age of Moses and David [Smith 1996: 21–125]. They, however, are still important today. The Greeks' hesitation in picking their "golden age" between Antiquity and Byzantine times shows that nations can choose different "golden ages" and that the choice, like in the myth of ancestry, often depends on current political considerations [Smith 2008: 160–183].

The "holy land" is the one where saints, prophets, sages, and heroes lived and died. What makes it especially sacred are their relics and tombs. It is, very often, the stage of great battles and it is believed that it was made sacred by the blood and graveyards of the heroes that fell on it in the struggle for faith and the fatherland. The "holy land" remains an inspiration to leaders, prophets and artists for centuries. For the Jews, it was Canaan, which the covenants of Abraham and Moses promised them. For the puritans, exiled from England, the shores of North America and its wilderness became the "promised land" and "new Jerusalem," where they built their "City upon a Hill". For centuries, the Irish believed their island to be *insula sacra*. For the Swiss, it was Rutli, a meadow on the bank of Lake Lucerne, the stage of the oath in 1291, as are the venues of their battles with the Habsburgs from the 14th century and, in particular, the landscapes of the Swiss Alps [Smith 2008: 42–43; Smith 2003: 131–165; Smith 2009: 94–95].

The "glorious dead" is, according to Anthony Smith, the "sacred source" with possibly the greatest strength and durability. It is about those who died for their faith and community. The main source for centuries was Christ's sacrifice [Smith 2003: 222]. Smith thus notes that the overview of Protestant martyrs, provided in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563), in the crucial 16th century when the English national identity was being shaped, was the second most popular book in England after the Bible [Smith 2008: 124–125]. However, those who fell in lost battles were especially important. In that context, Anthony

Smith writes about the importance of the Battle of Kosovo for the Serbs' national identity [Smith 2008: 124–125.]. He notes that the place of the Battle of Thermopylae (479 B.C.) in the creation of the Greeks' national identity, the fall of Jerusalem and destruction of the Second Temple (70 A.D.) for the Jews, or the defeat in the Battle of Avarayr (451) for Armenians all testify to the importance of the “glorious dead”. Earthly defeats and heavenly victories, however, are still not considered archaic myths from epochs long past. The national identity of Francophone Quebecers rests on the defeat in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759), whereas the mass deaths in the Battle of Gallipoli (1915) are taken as the key moment in shaping the national consciousness of Australians and New Zealanders. Remembrance of those dates is always accompanied by appropriate public ceremonies. Present-day regular laying of wreaths on the graves of unknown heroes and on the battlefields from the two world wars in France, Great Britain, Russia, and other countries has the same meaning [Smith 2008: 44–46; Smith 2003: 218–253; Smith 2009: 97–99].

“NEW ISRAEL”

The theoretical pattern offered by the works of Anthony Smith obviously enables a number of insights useful for studying the Serbs' national identity and, especially the place and role of Kosovo lore in its creation and shaping. That has already been noted in Serbian science [Ковић 2002: 403–418; Kovich 2005: 81–102; Марјановић-Душанић 2007: 335–336; Šljukić: 29–47; Симић, 2012: 64–65; Тодоровић 2015: 243–286; Ковић 2015: 202–269].

It has been found that Serbian heroic poems of the Kosovo Cycle contain all the key constitutive elements of ancient, Indo-European epic tradition, which can be found and reconstructed in the ancient Indian *Mahabharata*, Persian *Shahnameh*, the Greek *Iliad*, and Celtic and Nordic sagas. That is why today there is talk of *Pre-Kosovo* [Јлома 2002: 11–12, 131]. Among such ancient epic motifs is not only a heroic death on the battlefield, which brings a reward in the afterlife³, but also the choice of the Kingdom of Heaven [Јлома 2002: 133–147].

Nevertheless, Christianity left the deepest mark on the stories about Kosovo. The Serbian Church, right after the battle, gave them New Testament meaning, through the creation of the cult of the Holy Emperor Lazar, with the central motifs of choosing the Kingdom of Heaven, the last supper, communion, and conscious sacrifice. From 1390 to 1420 alone, 10 such cultic writings about Lazar and Kosovo were made [Трифунковић 1968; Михаљчић 1989: 127–156; Пеђећ 2007: 18–44]. Both the Kosovo Covenant and the Serbs' national consciousness would be shaped in the lap of the Patriarchate of Peć in subsequent centuries under foreign rule [Видовић 2013: 66–70].

The New Testament motif of choosing the Kingdom of Heaven was mentioned in old Serbian literature particularly with regard to a ruler stepping down

³ V. Đurić also noted that this motif is found in the most ancient epic poems, such as *The Iliad*, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, and *Mahabharata* [Ђурић 1987b: 40–43], see also [Пеђећ 2007: 33, 35].

from the throne and going to a monastery. Saint Sava and Saint Simeon provided the pattern for that. The arenga of the Dečani Chrysobull, for example, states that they exchanged the kingdom on earth for the Kingdom of Heaven [Јома 2002: 135]. At the time of the Battle of Kosovo, the cult of Serbian saints, especially the rulers from the Nemanjić dynasty, bound those who wished to carry on their traditions⁴. The Church, which was the bearer of these cults, during the collapse of the Serbian empire, in the fighting for the Nemanjić legacy, supported exactly Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović [Михаљчић 1989b: 50–100].

The fact that Saint Sava's and Saint Simeon's orientation toward the Kingdom of Heaven could have served as a role model to Prince Lazar himself is testified to by the oldest cultic writing on Kosovo (made between 1390 and 1393), *The Prologic Hagiography of Prince Lazar*. It says that Lazar and his knights headed into battle "having as firm guarantors" "Simeon, a new myrrh-gusher, and Saint Sava" and that they were "armed" with "the prayers of our venerable and God-bearing fathers, Simeon and Saint Sava" [Раваничанин II 1993: 128; Трифуновић 1968: 13–39].

The period of Prince Lazar could already see its "myth of ancestry" and even its "golden age" in the time of Saint Sava and Saint Simeon. It was noted that the works of Domentian and Theodosius, as well as the frescoes in the Church of the Holy Salvation, testify to the fact that Saint Sava was recognized already in his time as the founder of the national church organization, who, like the apostles, brought "his people" and "his fatherland" to Christ [Манасићур Жуча 2012: 205–209]. Furthermore, Domentian's *The Life of Saint Sava* and *The Life of Saint Simeon* indicate the existence of awareness of "chosenness" and covenantal status [Благојевић 1994: 15–28]. Such motifs, at the core of which is the cult of these two saints, are also seen in the works of subsequent Serbian writers. Comparisons between the Nemanjić dynasty and the Old Testament Tree of Jesse, highlighted in texts and particularly on the frescoes in the Nemanjić endowments, were based on the cult of Saint Simeon – designed by Saint Sava – as the root from which the shoots of his dynasty, but also of the entire Serbian people, grow [Марјановић-Душанић 2007: 149; Поповић 2006: 27–118].

Domentian, citing models from the Old Testament, calls the Serbian people "the chosen of God", "new Israel," and "second Israel". Saint Simeon is for Domentian "the perfect father of the fatherland", who, with Saint Sava, brings the Serbs to God, to make them "the perfect people". Domentian also compares the progenitor of the dynasty to Jacob. When he was inviting Stefan Nemanja to come to Mount Athos, Saint Sava called him the new Jacob and "new Israel". Domentian would later, again following the example of the Old Testament, which expands that term to include Jacob's descendants, call Nemanja's descendants and fellow Serbs "new Israel", too [Доментијан 1865: 3, 150, 192; Благојевић 1994:19–21].

⁴ On medieval rulers as national saints and the cult of relics in the Serbian Middle Ages s. [Поповић 2006]. In detail on the cult of rulers' sainthood among Serbs s. [Марјановић-Душанић 2007: 85–194]. See also [Марјановић-Душанић 1997].

Domentian likens Saint Sava to Moses, where “the first Israel and his children were /given/ adoption and glory and promise”, whereas “the second Israel raised by God brought a new people to the Lord”. Domentian even notes that the first Israel sometimes deviated from the covenant, while the “children” of Sava’s “fatherland” remained faithful to it. He calls both Moses and Saint Sava “vožd”, “leader”; Moses is “the leader of the gathering of Israel”, whereas Saint Sava is “the leader of the fatherland” [Доментијан 1865: 3, 150, 192; Благојевић 1994:19–21].

In light of pre-modern examples of national consciousness based on Old Testament patterns, provided by Anthony Smith, the search for a medieval synthesis of covenants and patriotism does not seem anachronous⁵. In the words of this researcher, there is a blend of covenantal and hierarchical traditions in medieval Serbian culture. It is especially important that, observed in that way, the covenant of Prince Lazar could have been affirmation, execution of the covenant of Saint Sava and, most importantly, of the New Testament of Jesus Christ. Serbian writers have long identified that and stressed that, more than the Old Testament, the New Testament is the key role model of the covenants of Saint Sava and Kosovo [Поповић 2016: 454–455; Патријарх Павле 2015, 392; Митрополит Амфилохије 2011, 69–71, 85–86; Митрополит Амфилохије 2009, 370–371; Јевтић 1992; Видовић 2009: 43]. One of the most important differences lies in the fact that, according to the New Testament point of view, every people is “chosen,” like the first, Old Testament “chosen people” [Митрополит Амфилохије 2010: 248].

“THE TSAR HE CHOSE A HEAV’NLY KINGDOM”

The covenantal nature of Kosovo lore is also evident in the fact that an explanation for the defeat in Kosovo and subsequent fall under Turkish rule was sought in the Serbs’ transgressions and violation of the covenant. We saw that, according to Anthony Smith, the punishment is interpreted as a consequence of trespassing against the moral examples established in “the golden age”; he underscores that God, in the Pentateuch, threatens those who abandon the covenant with a curse⁶. Already in the 14th and 15th century, particularly in the period after the Battle of Kosovo, the most important writers told stories about the sins of Emperor Dušan, about the murder of his father Stefan of Dečani, and the willful declaration of the Patriarchate. The ecumenical patriarch had excommunicated the Serbian emperor, Church hierarchy and the people. The Serbian Church is believed to have accepted the views of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the rule of Prince Lazar. It would be none other than Prince Lazar who would achieve reconciliation between the two churches and bring the Serbs back into the Orthodox community [Ферјанчић и Ћирковић 2005, 312–313, 326–329].

⁵ For sources which could indicate national consciousness in the Middle Ages, see also [Станојевић 1934: 35–37].

⁶ See also: 3 Moj. 26, 14–46.

Nonetheless, it was believed that both Emperor Dušan's son Uroš and the Serbian people had to suffer for Dušan's sins. The willfulness of the Mrnjavčević dynasty and the legendary assassination of Emperor Uroš were perceived as punishment, but also as continuation of Serbian transgressions. Dušan's sins would remain the main cause of ruin of the Serbian empire even in the works of the most important Serbian historians of the 17th and 18th century, Count Đorđe Branković and Jovan Rajić. The unfortunate series of transgressions included, ultimately, the disharmony among noblemen and the treason of Vuk Branković at Kosovo Polje (Field of the Blackbirds) [Михаљчић 1989b: 127–145; Пеђен 2013: 7–16, 221–231, 387–398]. Epic poems claimed that before the Battle of Kosovo Serbian noblemen had gotten so arrogant that they rode into churches on horseback and took the antidoron by stabbing it with their spears [Јома 2002]. From that tradition, which apparently lasted for centuries, stemmed the interpretations of Metropolitan Petar II Petrović Njegoš in *The Mountain Wreath* (1847):

“God is angry with the Serbian people
because of their many mortal sins.
Our kings and tsars trampled upon the Law^[60].
They began to fight each other fiercely
and to gouge out each other's very eyes.
They neglected the government and state
and chose folly to be their guiding light.
Their servants ceased to obey their masters
and washed themselves in the blood of their tsars.
Our own leaders, God's curse be on their souls,
carved the empire into little pieces...”⁷

[Његош 1986: 17, 180–182].

The merging of covenant and patriotism is visible already in cultic writings about Lazar and the Battle of Kosovo, made in the lap of the Church, between 1390 and 1420. In *The Hagiography of Holy Prince Lazar* authored by an unknown monk of the Ravanica Monastery, believed to have been written between 1392 and 1398, Prince Lazar, preparing for battle, “was zealous for God and for his fatherland.” He encouraged “his soldiers and noblemen” with these words:

“Let us go, brothers and children, let us go into the forthcoming endeavor by looking at the reward giver Christ. Let us serve duty through death, let us spill our blood, let us redeem life by death and unsparingly surrender the limbs of our bodies to be cut for our faith and fatherland and God shall certainly have mercy on those who remain behind us and shall not exterminate our kin and land to the end.” [Раваничанин I 1993: 123–124; Трифуновић 1968: 78–112].

A Word About Prince Lazar by Patriarch Danilo III (written in 1392–1393), who in an earlier work called Saint Simeon and Saint Sava “firm champions of their fatherland,” and the Nemanjić dynasty the Tree of Jesse [Danilo Mladi

⁷ See: https://www.rastko.rs/knjizevnost/umetnicka/njegos/mountain_wreath.html

1960b: 109], also joins the Kosovo Covenant as the choice of the Kingdom of Heaven with patriotism. The presumed influence of *The Wars of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus, *The Tears of the Prophet Jeremiah*, and *A Novel About Alexander of Macedon* on the ideas and dialogues in this work [Трифуновић 1968: 343–346, 352–353; Кашанин 2002: 263] could only contribute to that. For that reason, Milan Kašanin called Danilo III “the most complete and strongest ideologue of the Battle of Kosovo and the kingdom of heaven” [Трифуновић 1968: 343–346, 352–353; Кашанин 2002: 263].

The *Word* by Patriarch Danilo III is also about sacrificing oneself for faith, but also for the prince, “the fatherland” and “Serbian land”. Before the battle, Prince Lazar tells his “soldiers, big and small” that they should accept their pending death “for Christ and the piety of our fatherland”:

“It is better that we die in the endeavor than live in shame. It is better that we receive death by sword in battle than give our backs to our enemies. We have lived long for the world, let us finally ensure to undertake a feat of suffering, to live eternally in heaven, let us give ourselves the title of soldiers of Christ, blessed sufferers, to write our names in the books of life. Let us not spare our bodies in the fight, so that we may receive wreaths of light from the one who judges accomplishments. Pain gives birth to glory and effort leads to rest.” [Danilo Mladi 1960a: 110].

To that, “the praised and manly, and noble, birthed and raised by the Serbian land, like beautiful shoots and chosen (cedars) of Lebanon” reply that they are ready “to die for you and for piety, and for the fatherland”:

“Let us die so that we may live forever. Let us offer ourselves to God as a living sacrifice, not like before by our brief and dazed indulgence, but in a feat by our blood. Let us not spare our lives, so that after this we may be a true example to others. Let us not be afraid of the fear that has come at us, nor of the swooping of the diabolical enemies jumping at us. If we were really to think about fear and loss, we would not be worthy... ..We, o, friends and fellow warriors, we do take on the burden of previous soldiers who are with Christ, to be glorified in Christ. We are one human nature, subjugated to the same passions. And may we have one grave. And one field to receive our bodies with our bones, for the settlements of Eden to receive us with light.” [Danilo Mladi 1960a: 111].

In *A Word* by Danilo III, the covenant does not pertain solely to Prince Lazar, or even to his “lofty noblemen”, but, as we have seen, also to his “soldiers, big and small”, whose bones will be received by “one field”. The fact that the idea of a covenant was not limited to the highest social strata is also proved by a description of the transportation of the relics of Prince Lazar from Priština to the Ravanica Monastery, which alongside Princess Milica, the Church hierarch and the nobility also involves “a multitude of people” [Danilo Mladi 1960c:113]. The aforementioned Ravanica monk also writes about the “multitude of people” attending the transportation of the relics of Prince Lazar [Раваничанин I 1993: 124].

Folk, epic poems about Kosovo from the period of Turkish domination, adapted the medieval Christian and knightly ideals to the mentality of the Christian common folk, shepherds and farmers. The Kosovo Covenant, from

the outset tied more to the church and liturgy than to knightly, noble circles, would through oral epic poetry completely merge with folk and subsequently national culture. A few centuries later, Ivo Andrić, in the essay titled *Njegoš as a Tragic Hero of the Kosovo Thought*, conveys an observation by Ljubomir Nenadović that in Montenegro even “wearied women... talked to him about Kosovo as of their own fate and personal tragedy”, as well as that the local Serbs wanted in all things to take “only the path set forth by the Kosovo covenant” [Андрић 1981: 9]. For them, the Kosovo Covenant, like for Njegoš, the “Jeremiah of Kosovo,” is a struggle for “removing the curse of Obilić” for “mortal sins”:

“The entire fate of all these people was determined and governed by that covenant. Like in the most ancient legends, which are always the greatest human reality, everyone personally felt the historical curse that had turned ‘lions’ into ‘farmers’, leaving ‘the terrible thought of Obilić’ in their souls, to live thus torn between their ‘farmers’, common folk reality and knightly, Obilić thought...” [Андрић 1981: 9].

That blending of the Christian, clerical Kosovo Covenant with folk culture is best illustrated by another classic example thereof, the epic poem *The Fall of the Serbian Empire*. It was written down by Lukijan Mušicki, the archimandrite at the Šišatovac Monastery, according to the singing of “some blind woman from Grgurevci” [Ђурић 1987a: 698].

In the poem, ahead of the battle, the Theotokos herself, via Saint Elias, sends a message to “emperor Laza” “from the shrine – from Jerusalem”. Domentian compared Saint Sava to Saint Elias and wrote that Saint Simeon and Saint Sava “renewed for their fatherland the bright path to Jerusalem” [Марјановић–Душанић 2007: 100–101, 102]. Prince Lazar was also given a choice between “two kingdoms”:

“Tsar Lazar, thou Prince of noble lineage,
 What wilt thou now choose to be thy kingdom?
 Say, dost thou desire a heav’nly kingdom,
 Or dost thou prefer an earthly kingdom?
 If thou should’st now choose an earthly kingdom,
 Knights may girdle swords and saddle horses,
 Tighten saddle-girths and ride to battle--
 You will charge the Turks and crush their army!
 But if thou prefer a heav’nly kingdom,
 Build thyself a church upon Kosovo,
 Let not the foundations be of marble,
 Let them be of samite and of scarlet...
 And to all thy warriors and their leaders
 Thou shalt give the sacraments and orders,
 For thine army shall most surely perish,
 And thou too, shalt perish with thine army.”

When the Tsar had read the holy letter,
 Ponder’d he, and ponder’d in this manner:
 “Mighty God, what now shall this my choice be!
 Shall I choose to have a heav’nly kingdom?
 Shall I choose to have an earthly kingdom?”

If I now should choose an earthly kingdom,
 Lo, an earthly kingdom is but fleeting,
 But God's kingdom shall endure forever."
 And the Tsar he chose a heav'nly kingdom,
 Rather than an earthly kingdom..."⁸

[*Проїасїї царсїїва срїскоїа* 2007: 265–266]

Old Testament role models are clearly visible also in the years right after Lazar's death in Kosovo. Prince Lazar's son, Despot Stefan Lazarević, would be likened by his biographer to Moses, Jesus Navin, David, and Solomon [Peђen 2013a: 73–84]. The despot's "folk", in difficult times of Turkish invasion, follow the Old Testament patterns of a chosen people, who keep God's legacy:

"Even now you have shown your force among your people, not letting peoples to completely destroy Thy legacy; even now save those who did not bend (their) knees before Baal, and before the weaknesses of (human) nature, rather they (rose) strengthened from powerlessness, those who were courageous in battles, who believe the One who wins wars with a strong hand, those who preferred to suffer with God's men rather than taste the temporary sweetness of sin, (to be like those) who were crucified for Christ's flock." [Константин Филозоф 2007: 13; Peђen 2013b: 77–78]

FOREIGN EMPIRES

Serbian and Turkish sources, as well as the travelogues of foreigners passing through Serbian lands, show that by the end of the 15th century the epic lore about the curse, betrayal and defeat in Kosovo had been fully formed. While the name "Miloš Kobila" was first mentioned in the *Turkish Chronicles* by Konstantin Mihailović from Ostrovica (written between 1496 and 1501), the linking of betrayal to Vuk Branković is found no earlier than in *The Kingdom of the Slavs* (1601) by Mavro Orbini [Михальчић 1989: 127–211; Peђen 2007: 45–85].

The cults of Serbian national saints, among whom, in addition to Holy Prince Lazar, Saint Sava and Saint Simeon were especially important, were kept and nurtured in the lap of the Patriarchate of Peć [*Историја срїскої народа III* 2 1993: 11–14, 64–67. Михальчић 1989: 259–260; Екмечић 2011: 45–46, 59–63]. Serbian saints were still depicted together with figures from the Old Testament. One side of a 17th century icon kept in the treasury of the Patriarchate of Peć depicts the funeral service for Saint Sava, while the other side shows the Holy Maccabean Martyrs [*Срїски иконоїис* 2016: 21].

Among the monasteries, which were the main footholds of Serbian consciousness during Turkish rule, the endowment of Holy Prince Lazar, Ravanica, where Lazar's relics were kept, was particularly renowned [Михальчић 1989b]. In the period of efforts toward finding a deeper meaning in defeat and deterioration, the cult of the Holy Prince Lazar, like the cult of the Holy King Stefan of Dečani, was shaped and cultivated as a cult of the holy ruler – martyr

⁸ See: <https://www.rastko.rs/kosovo/umetnost/serbepic/thefall.htm>

[Михаљчић 1989b: 219–245; Марјановић–Душанић 2007: 188–194; Поповић 2006: 162–183].

Formulated in the terms used by Anthony Smith, in foreign empires in which Serbian states were immersed and where Serbian nobility changed their faith or died out, the Serbian Church completed the transformation from a hierarchical into a covenantal nation. Like in the case of Protestant covenantal nations, that was additionally helped by extremely unstable times, the fall of the empire and the Despotate, religious persecution, pressure to convert, and especially the wars which, after the arrival of the Turks, always had a strong religious aspect, which intensified with the start of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The Serbs, like the Jews, became closed up in an attempt to prevent assimilation and defend the covenant. Like with the Armenians, the bearer of the covenant was the Serbian Church, the Patriarchate of Peć. It was possibly recognized as the Kingdom of Heaven which the Kosovo Covenant speaks of, after the fall of the state as the earthly kingdom [Видовић 2009b: 70–93].

Milorad Екмечић also points out that in the Balkans, starting with the Turks' invasion in the 14th and 15th century, and in the rest of Europe with the beginning of the religious wars in the 16th century, religion became the key determinant of identity, more important than language or awareness of ethnic origin [Екмечић 201: 14–20, 23–24]. Wholly in the spirit of ethno-symbolistic interpretations, stories and cults, especially of Serbian saints, constituted the foundation of the Serbs' particular identity. The Russians recognized them by the cults of Saint Sava, Saint Simeon and Holy Prince Lazar as proved, among other things, by the fact that it is exactly these saints who were depicted on the frescoes of Moscow's Cathedral of the Archangel during the rule of Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich (the Terrible), whose grandmother was Serb Ana Јакшић and whose great-grandfather was Stefan Јакшић. An extensive world chronicle called *Лицевой летописный свод* (*The Illustrated Chronicle*), put together for this tsar, contains detailed descriptions and illustrations from the lives of Saint Sava, Holy King Stefan of Dečani and the Battle of Kosovo [Свейи Сава у руском царском летопису 2012].

Orbini's book and the works of other Dubrovnik writers, as well as a drama about the Battle of Kosovo created in Perast in the late 17th century, confirmed the radiation of the Kosovo Cult in Roman Catholic lands, too. Especially influential was Orbini's interpretation of Kosovo lore, based on oral, epic poetry. Roman Catholic travel writers, such as Benedikt Kuripešić, Philippe Dufresne-Cannay or Jean Palerne Foresien, were often more interested in Miloš's heroic feat than in the Christian covenant of Prince Lazar [Peђeп 2007: 64–88; Михаљчић 1989: 145–147, 155–161].

Finally, in *The Hagiography of Prince Lazar*, also called *The Tale of the Battle of Kosovo*, created in the late 17th or early 18th century in the area of Boka Kotorska and Montenegro, the Kosovo epic lore gained its final form, known from subsequent collections by Vuk Karadžić. A testament to the popularity and influence of this compilation of epic and written tradition is also the fact that it was preserved in 36 versions [Peђeп 2007: 88–97; Peђeп 2010; Михаљчић 1989: 161–166].

Meanwhile, during the Great Migration led by Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević in 1690, the relics of Prince Lazar headed on their second journey, from the Ravanica Monastery to the town of Szentendre and back, seven years later, to the Vrdnik Monastery in Srem [Кашић 1981: 148–153; Ђоровић-Љубинковић 2007a: 165–176]. The very saving of the relics testified to their importance for the Serbs; a hundred years earlier, the Turks had punished the Serbs by burning the relics of Saint Sava.

THE COVENANT, EPIC POETRY, SCIENCE, AND POLITICS

Over the course of the 18th century, the cult of Prince Lazar would, however, see a sudden rise among the Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy, in the territory of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. As part of efforts to save one of the most important “sacred sources”, the cult of Serbian saints, from religious conversion, but also from Russification, their hagiographies were in the course of the 18th century gathered and printed in the *Srbljak* books. Holy Prince Lazar was, along with Saint Sava and Saint Simeon, the most esteemed Serbian saint at that time. The idea of the Serbs as “new Israel”, the chosen people, was alive; it was supplemented with the story of the 1690 Great Migration, which was compared to the exodus from Егyпт [Симић 2012: 64–65]. Visual depictions of Prince Lazar from that period testified, however, to the fact that like in *The Tale of the Battle of Kosovo* in Serbian civic culture the saint and martyr was increasingly being replaced by the secular ruler, which was similar to existing, competitive Central European models [Михаљчић 1989b: 203–216; Симић 2012: 58–76].

However, by the publishing of traditional Serbian poems, which Vuk Stefanović Karadžić had gathered, Kosovo lore was fortified in its epic form. There the nation’s “sacred sources” – “ancestry”, “election and the covenant”, “the golden age”, “holy land”, and “glorious dead” – were tied more to Prince Lazar, Miloš and Kosovo than to Saint Sava, Saint Simeon and the Nemanjić dynasty. All that provided fruitful motifs and inspiration to Serbian Romanticism in the 19th century. Besides offering Serbian intellectuals signposts in the typical Romanticist search for an original, authentic national culture, Vuk Karadžić played a key role in redefining the Serbian national identity, again in the spirit of European Romanticism, from a community of cult and lore to a community of language. As a result, Kosovo lore was interpreted in laymen’s terms, as a heroic epic and an artistic, folklore expression of national spirit. Serbian literature and historiography, but also politics, would be adjusted to the models established by Vuk Karadžić. Serbian culture, little known until then, would in educated European circles, thanks to Vuk Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar, be recognized by the Kosovo epic cycle, by Prince Marko and other heroes of epic poems. In the Serbian environment, that gave the epic tradition on Kosovo lore additional authority [Историја српског народа V 2, 1981: 381–415; Екмечић 1989, 420–460; Екмечић 2011: 131–150; Поповић 1976, 64–77].

The ideas of Enlightenment and Romanticism which came from the Habsburg monarchy via Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić, as well as the vivid

experience of the Serbian Revolution, in direct contact and most often serious conflict with the ideas of the French Revolution, brought to the Balkans by Napoleon's army, conditioned the appearance of the republican model of nation among the Serbs. Formally, all Serbs, albeit split between several states (the liberated Serbia and Montenegro, the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire), lived in monarchies. Essentially, however, the centennial experience of second-class subjects of Muslim sultans and Roman Catholic emperors of a different religion, and of the self-governing, egalitarian social structure in which they had lived for centuries, the revolution of Karađorđe and Vuk's linguistic reform made Serbian territories fertile soil for the idea of nation as realization of the principles of democracy and the people's sovereignty. That would be the main idea of the key Serbian national ideologues in the 19th century: Jevrem Grujić, Vladimir Jovanović, Svetozar Miletić, Svetozar Marković, Jovan Skerlić, and Jovan Cvijić [Ковић 2015b: 204–269].

In the epoch of Serbian Romanticism, up until around 1878, there almost would be no man of letters who would not reflect in the Kosovo themes [Терзић 2012: 56–64]. Among them, a quite prominent place belonged to Metropolitan Petar II Petrović Njegoš and his *Mountain Wreath*, which combined the epic tradition with a strong, individual artistic expression, but also with a renewed covenantal, Christian interpretation of Kosovo lore [Велимировић 1986b: 325–481; Велимировић 1986a: 785–797; Видовић 2013; Ломпар 2010; *Књиџа о Њеџошу*, 2013]. “Montenegro and the folk who had found refuge in its hills were the quintessence of that Kosovo mystery. All who were born in those hills, came into the world with a reflex of Kosovo blood in their gaze” – Ivo Andrić wrote regarding Njegoš and his time [Андрић 1981: 9]. That what Andrić wrote was no exaggeration is confirmed by *The History of Montenegro*, from the quill of Njegoš's predecessor, Metropolitan Petar I Petrović Njegoš, subsequently Saint Peter of Cetinje, which begins with Kosovo, as well as the anthem *Опато, намo* (*There, O'er There*), all in the sign of patriotic Kosovo lore, which would be written by one of Njegoš's successors, Prince Nikola Petrović⁹.

The influence of Kosovo lore on the spiritual, but also political life of the Serbs in the 19th century is immeasurable. Thus the vizier of Travnik in 1806 reported to the Sublime Porte that Karađorđe and his rebels were preparing for an open conflict with the sultan himself and that “...like King Lazar once went out to Kosovo, so will all go out to Kosovo. They are constantly holding books about the history of the aforementioned king in their hands and he is a great instigator of rebellion in their mind” [Тричковић 1965: 18]. Kosovo messages were conveyed by the Church and oral, epic poetry. In rebel camps, at the surrounded trench in Loznica, the blind *gusle* player Filip Višnjić sang about the Battle of Kosovo. In the midst of historic events, thanks to Višnjić's songs, the names of Karađorđe and his military commanders were incorporated in

⁹ Saint Peter of Cetinje, *A Brief History of Montenegro*, in: [Свети Петар Цетињски 2015: 523]. Petar II Petrović Njegoš sent the same text of the history of Montenegro, expanded to include the time of Petar I Petrović and data on the country and population, to Russian officials: *Описание Черногории с крайшим начертанием историйи черногорскою народа* (*Description of Montenegro with a Brief Outline of the History of the Montenegrin People*), in: [Петровић Неџош 2013: 106–148].

the decasyllable heroic epic side by side with Lazar and Miloš [Панић Суреп 2014: 41–51].

Kosovo lore and Serbian heroic, epic traditions had a particularly important impact on Serbian ideologues from the epoch of Romanticism, especially those gathered in the United Serb Youth. However, when after the Great Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878 the project of national liberation and unification failed, unrealistic plans and the naïve enthusiasm of Romanticists were blamed for that [Скерлић 1966a].

While Svetozar Marković and his followers, bearers of subsequent Serbian radicalism, socialism and democratism, demanded a “realistic” approach to politics and culture [Скерлић 1966b], Archimandrite Ilarion Ruvarac had the same influence on historiography. His most important followers would be liberal conservatives, whom the Serbs called “progressives”. The key debates, in which the epic image of the past was being abandoned and Serbian critical historiography was being created, free of patriotic conditioning, were led precisely on the subject of Kosovo lore. And so Serbian realism was based on redefining the Kosovo legacy [Ћирковић 2007a: 89–103].

Jovan Rajić claimed that folk poems were useless to historians, whose main task is to establish the truth. Now, however, Ilarion Ruvarac and Ljubomir Kovačević showed that King Vukašin, despite what the lore said, did not kill Emperor Uroš. Kovačević also, in an extensive scholastic study, claimed that Vuk Branković had not committed treason at Kosovo Polje. That sparked heated reactions and polemics, in which the main opponent was history professor at the Great School, Pantelija Srećković. The debates started in 1879 and symbolically ended in 1894 with the arrival of Ljubomir Kovačević in Pantelija Srećković’s place in the Great School’s department of national history [Сувајцић 2007; Ћирковић 1992, 9–15; Руварац 1993: 17–287; Михаљчић 1992; Ковачевић 1992: 297–352; Самарцић 1976: 75–76]. In that way, which was not without a deeper meaning, two key transgressions against the Kosovo Covenant were pushed out of the world of exact academic knowledge of the past.

It is, however, important to note that the new, academic, “realistic” view of Kosovo lore did not annul or even mitigate Serbian nationalism. It now only aimed to be “realistic”, grounded not in Romanticist verve, but rather in “reality”. The celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo was held in such a way so that the great powers, the Habsburg and Ottoman empires above all, would not find in it an occasion for conflict [Војводић 1998: 36–50]. After the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbian national politics, however, turned exactly to Kosovo and Old Serbia. That policy, in its mainstream, was designed and led by historian and member of the critical school Stojan Novaković [Војводић 2012; Војводић 2015]. Unlike Ruvarac, he claimed that folk traditions were an important historical source, but not for determining the facts about events, but rather for studying “the spiritual physiognomy of the events themselves”, “psychological features”, states of collective consciousness in past epochs [Новаковић 1982: 12–13; Самарцић 1976, 191–196, 210–217; Самарцић 1981: 231–238; Ћирковић 1982: xiv–xx; Ћирковић 2007a: 111–115]. Ljubomir Kovačević took part in the wars of 1876–1878, then

also in the equipping and sending of the first Serb Chetnik units to Old Serbia and Macedonia. In the war for the liberation of Kosovo and Old Serbia, he lost his only son [Михальчић 1992: 295; *Историја српског народа VI I* 1983: 149]. Parion Ruvarac, on the other hand, as a loyal subject of Austria-Hungary, was not always immune to the initiatives which, ahead of celebrations of dates from the Kosovo tradition and national history, aimed to rein in Serbian nationalism and strengthen the Austrian influence [Сувајчић 2007: 230–231, 361–394].

During the period of modernism, in the early 20th century, Kosovo and the related lore found themselves at the center of Serbian culture and politics. The poem *At Gazimestan* by Milan Rakić, Serbian consul in Priština and Ljuba Kovačević's son-in-law, published in the elite *Serbian Literary Herald* in 1907 (reprinted in the collection *New Poems*, as part of the cycle *In Kosovo* in 1912), provided the first incentives for new interpretations. The poem highlighted, among other things, the “sacrificial” “sacred source,” interpreted in the patriotic key:

“And today, when the last battle comes,
Unirradiated by the glow of the old halo,
I will give my life, to you my fatherland
Knowing what I give, and why I give it.”

[Ракић 2015: 91; Ракић 1985].

Sculptures by Dalmatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, meant to be a part of his monumental Vidovdan (St. Vitus Day) Temple, were also an important incentive. They were recognized as the official, artistic form of the Vidovdan idea, around which the Yugoslav youth movement rallied. The Vidovdan idea, as Isidora Sekulić called it (1911), or the Vidovdan ethics, as Miloš Đurić called it (1914), was a return to heroic and “sacrificial” Kosovo lore. Vidovdan Day, as the day of the Battle of Kosovo, had since the time of publishing of Vuk Karadžić's collections experienced renewed popularity [Марковић 2006–2007: 47]. The new, Vidovdan idea emerged largely among the younger generations, in the period after the Annexation Crisis of 1908–1909 and aimed to restore vigor and self-confidence to Serbian culture, faced with the colonial ambitions of and threats of war from Austria-Hungary. It can be said that it was the Serbian echo of vitalism and heroic activism, preached at the time by Henri Bergson and Friedrich Nietzsche. Miloš Đurić interpreted the “philosophy of Kosovo” as “the philosophy of the phoenix, the philosophy of Golgotha,” whereas Isidora Sekulić wrote that the Vidovdan idea should be “a vivid and agile awareness of falcons and soldiers and cultural workers” “which will turn us into ramparts that do not fall” [Секулић 2016: 426; Ђурић 1914: 79; *Ivan Meštrović* 1919; Шијаковић 2015].

Faced with Roman Catholic, Austro-Hungarian trials and tribulations, comparable only to the previous Muslim, Turkish invasion, the republican nation was discovering its Orthodox, covenantal heritage. That fact that the Vidovdan idea ahead of 1914 did not boil down only to the “sacrificial” source, “unirradiated by the glow of the old halo”, was confirmed by the appearance of the book *Njegoš's Religion* (in the magazine *Delo* in 1910, as a book in 1911),

by young theologian Nikolaj Velimirović, whose sermons were listened to and read with absolute attention. Kosovo lore and the work of Njegoš were there reinterpreted in the original Christian, covenantal key. In the opinion of then member of the Young Bosnia movement, Ivo Andrić, Velimirović's interpretations were closest to Njegoš's "Christ-like view of the world" [Андрић 1981: 26]. Dimitrije Mitrinović, one of the ideologues of Young Bosnia, who sang the praises of Meštrović's sculptures, would later have quite an influence on the ideas of Nikolaj Velimirović [Митриновић 1911: 717–727, 802–808, 884–888; Биговић 1998: 53–55; P. Palavestra 1977; Хамовић 2016: 72–86]. Jovan Skerlić, the leading public figure of the Serbian and Yugoslav movement in the period 1908–1914, approvingly observed these trends among young writers and artists [Скерлић 1913: 220; Скерлић 1911: 933–940; Ковић 2015a 576–578; Лубардић 2015: 328–357].

At the same time, the public in Serbia anxiously watched the process of systematic expulsion of the Serb population from Kosovo and Metohija. The privileged, Muslim Albanian outlaws and "muhaxhirë," refugees from the areas Serbia liberated in 1878, had the tacit support of the Turkish authorities in their persecution of the local Serbs. The Islamization of this border area of the Ottoman Empire with Serbia, in the period from the creation of the Albanian League in 1878 to liberation in 1912, led to a change in ethnic relations in Kosovo and Metohija and, for the first time, to the creation of an Albanian majority. "The war for avenging Kosovo," as the First Balkan War (1912) was called, would according to contemporaries' testimonies be one of the most popular wars the Serbs waged in the 19th and 20th century. The liberation of Old Serbia imbued the Serbian and Yugoslav idea with undreamed-of enthusiasm and confidence and set the ruling circles in Austria-Hungary in their intent to finally deal away with Serbia [Терзић 2012: 113–231; Војводић, 2000: 7–103, 303–417; Bataković 2012: 59–77; Богдановић 1990: 175–216].

The Vidovdan assassination in Sarajevo was largely based on the pattern of Miloš's murdering the tyrant in Kosovo. Gavrilo Princip, Nedeljko Čabrinović and Trifko Grabež saw Austro-Hungarian military maneuvers and the visit of heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand to Sarajevo, exactly on St. Vitus Day, as a deliberate national insult. They said in the investigation that they had wanted to carry out the assassination even before they had learned about the date of the visit, but also that they had wanted to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of their people. Čabrinović even claimed that, like slandered Miloš Obilić, by killing the tyrant he had wanted to clear his name, seeing as his father and he had been accused in Sarajevo of being Austrian informants. "Tomorrow is Vidovdan. Do you remember Miloš's covenant?" Čabrinović wrote to a friend ahead of June 28, 1914 [Dedijer 1978: 419; Ковић 2014: 36–38].

In all the trials and tribulations, from the Annexation Crisis of 1908 to the end of World War I, *gusle* players used poems about Lazar, Miloš and Karadorđe, or new and freshly created ones about King Petar and his voivode (Field Marshals), to encourage the Serbs in the same way their predecessors had done in the First Serbian Uprising a hundred years earlier [Винавер 1979: 5–13. Вучетић 1924; Guzina 1924]. Kosovo lore was not without influence on

the decisions made by the Serbian military and civilian authorities in World War I, especially those on refusing surrender, leaving the country and retreating through Montenegro and Albania (1915). As fate would have it, during the retreat in November 1915 the entire Serbian army found itself at Kosovo Polje. Sources reported that the army leaders, soldiers and civilians were deeply aware of the symbolism of the event and wondered whether the Serbs would again, precisely at Kosovo Polje, lose their freedom. *Voivoda* Živojin Mišić unsuccessfully demanded that the crucial battle against a superior enemy take place there. The last failed attempt at the Serbian army's breakthrough to the south and the Allies, known as the Kačanik Maneuver, also took place in Kosovo [Ковић 2017: 202–231].

While the Serbs were going through the Albanian plight and rehabilitation on Corfu, the Allies, in a bid to hearten them to fight to the end on the Salonika front, too, marked Vidovdan with ceremonies. Poet Gilbert Keith Chesterton claimed in a brochure of the British Kosovo Day Committee, printed in 85,000 copies, that the Kosovo idea best expressed the spiritual goals of the Allies in World War I [*The Lay of Kossovo* 1917: 32; *Kossovo Day* 1916].

The Cult of Vidovdan became, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and subsequently in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a part of official culture. That was one of the reasons for the hostility with which Croatian parties and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia received it. Ivan Meštrović himself, whom King Aleksandar Karađorđević wanted to appoint court artist and with whose works he decorated the capital city, sided with the Croatian nationalists [Meštrović 1969].

The Belgrade military coup and the mass demonstrations on March 27, 1941, which rejected the signing of the Tripartite Pact with the fascist countries, were, similarly to the Vidovdan assassination, an expression of a readiness to make a sacrifice and thus earn the Kingdom of Heaven. The Serbian Orthodox Church put up persistent resistance to the signing of the Tripartite Pact. It is believed that Patriarch Gavriilo Dožić and Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović knew about preparations for the coup. Right after the coup, the patriarch gave a speech on the radio in which he said, among other things:

“In these days, fate has again posed the question before our nation as to which empire it will choose. This morning at dawn, that question was answered: we have chosen the kingdom of heaven, i.e. God's kingdom of truth and justice, national harmony and freedom.” [Радић 2011: 349].

At the very start of the 1941 uprising, the biggest armed operation was carried out on St. Vitus Day, led by priests and uncaptured royal officers, and it was an attack on an Ustasha unit in Avtovac near Gacko, in eastern Herzegovina. The first outlawed Herzegovinians, from the nearby village of Kazanci, were led by their priest Radojica Perišić. The oath before a big attack on the Germans in Loznica, which was commanded, among others, by Hegoumenos Georgije Bojić and priest Vlada Zečević, in August 1941, was sworn in the Tronoša Monastery, the center of the Kosovo Covenant and especially of the cult of Jug Bogdan and the Jugović brothers [Petranović 1992: 128, 182, 183; Karchmar 1987: 177-372, 444-457; Мاستиловић 2009: 12-16, 182-184].

Heroism, however, always had a price, which was not paid only in human casualties. The sacred relics of Prince Lazar, Emperor Uroš and Stevan Štiljanović were rescued from the Croatian Ustasha without any epic glamour, with the help of the German Nazis; in 1942, they were transported from Srem to occupied Belgrade [Дурковић-Јакшић 1981: 215–228]. In Kosovo and Метохија, which were given over to fascist Greater Albania, renewed systematic persecution of Serbs resumed [Ković 2001: 79–93; Bataković 2012: 97–103; Богдановић 1990, 243–257].

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia would, even after 1945, condemn the “Greater Serbian” “Vidovdan idea” of the Karadorđević dynasty¹⁰. The partisan army, however, largely consisted of Serbs, recruited among other things with the help of the epic, heroic, *gusle*-playing perception of Kosovo lore. Literary critic Zoran Mišić would in his article entitled *What Is the Kosovo Commitment* (1963) notice a similarity between the slogans at the demonstrations of March 27, 1941 and “Better that we die in the endeavor than live in shame” and other statements from *A Word About Prince Lazar* by Danilo III [Мишић 2016: 428]. That, in his opinion, was the essence of the Kosovo choice: “the choice of the most difficult, most deadly path, which is the only right path”; “to give up all that is deceptive gain and rapacious glory, abandon that which is achievable for the love of the unachievable, to wish like Njegoš that what cannot happen happens” [Мишић 2016]. In subsequent socialist times, a whole host of Serbian authors would find inspiration in Kosovo lore [Хамовић 2016a: 183–332].

In socialist Yugoslav culture, Njegoš was given due attention, but as an artist and freedom fighter grown on epic heritage; even Andrić was berated for “pro-regime” writing, with regard to Njegoš, about the Kosovo Covenant and the “Kosovo mystery”. On that trail was the demolition of the Chapel of Njegoš on Mt. Lovćen, which King Aleksandar Karadorđević had reconstructed after World War I, and the construction of the Meštrović Mausoleum in its place (opened in 1974). Along with the start of the Albanian uprising in Kosovo in 1968, that event was one of the main incentives for the Serbs’ increasing discontent and political mobilization. They were also fueled by historians’ subsequent findings about the territorial promises made to Albanian communists already during World War II for the sake of creating a joint, Balkan communist confederation [Кљакић и Пековић 2013, 153–382; Ђурић Мишина 2012: 319–330; Богдановић 1990: 265–299; Терзић 2012: 269–305].

The expulsion of Serbs from Kosovo and Метохија, however, continued in socialist Yugoslavia, too. It turned out that, after decades of official atheism, Kosovo lore did not inspire only artists. The protests of the Kosovo Serbs in the 1980s, in response to a new Albanian uprising in 1981, quickly turned into a mass movement for changing Serbia’s unenviable constitutional position within the Yugoslav federation, which prevented it from governing Kosovo and Метохија [Терзић 2012; 307–500; Bataković 2012: 103–222; Bataković 1992, 9–34; Богдановић 1990: 301–314].

¹⁰ For the Communist Party of Yugoslavia’s conflict with the “Greater Serbian idea” s. [Gligorijević1992].

The Serbian Orthodox Church also played an important role in those processes. It had long been warning about the expulsion of Serbs and endangerment of Serbian spiritual and cultural heritage in Kosovo and Metohija [Епископ Атанасије 2016; Јањић 2016: 39–49; Патријарх Павле 2014: 48–80]. Furthermore, it had preserved the interpretation of Kosovo lore as the Kosovo Covenant, close to the original meanings of the cult of Prince Lazar. The cult was particularly revived in the 20th century by Nikolaj Velimirović and Justin Popović. Writing about “our gospel of Lazar, of St. Vitus, of Kosovo,” Justin Popović explained that it meant “to sacrifice the temporary for the sake of the eternal, the earthly for the sake of the heavenly”:

“This is none other than our own, people’s edition of the Gospel of Christ, because the main law of the Gospel of the God-Man is this: ‘If a grain of wheat does not fall onto the ground and does not die, it remains one; if it dies, it gives a plentiful harvest’” [Поповић 2016: 453; такође: Епископ Николај 2013: 143–173; Епископ Николај 1983: 321–388].

The first pebble that would then start the avalanche of the Yugoslav crisis and the destruction of Yugoslavia, thus, broke off in Kosovo. With NATO’s aggression against FR Yugoslavia in 1999, followed by the until then biggest ethnic cleansing of Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija, property theft and the destruction of cultural monuments of their material culture, the Kosovo problem again grew beyond the framework of the Serbian–Albanian conflict [Bataković 2012: 131–332]. This time, it caused a great global crisis the consequences of which, as it is evident today, would long be felt in international relations.

* * *

The duration of Kosovo lore and its essential link to the Serbs’ national identity can to a great extent be explained by the historical model offered by the works of Anthony Smith. Not only Serbian historical sources, but also the works of Anthony Smith, Eric Hobsbawm and other writers, testify that a “proto-national” identity, based on the church cults of national saints and on lore, can be found with the Serbs, similar to the English or Russians, already in the Middle Ages. In the time of Prince Lazar and the Battle of Kosovo, the myth of “ancestry” and “the golden age” was placed in the time of Saint Simeon and Saint Sava, “firm champions of their fatherland”; in subsequent times, the Serbs would seek their “ancestry” and “golden age” not only in the time of Saint Sava and Saint Simeon, but also in the time of Prince Lazar and his feat.

Kosovo is for the Serbs what Smith calls “holy land.” A great, fateful battle was fought there; heroes, martyrs and prophets lived, died and were buried there. The cult of Prince Lazar had from its very beginnings been the cult of the holy ruler – martyr. All of his fallen warriors were also “holy martyrs” and “sacrifices for faith and the fatherland”.

Judging by the source material, the Serbs were a covenantal community already in the Middle Ages, where they undoubtedly, in the spirit of the feudal period, retained the characteristics of a hierarchical nation. The covenantal perception of common origin, accompanied by comparisons with Old Testament leaders of the Jewish people and calling the Serbs “New Israel”, was tied already

to Saint Sava and Saint Simeon. Lazar's Kosovo Covenant, as rejection of the Kingdom on Earth and the choice of the Kingdom of Heaven, would only be confirmation of the older covenant of Saint Sava and the New Testament of Jesus Christ. The lore of the collapse of the Serbian empire and Turkish occupation as punishment for the sins of the ancestors also suits the typology of "covenantal peoples," which, like in the Old Testament, believe in God's punishment for abandoning the Covenant.

All the key motifs of the Kosovo Covenant were created already in the 14th and 15th century, and then by the end of the 15th century defamation, betrayal, and the heroism of Miloš Obilić were added to it. As treason was in the 16th and early 17th century tied to the name of Vuk Branković, the Covenant was fully shaped.

The main foothold of the Kosovo Covenant in foreign empires was the Patriarchate of Peć. In the language of Anthony Smith, if in the Middle Ages a covenant was joined with the hierarchical understanding of nation, after the collapse of Serbian states and nobility, with the continuation of religious wars, as believers of a different religion in the Muslim Ottoman Empire and Roman Catholic Habsburg Empire the Serbs led by the Church remained primarily a covenantal nation.

In later centuries, with the liberation of Montenegro and Serbia and Vuk Karadžić's reform, the epic, heroic interpretation of Kosovo lore suppressed its Christian, clerical, covenantal meaning. Behind the covenantal the republican nation loomed, too. In the spirit of the Enlightenment and Romanticist cult of science, in the 19th century, an age of great polemics on the historical foundation of Kosovo lore, a third, historiographic interpretation was created, which searched for exact facts and dismissed lore as completely useless. Within this tradition, voices appeared seeking a comparative study of lore and historical facts.

The decisions that were made in the two world wars confirmed the strength of Kosovo lore, perceived as a struggle for the Kingdom of Heaven and Heavenly Justice, in which, due to the greatness of the cause, no one asks about the price. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia tried to incorporate the Vidovdan idea in the foundations of its official cultural pattern. Socialist Yugoslavia also rested on the epic, heroic interpretation of Kosovo lore. At the same time, the Serbian Church nurtured a continuous tradition of covenantal understanding of Kosovo lore, which can be traced up to the present day.

The last decades of the 19th and first decades of the 21st century confirmed the power of Kosovo lore. It remains to be seen what the effect of NATO's attack on FR Yugoslavia and the occupation of Kosovo and Metohija will have on Kosovo lore, but also on the fate of the Balkan peoples.

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ENVIRONMENTAL AND HEALTH EFFECTS OF DEPLETED URANIUM USED IN THE NATO AGGRESSION AGAINST FRY

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SUMMARY: The recent war histories of the Balkans and the Persian Gulf between 1992 and 2002 correlate with the numerous health consequences of recurrent exposure to low-slow radiation doses derived from military usage of depleted uranium. The University Clinical Center of Serbia confirmed the study of reliable medical evidence on the health effects of depleted uranium, both early and delayed. In pediatric patients from Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, pneumonia has been confirmed following the bombardment of the FRY by missiles containing depleted uranium in their penetrators.

This low-slow radiation dose pneumonitis is cytologically and clinically distinct from high-dose radiation pneumonitis, which develops after an accident or therapeutic procedures. The most prevalent pathologies over a protracted course include malignant diseases, prenatal malformations, thyroid gland function problems, and Gulf/Balkan War syndrome over a protracted course. The Gulf/Balkan War syndrome affects both military people and civilians; it has several causes, affects multiple systems, and presents as non-cancerous illnesses and malignancies over time.

Our knowledge has evolved from *in vitro* studies to a deeper understanding of unexpected and poorly understood natural events, whose consequences may develop depending on the lithosphere, atmosphere, ionosphere, and biosphere interactions.

There is a ton of information available on the environmental and health repercussions of uranium employed by the military, despite the forced toleration and quiet enforced by NATO in the nations attacked by missiles with DU penetrators since the last decade of the XX century. Members of the NATO alliance close to bombarded areas are exposed to polluted aerosols too, which increases their chance of developing malignant illnesses comparable to those seen in bombed nations. Minimizing and obscuring the effects of depleted uranium bombardment prolongs an experiment *in vivo* with an uncertain and tragic ending.

KEY WORDS: Depleted uranium, Health effects, Environment, Low-slow radiation doses, Pneumonitis, Cancer

Uranium is a naturally occurring, ubiquitous, heavy metal. Natural uranium (NU) is in various chemical forms in all soils, rocks, seas, and oceans, and uranium is also present in drinking water and food. NU consists of a mixture of three different isotopes: U-238 (99.27% by mass), U-235 (0.72%), and U-234 (0.0054%) [WHO 2001]. U-235 is a fissile radioactive isotope which is a primordial nuclide, existing in nature in its present form since before the creation of Earth [WISE 2011]. A by-product of uranium enrichment is depleted uranium (DU). DU contains less uranium-234 and uranium-235 per unit weight than natural uranium [Burger 2012]. The concentration of U-235 in DU is approximately 30–40% of that in NU [WISE 2011]. Natural and depleted uranium differ in their isotopic composition, but both are α , β , and γ emitters, with a dominant alpha radiation emitted during their radioactive decay [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. Small amounts of plutonium and U-236 were found in missiles on the territory of the Republic of Serbia. These isotopes are absent from the natural uranium, indicating the use of recycled reactor fuel for the missiles used by NATO aggression against FRY in 1999 [Fairlie 2009]. The presence of plutonium in the external environment represents one of the tremendous nuclear threats due to the enormous radio and chemical toxicity of this radionuclide [Perelygin et al. 2001].

CONTROVERSIES RELATED TO DU TOXICITY

DU exerts mixed, radioactive (α , β , γ) emission and chemical toxicity of heavy metal. While depleted uranium is less radioactive than natural uranium, it retains all the chemical toxicity associated with the original element [Briner 2010]. DU was considered a Group III agent in 1999 (not classifiable as carcinogenic to humans) by the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC). The knowledge concerning uranium or DU toxicity has evolved. [Baverstock 2006] reported DU is a Group I agent – as the alpha emitter is carcinogenic to humans.

DEPLETED URANIUM AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Depleted uranium was used in NATO military actions approximately every four years since 1991 (Iraq 1991, Bosnia 1994–1995, Kosovo, Serbia, and Montenegro 1999, Afghanistan 2001–2003, Iraq 2003–2011) [Zunic and Rakic 2016], which has induced the low dose radiation (air pollution easily transferable to the remote distances from the place of explosion), slow doses (DU remnants can oxidize into corrosion products twenty-five to thirty-five years after impact) [Burger 2012] which maintains alpha particle radiation [Zunic and Rakic 2013] (Figure 1).

High explosion temperatures (more than 3,000°C) of missiles with uranium penetrators deliberated smaller particles of radioactive gas. Up to 70% of the DU penetrators convert to aerosols. The dimensions of DU particles are inversely proportional to their penetrability [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. The firing of DU munitions can immediately contaminate air, soil, and water with the ingestible radio-chemo-toxic DU particles [Military Toxics Project Information Sheet 2003].



Figure 1. Schematic presentation of the potentially exposed area after the bombing of targets in the Persian Gulf, the Balkans, and Afghanistan with depleted uranium projectiles. The thick black circle outlines approximately 2,400 miles around the Persian Gulf. The thin black circle schematically represents approximately 2,400 miles around Bosnia and Herzegovina. The dashed black circle schematically represents approximately 2,400 miles around Serbia. The punctuated circle schematically represents approximately 2,400 miles around Afghanistan [Zunic 2015: 53–86].

IS DEPLETED URANIUM A NUCLEAR WEAPON?

About 3,000 tons of munitions with penetrators of DU were used during the Gulf Wars and in the Balkans. It means that for the period 1991–2011, at a distance of fewer than 2,000 miles (1,500 miles is the distance between the airport in Baghdad and the airport in Belgrade), exploded nuclear missiles contained about 6 tons of U-235! It also means that used U-235 is enough to build about 170 replicas of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima (Figure 2, Figure 3)! The territory of Serbia was contaminated not only during the direct bombing during the NATO aggression in 1999 but repeatedly, starting from the first Gulf War until today [Zunic 2016].

The combustion processes create particulate pollution that is released into the environment [Gatti and Montanari 2004]. Busby and Morgan [2006] reported exposure to the dispersion of a new type of uranium, non-soluble ceramic submicron oxide particles, especially in countries closer to bombing with projectiles containing DU. Although uranium is one of the densest metals

known, the uranium oxides in the smoke and dust have less density and remain suspended in the air for a long time. These aerosols can contain nano-sized particles of uranium oxide between 0.1 and 10 microns in diameter, which can be inhaled and deposited in the lungs [Al-Muqdad and Al-Ansari 2009].

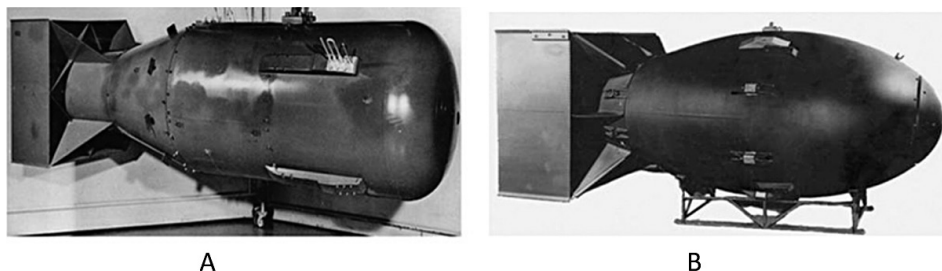


Figure 2. **A.** Little Boy bomb; 1945 August 6th Hiroshima; diameter 0.7 m; 35 kg U-235 [Hansen, C. The Little Boy Bomb. Copy from U.S. National Archives, RG 77-AEC. The Swords of Armageddon: U.S. Nuclear Weapons Development Since 1945. Sunnyvale, CA: Chukelea Publications. (ed.). 1995. [National Archives and Records Administration as part of a cooperation project] [08:53, 2010 January 21] (2016 May 12) (This file was provided to Wikimedia Commons by the National Archives and Records Administration as part of a cooperation project). **B.** The Fat Man; 1945 August 9th; Nagasaki; diameter 1.5 m; 6.2 kg Pu-239. Permission to copy, distribute and or modify this document under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License, Version 1.2 or any later version published by the Free Software Foundation with no Invariant Sections, no Front-Cover Texts, and no Back-Cover Texts. This image is a work of a U.S. military or Department of Defense employee, taken or made as part of that person's official duties. As a work of the U.S. federal government, the image is in the public domain. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Adopted from: [Zunic 2016].

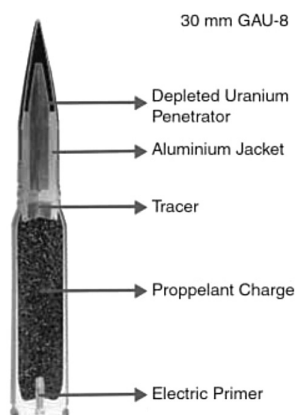


Figure 3. Armor-piercing round with depleted uranium penetrator. From [UNEP. Depleted Uranium in Kosovo Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment 2001].

The military use of armaments with penetrators of DU was the reason for radiation and chemical contamination of broad territories of Africa, Europe, and Asia for more than three decades (Figure 1) [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. DU is a nuclear weapon that exerts chemical and radioactive toxicity in the environment and health, giving characteristics to the NATO war since 1990 as a **global hybrid nuclear-and-chemical war**.

Numerous targets of NATO bombing are in the basins of large rivers, towns, and industrial centers. The toxic substances from chemical plants contaminate the environment. The transfer of contaminated aerosol by air, and the uncontrolled ionization that occurs in the interaction of radiation with matter (air) cause numerous physical phenomena that are empirically unknown. Nuclear weapons have changed the **atmosphere into a global military tool** [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

Based on authentic medical data, we reported that military use of DU induces a misbalance between natural equilibrium conditions and human health [Zunic and Rakic 2013; 2016].

ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF DEPLETED URANIUM

The uncontrolled military use of high amounts of DU has coincided with numerous unusual environmental and physical manifestations in the last 20 years. Simultaneous monitoring of natural phenomena on earth and in the atmosphere has revealed exceptional parallelism between the phenomena in the environment and the living world: an increased number of earthquakes [Ellsworth 2013], elevated humidity in the environment [IGMASS 2012], an increased number of forest fires [Jovanovic and Oldja 2007; Rekecewicz 2007], and increased extreme weather events in the period 2000–2010 [EEA 2012], which coincided with the excessive use of DU for military purposes during the Second Gulf War.

After the local military use of DU ammunition, much wider territories have been contaminated by radioactive aerosols. It is possible to speak about global contamination [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. The particles fall very slowly from the air and contaminate the ground, grass, vegetables, and fruit, entering the alimentary chain. From the rain, those particles could penetrate the earth and enter springs and subterranean waters [WHO 2001]. Forest fires in the Balkans were the most frequent during the bombing of targets in Serbia and Bosnia (Figure 4).

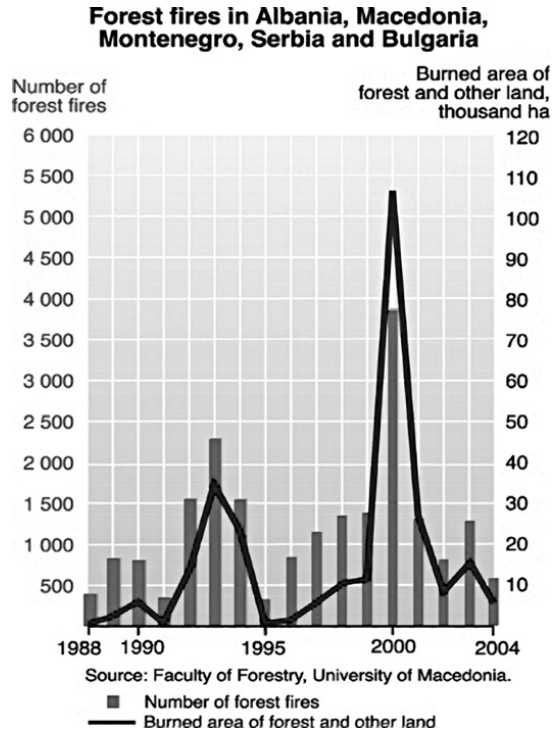


Figure 4. The number of forest fires in Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria, and their extensiveness [Rekacewicz 2007: 72].

These data were in good correlation with the data of Serbian authors Jovanovic and Oldja [2007], as shown in Figure 5 (although not available more online at <http://www.grida.no/files/publications/balkan-vital-graphics/balkans-vital-graphic-full.pdf>):

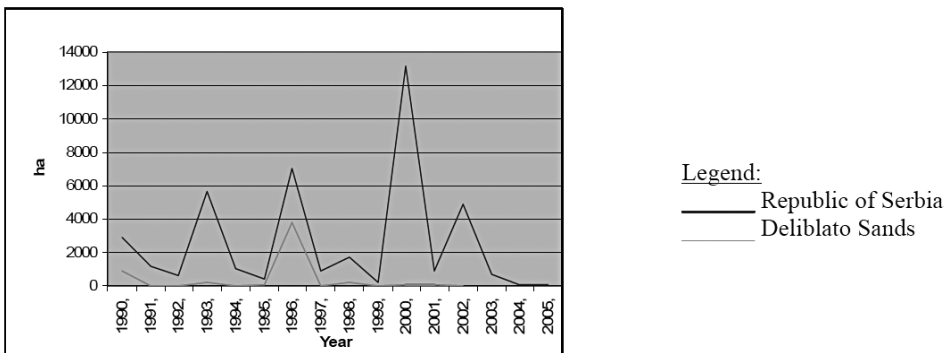


Figure 5. Review of the burned areas by year from 1990–2005. Reproduced with permission of [Jovanovic and Oldja 2007].

Prominent peaks were detected from 1995–1997 (after the bombing of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which borders Serbia) and 1999–2001 after the bombing of Serbia in 1999 (Figure 5) [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

Uranium is pyrophoric. It may spontaneously ignite in air, oxygen, and water, in a carbon dioxide or nitrogen atmosphere at 200–400°C. Pyrophoricity is related to the heat produced in the micropores of the metal. The uranium oxidation may result in an explosion [Durakovic 1999; Burger 2012]. Powders of Aluminum and zirconium mixed with uranium may be both pyrophoric and explosive [Durakovic 1999].

Forest fires may be caused by the self-igniting remnants of exploded armaments with DU or by unexploded items in that region [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. More than 1,700 forest fires occurred in the Republic of Serbia from 1990 to 2005, including about 40,000 ha [Jovanovic and Oldja 2007]. Every explosion or flaming of contaminated land or plants can re-suspend the absorbed radioactive particles, causing a prolonged and increasing risk of re-contamination [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

Zunic and Rakic [2013] reported that smoke stopped alpha particles. Nano-sized particles of radioactive fumes originating from the battlefields, which comprise micro- or nano-sized charged particles of depleted uranium, can be adsorbed on smoke and dust particles in the Atmosphere. The excess of positively charged ionizing alpha particles from artificial sources of uranium decay can temporarily concentrate the air pollution above big cities. Stein and Toda [2013] discussed the big-cities-big-earthquakes relation between Santiago and Tokyo. Oyama [2012] reported that the alpha rays on Japan's seaside had been too high, even compared to the contamination situation in Fukushima. He suspected that it might be from past nuclear tests.

Sir William and Lady Huggins were the first to report light induced by α -particles in the Atmosphere [Sand et al. 2014]. Compared to the total diameter and surface of the earth, the local battlefields can be considered as point sources of radioactive gaseous uranium oxides injected into the Atmosphere. These particles are a source of α -, β -, and γ -radiation [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. The Earth is a nearly conducting sphere around which the dielectric Atmosphere extends to the Ionosphere. Electric discharges in the Atmosphere produce electromagnetic waves in broadband propagation between the surfaces of the earth and the Ionosphere [Simões, Pfaff and Freudenreich 2011]. Every second, a thunderstorm induces about 50 light flashes in the atmosphere, contributing to electromagnetic waves around the Earth. Certain electromagnetic waves (~ 8 Hz, ~ 14 Hz, and ~ 20 Hz) interfere and create the Schumann resonance in the Atmosphere [Miller 2013]. Radioactive particles of depleted uranium in the Atmosphere interact with matter through fluorescence effects and luminescence. The cavity that extends between the Earth's surface and the Ionosphere is the space where photons interact with the Schumann resonance (Figure 6).

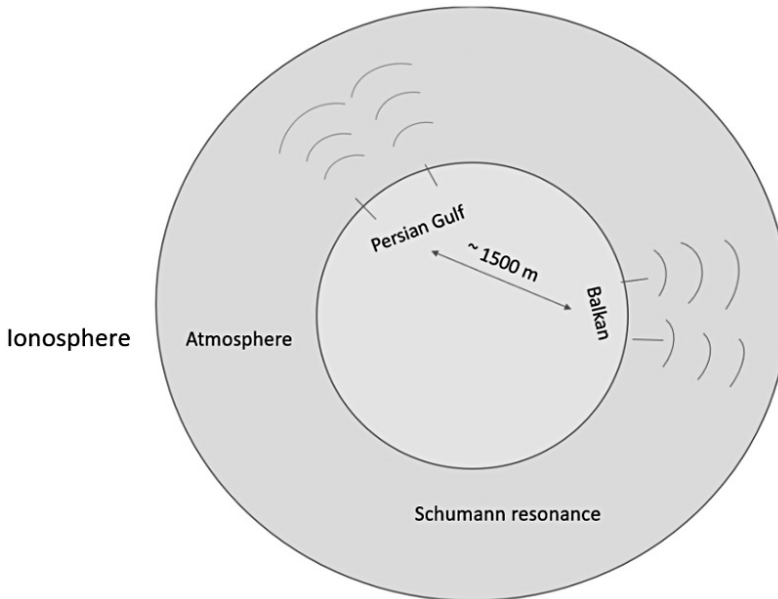


Figure 6. Interaction of light beams and Schumann resonance in the atmosphere. According to NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center. [Schumann resonance animation. NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Schumann_resonance_animation.ogg] [January 11, 2012]. [Zunic 2016].

THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF DEPLETED URANIUM ON GLOBAL WARMING

The following assumption is helpful for better understanding how DU used for the military by NATO can influence the environment: 1 gram of uranium gives energy equal to ~ 3 tons of coal [Robinson 1987]. The complete fission of 1.0 kilogram of U-235 releases 19 trillion kcal – the energy equivalent of burning 2.7 million kilograms of coal [AFP 2015]. From about 3,000 tons of DU used during the bombing of the Persian Gulf and the territory of the former SFRY (1990–2011), 6.0 tons is U-235, which is the energy equivalent of burning 16,200 million kilograms of coal on the surface of the Earth in a period of 2 to 3 decades [Zunic 2016].

The effect of warming the Atmosphere is partly a consequence of the enormous ionization of air caused by charged particles and γ -photons released during the radioactive decay of artificially scattered DU particles from the military.

The increased frequency of climatic and temperature extremes contributes to the disturbance of the balance of natural resources, leading to unpredictable and often catastrophic phenomena in the external environment. Large amounts of uranium oxide fumes discharged from the battlefields in the Persian Gulf, the Balkans, Afghanistan, and other places into the Atmosphere contribute to sudden artificial imprints of charged particles, resulting in induced light pulses

in the Atmosphere. After colliding with high-energy protons and nuclear fragments from cosmic rays, a “runaway process” can initiate light in the Atmosphere [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

RADIOBIOLOGY OF DEPLETED URANIUM

Repeated-low-slow doses of radiation in living tissue induce a superimposed trend of damage to biological structures, which is the basis of the Petkau effect (Figures 7 and 8) in parallel with the radiation decrease. Long-term exposure of cells to low-slow radiation doses causes a lethal effect due to free oxygen radicals (ROS – Reactive Oxygen Species) generation. The biological effect of ionizing radiation relates to the damage of mitochondria and other organelles by membrane peroxidation, which is inversely proportional to the doses of ionizing radiation in a given time interval [Djurovic et al. 2004; 2008].

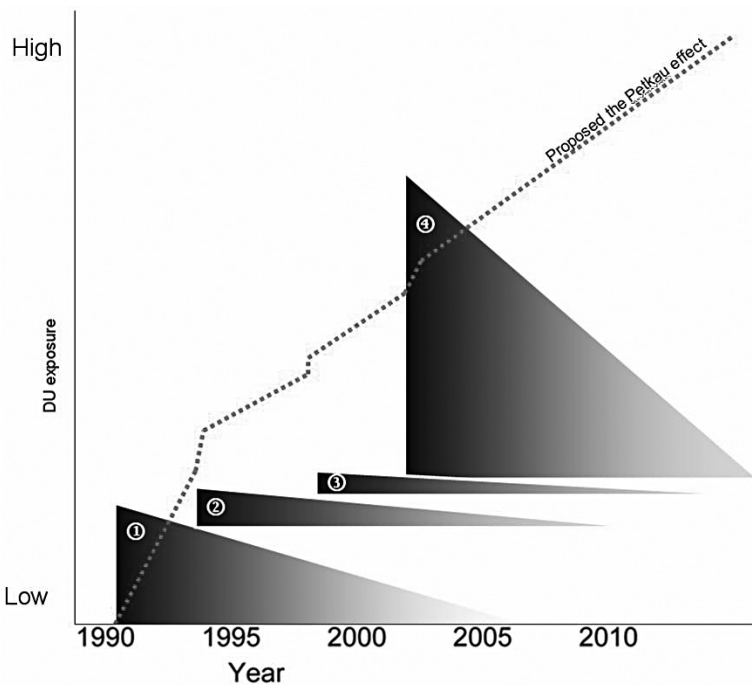


Figure 7. Presentation of the proposed in vivo Petkau effect related to repeated exposures to depleted uranium. The dark grey to pale grey contours represent proposed exposures to alpha, beta, and gamma radiation that originated from depleted uranium missiles in military campaigns: ① the First Gulf War (1990-1991), ② the bombing of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1994–1995), ③ the bombing of Serbia (1999) ④ the Second Gulf War (2003–2011). The different sizes of the shaded areas symbolize the difference in quantities of depleted uranium armaments used during military campaigns. The black dashed line symbolizes the proposed in vivo Petkau effect. Adopted with permission of [Zunic 2013-1], from [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

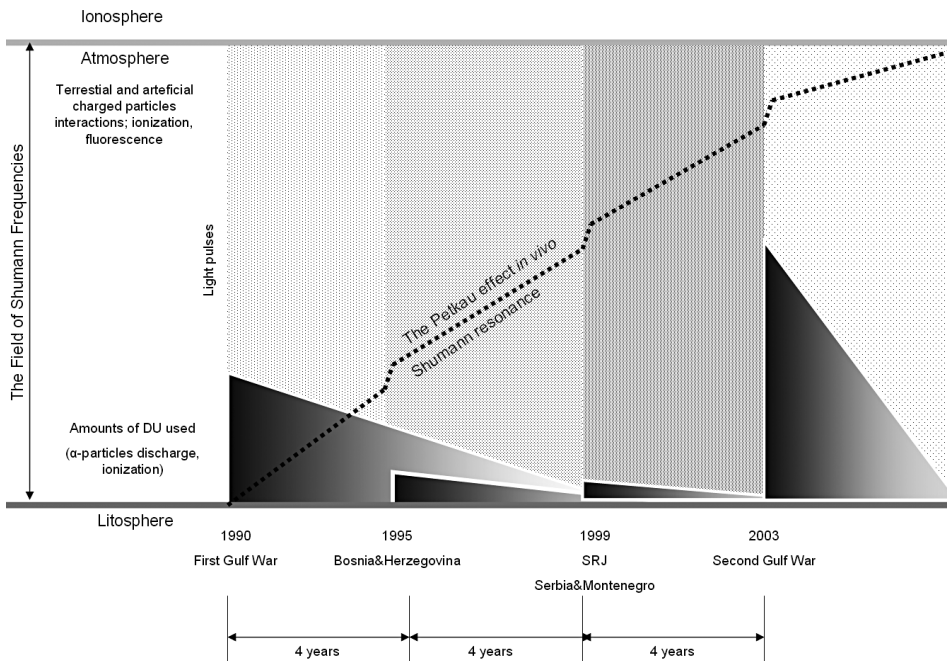


Figure 8. Impact of the military use of DU on the Lithosphere-Atmosphere-Ionosphere and the Biosphere coupling. Light effects in the Atmosphere inversely correlate to the amounts of depleted uranium used for military purposes [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

Hydrogen bond breaking induces the biological effects of low-slow radiation doses [Dertinger and Jung 1970]. Although weak, hydrogen bonds keep the DNA molecule intact, which is necessary for maintaining the molecular mechanisms of cellular processes and inheritance.

The target principle, according to which the biological effects of radiation occur only when the energy of ionizing radiation hits the cell core, is one of the long-standing dogmas of radiobiology [Morgan 2003]. Conversely, there are data on genomic instability in cells not directly affected by radiation. The bystander effect, genomic instability, induction genes, hypersensitivity to low doses of radiation, and adaptive response are the most common manifestations of cellular response in cells surrounding the target [Prise et al. 2002]. Genomic instability is the basis for the emergence of gene and chromosomal mutation aberrations. It is transmitted to future generations of cells and can lead to the formation of cancer [Prise et al. 2002; Morgan 2003].

ROUTES OF DEPLETED URANIUM ENTERING THE BODY

As a nuclear weapon, DU from penetrators of armaments contaminates the environment. Internal contamination occurs through inhalation of aerosols containing DU, ingestion of contaminated food and water, or contamination of

open wounds on the skin and mucous membranes with uranium dust [Military Toxics Project Information Sheet 2003; Mehra and Mittal 2016]. Inhalation of aerosols contaminated with the fumes of depleted uranium oxides is the dominant contamination path [Zunic and Rakic 2016] (Figure 7). After entering the body, DU particles remain deposited in lung tissue for years [WHO 2001]. Wang and coworkers [2020] discussed NU radio and chemotoxicity. Natural and depleted uranium are consistent with the same radionuclides but in different ratios [Zunic and Rakic 2016]. All the health risks upon NU exposure [Wang et al. 2020] are similar to those induced by DU: nephrotoxicity, bone toxicity, reproductive toxicity, hepatotoxicity, neurotoxicity, pulmonary toxicity, uranium-induced chemical toxicity, including oxidative stress, genetic damage, protein impairment, inflammation, metabolic disorders, etc.

The uranyl ion from the plasma complexes with bicarbonate, citrate anions, and proteins and is dispersed in body tissues. Uranium can be redeposited or excreted via urine, feces, and hair [Mehra and Kaur 2020].

No soluble DU particles with ceramic properties remain in the tissues for an unpredictable time. The biodistribution of OU particles depends on the routes of internal contamination and the size of the DU particles. Based on the “Trojan Horse effect” mediated by lysosomes [Park et al. 2010], the fine insoluble particles of DU cause harmful effects in the cell, facilitating the entry of other toxic components or interacting with cellular structures [Ortega et al. 2014; Sabella et al. 2014].

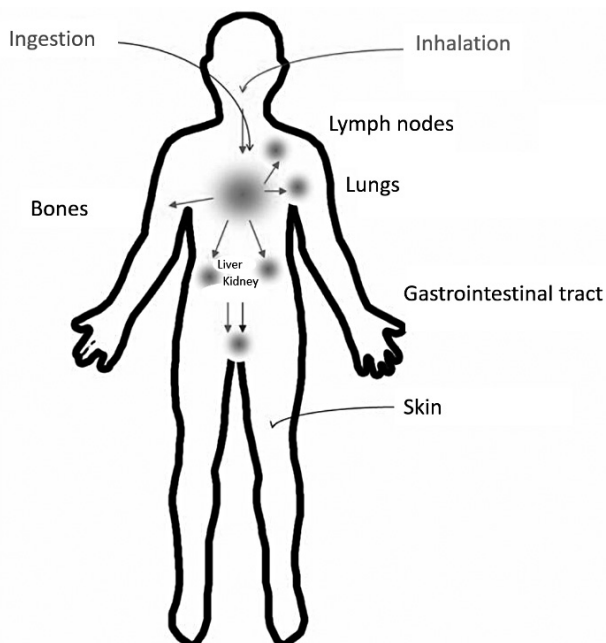


Figure 7. Presentation of the biodistribution pathways of depleted uranium in the body. According to [Zunic 2016].

HEALTH EFFECTS OF DEPLETED URANIUM

Internally deposited nano- or micro-sized particles of DU induce low-slow-dose effects in living tissues. The effect of low-slow radiation doses and their harmful effects on the cell have been discussed by Zunic and Rakic [2016]. The biological effects of DU are extensive and unpredictable, owing to their complex regulation, which is dependent on exposure as well as on genetic predisposition, health, age, and other individual factors. Long-term pulmonary retention of 1,470 days (approximately four years) after inhalation of uranium oxides induces a wide range of clinical manifestations depending on the individual predispositions of the exposed persons [Durakovic 1999].

Uranium oxide is considered relatively insoluble and remains in the lungs, with a biological half-life of 120 days, which poses a radiation hazard by irradiating alveolar tissue [Durakovic 1999]. Briner [2010] discussed that exposure to DU impairs the adaptive ability of exposed animals. Chronic low-dose exposure induces neurodevelopmental and neuropsychological effects. In an evaluation of human studies, the cancerogenic effect is documented in the population of Former Yugoslavia (increase in cervical carcinomas), Bosnia and Herzegovina (increases in micronuclei formation), and Gulf War veterans (suggestive chromosomal aberrations).

Repeated (approximately every fourth year) military use of ammunition with DU since 1991 (Iraq 1991, Bosnia 1994–1995, Serbia and Montenegro 1999, Afghanistan 2001–2003, Iraq 2003–2011...) is the cause of exposure to low doses of ionizing radiation, taking into account the low specific activity of DU, easy transferability to regions that are far from the place of explosion, and slow doses (long 25–30 year corrosion of DU residues on unexploded projectiles) [Burger 2012; Military Toxics Project Information Sheet, first version, 2003].

The effect of DU on health depends on the type and degree of exposure, particle size, chemical composition, and solubility [Burger 2012]. The biological effects of radiation depend on tissue characteristics such as oxygenation and volume of irradiated tissue, genetic predisposition, proliferation index, and homeostatic regulation [Pouget et al. 2015]. The largest DU particles after inhalation deposit in the lungs at a place of primary deposition after entering the body [Gatti and Montanari 2004]. Micro- and nanoparticles of DU can penetrate all tissues and cellular structures, crossing barriers without limit. Embedded micro- and nanoparticles of DU exhibit the toxic effect of heavy metal and the effect of mixed α -, β - and γ -radiation in the tissue. Nanoparticles lead to irreversible damage to cells by oxidative stress, which induces an inflammatory response [Xia et al. 2006; Limbach et al. 2007] by disrupting the regulation of cellular apoptosis [Buzea, Pacheco and Robbie 2007].

Depleted uranium from internal sources may cause autoinflammatory/autoimmune disorders accompanied by numerous symptoms and degenerative and inflammatory diseases due to the overwhelming radio-adaptive and radio-protective tissue capacity. Nanoparticles of uranium oxide can pass through the blood-brain barrier. Experimental exposure of animals to DU leads to

multisystem damage, including the brain. Disorders of coordination and mobility were observed [Seideman et al. 2011].

Particular tissues with an oxidative metabolism were targeted, like the kidneys and bones. Cancer is one of the late consequences of low-dose radiation [Zunic 2013a; Zunic and Rakic 2016].

The recent war history of the Balkans and the Persian Gulf from 1992–2002 relates to many medical phenomena resulting from repeated exposure to low doses of radiation originating from the military use of depleted uranium. The most common are Gulf/Balkan syndrome, disorders of thyroid gland function, fetal anomalies, and malignant diseases [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

Medical entities, such as **Balkan or Gulf War Syndrome**, are subsumed into the same entity as the time-dependent effects of DU on military personnel and exposed civilians. Gulf/Balkan War syndrome is a multicausal disease with multisystem involvement and time-dependent expression of nonmalignant diseases and cancers in later phases, targeting military personnel and civilians. Gulf Syndrome develops due to repeated exposure to low doses of mixed, predominantly alpha radiation originating from DU decay and chemical toxicity. Based on the demyelination process, neurological and psychiatric manifestations occur more frequently in Gulf War veterans than in civilian populations [Li et al. 2011]. Additionally, brain waves are “tuned” to some Schumann resonance frequencies [Miller 2013].

Schaefer, Bourland and Nyenhuis [2000] described a time-varying magnetic field induced by electric fields that can interfere with biological rhythms [Schaefer, Bourland and Nyenhuis 2000]. The electromagnetic field can interfere with brain regions that emit theta- and alpha-waves, induce the secretion of endorphins, catecholamines, enkephalin, and dynorphin, influence gene expression, and disrupt the basic integrative mechanisms of regulation in the human body [AGNIR 2004].

The radiobiological effect of α -particles depends on the uniformity of the distribution of radionuclide particles in the tissue [Muggenburg et al. 2008]. The bronchial lymph nodes receive significant radiation doses from internal sources of DU and fewer ones from extra-thoracic airways, the skeleton, kidneys, liver, and bone marrow (Figure 7). The lungs become a place of interaction between radiation emitted by inhaled DU particles and pulmonary immunocytes, including aggressive autoreactive T-lymphocytes with high migratory potential toward the central nervous system and other tissues. The emergence of potentially auto-aggressive T-lymphocytes and their migration into target tissues may underlie the development of autoimmune diseases [Odoardi et al. 2012]. Experimental results showed that the local presence of toxic particles in lung tissue leads to chronic inflammation that becomes the cause of lung tumors [NIOSH 2011]. The health consequences of internal DU contamination are much more extensive in the populations of bombed countries [Yagasaki 2003]. Alpha radiation induces lymphopenia, atrophy, and fibrosis of the thoracic lymph nodes. These lesions precede the onset of cancer over a prolonged period. Cancer risk arises in tissues with impaired metabolic and immune competence.

The effects of DU on health are multisystemic, unpredictable, and long-lasting [Zunic 2013]. Gatti and Montanari [2004] evaluated 20 Italian soldiers and eight civilians who lived in and around Sarajevo during the bombing of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1994–1995). **It is not obligatory to prove the existence of DU particles in tissue if examinees were in the zone of exposure to the radioactive aerosol.**

The radiation doses from DU in the digestive tract are smaller than in lung tissue [IOM 2008].

Uranium oxide particles can pass through the placenta and reach the fetus [Shuryak et al. 2007; Ulrich et al. 2011].

PNEUMONITIS IN PEDIATRIC PATIENTS AFTER NATO BOMBED FRY WITH DU PROJECTILES

The presence of pneumonitis in pediatric patients (From Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina) was reported at the University Clinical Center of Serbia in the months after the bombing of FRY in March 1999 [Zunic 2013-1]. FRY and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the territories of former republics of SFRY, are geographically close to each other and repetitively stroked by DU armaments (1994–1995, 1999). A significantly lower yield of alveolar macrophages followed by neutrophil-eosinophilic pneumonitis and Lupus Erythematosus Cells (LEC) in native BAL specimens was found approximately until the end of 1999 [Zunic 2013]. The pathogenetic and cellular mechanisms in this early response to radiation injury differ from those during accidental or medical exposure to large doses of radiation [Toma et al. 2010], when lymphocytic alveolitis was proven.

The differential cell counting of 225 pediatric BAL specimens revealed cytomorphological features LEC in 47 specimens. The unusual finding of native LEC in BAL is: 1) Not a single case was associated with coexistent autoimmune disease; 2) Finding LEC in tissues of patients with autoimmune diseases or systemic vasculitis is extremely rare [Zunic 2013a]. The finding of LEC in BAL samples was reported for the first time in the world's scientific literature.

The results were issued consecutively starting in 1992, and after an evaluation, they were classified into five-time intervals (Figure 8):

- 1) 1992–1993 – the time after the First Gulf War (1990–1991) – (A),
- 2) 1994–1995 – the time during the conflict and air strikes against targets in Bosnia – (B),
- 3) 1996–1999 (March 24th) – the time between the bombing of targets in Bosnia and the bombing of targets in Serbia – (C),
- 4) 1999 (July–December) – the time after air strikes against targets in Serbia – (D),
- 5) 2000–2002– (E)

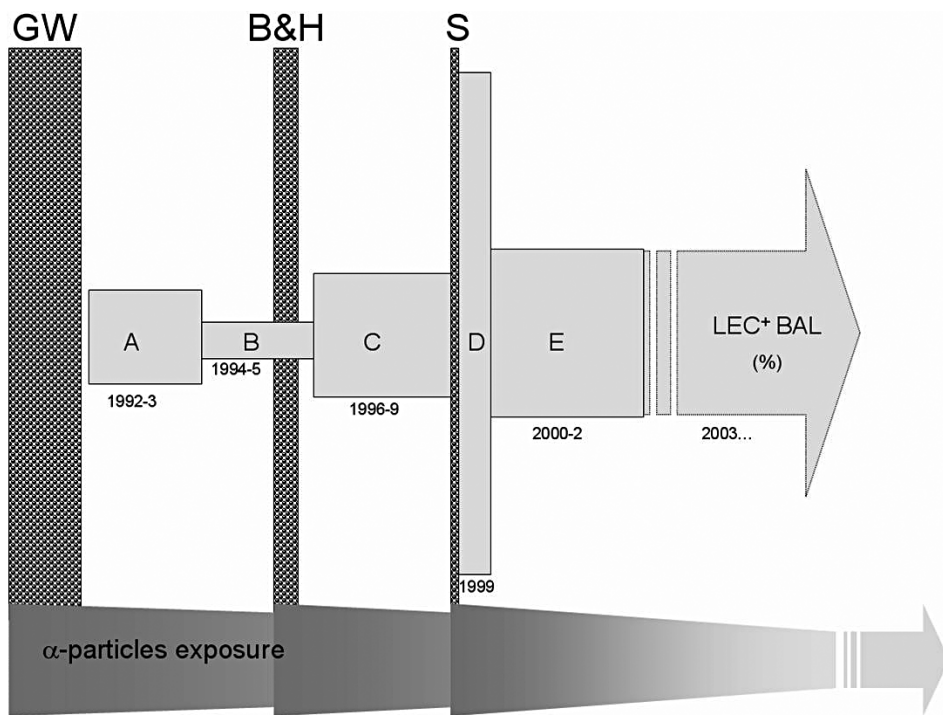


Figure 8. A schematic presentation of the time-dependent appearance of LEC concerning the use of projectiles with depleted uranium and proposed (α) alpha-radiation exposure. Black and white areas – the symbolic presentation of missiles with depleted uranium used in GW (The First Gulf War), B&H (Bosnia, and Herzegovina) and S (Serbia), the republics of the former Yugoslavia, with time correlates; the white area squares represent relative percentages of Lupus Erythematosus Cell– positive bronchoalveolar lavage (BAL) specimens in five time intervals (A–E): A. 1992–1993 – the time after the First Gulf War (1990–1991); B. 1994–1995 – the time during the conflict and air strikes against targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina; C. 1996–1999 (until March 24th 1999) – the time between the air strikes against targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina and bombing of targets in Serbia (March 24th – June 10th 1999); D. 1999 (July–December) – the time after the air strikes against targets in Serbia; E. 2000–2002 – the time after the air strikes against Serbia and the end of the observed period; the grey arrows (bottom of Figure 9) represent proposed α -particles exposure with time-dependent attenuation of radiation (dark to pale grey arrows) with hypothetical amplified α -particles exposure, simultaneously with the re-use of DU ammunition [Zunic 2013b: 89–98].

The presence and a significant increase in the frequency of LEC-positive BAL samples in examinees from 1992–2002 after the NATO bombing of Serbia enabled the search for the relationship between the presence of LEC in BAL and DU-originated alpha radiation. The increased yield of LEC in BAL samples

after the bombing of Serbia (March 24 to June 10, 1999) and a rough estimation of the “unusually” high succumb of LEC in individual lung washing specimens documented in the first months after air strikes against targets in Serbia implicate **time-dependent effects of DU**. The publications authored by Zunic [2013, 2013-1] opened some questions related to the extensiveness of the α -particle-induced bystander effect, observed early, and discussed the delayed health effects of depleted uranium. These studies highlighted the LEC phenomenon in BAL as an early radio-adaptive tissue response occurring during the onset of DU-induced low-dose radiation alveolitis. Results are essential for detecting the differences between low-dose and high-dose radiation pneumonitis induced accidentally or by therapeutic procedures [Zunic and Rakic 2016].

DELAYED HEALTH EFFECTS OF DEPLETED URANIUM

Depleted uranium interaction with hormones and hormone receptors disrupts general regulatory mechanisms that maintain endocrine homeostasis. Therefore, DU is an inducer of the formation and growth of hormone-dependent tumors [Raymond-Whish et al. 2007]. Based on the study by Sousa [2016] about the existence of a neurosensory matrix and a complex response to both physical and psychosocial stress, depleted uranium can be considered a metabolic, endocrine, and neuroendocrine disruptor that disturbs the mechanisms of regulating the body’s defenses from stress and changes the adaptability of the organism as a whole to changed environmental conditions.

Paunkovic and coauthors monitored the incidence of thyroid gland disease in the Timok region of Serbia from 1990–1996. The publications discussed the impact of the 1986 nuclear disaster in Chernobyl on thyroid gland disorders [Paunkovic et al. 1998]. There was a growth in the incidence of Graves’ disease after 1986 and a dramatic increase in the incidence of Graves’ disease after the bombing of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995.

A study by Fugazzola and coworkers [Fugazzola et al. 2011] highlights the connection between a long-term inflammatory reaction in the tissue and the possibility of thyroid cancer. The substantial increase in TC incidence in Serbia for both genders has been monitored from 1999 to 2016 [Slijepcevic et al. 2016].

Serbia is at the very top in terms of rates of disease and death from lung and colon cancer in the European male population [Mihailovic et al. 2013]. According to data from the Institute for Public Health of Serbia “Dr. Milan Jovanovic Batut” [2013], compared to 1990, there was an increase in the number of cancer patients in 1996 after the bombing of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Progressively increasing cancer incidence after NATO aggression against Serbia has been documented [Obralic et al. 2004; Mihailovic et al. 2013; Slijepcevic et al. 2016; Ilic et al. 2020; Stojanovic et al. 2022]. An increase in the incidences of precancerous lesions of the cervix in areas near the borders with the former Yugoslavia from 2000–2002 was discussed by Greek authors as a consequence of environmental factors such as exposure to depleted uranium due to the bombings of 1999 [Papathanasiou et al. 2005].

After the bombing of FRY in 1999, the number of people with leukemia and lymphoma in Serbia increased by 110%, while the number of deaths from these diseases increased by 180%, according to data from the Institute for Public Health of Serbia “Dr. Milan Jovanovic Batut” 2013. In the male population the highest mortality rate is from lung or bronchial cancer. In the female population, mortality from breast cancer is the first, and lung or bronchial cancer is the second most frequent in the observed time interval of 1990–2011.

Sung and coworkers [Sung et al. 2021] emphasize a higher expected increase in cancer incidence in transitioning (64% to 95%) versus transitioned (32% to 56%) countries. The incidence of cancer in transitioning countries demands a dedicated evaluation of multiple primary cancers, rare cancers, or unspecified cancers. There is a significant increase in the incidence of multiple primary cancers [Levine et al. 2005; Bradford et al. 2010]. The incidence of unspecified cancers is higher than 4% [Farlay et al. 2021].

Rare cancers with unusual locations deserve extra attention. A publication on Ewing sarcoma with primary pulmonary localization [Zivgarevic and Zunic 2022] reveals some pathogenesis and possible treatment implications. Because of the delayed health effects of DU, Serbia requires precise monitoring of rare cancers. A significantly increased risk of synchronous and metachronous cancers in survivors of cutaneous malignant melanoma is very high for prostate, thyroid, kidney, and urinary tract cancers in men and Non-Hodgkin Lymphoma, breast, kidney, and urinary tract cancers in women [Guzzinati et al. 2023]. Ilic and coworkers [Ilic et al. 2020] authored a publication on the increased incidence of non-melanotic cutaneous skin cancer.

FORENSICS OF THE SCATTERED RADIOACTIVE SOURCES OF DU

The uncontrolled military use of high amounts (a thousand tons) of depleted uranium and numerous unusual environmental and physical manifestations have been recorded in the last few decades. Our knowledge has evolved from *in vitro* studies of radiation exposure to a more comprehensive understanding of unexpected and poorly understood natural phenomena, whose consequences may be achievable according to the Lithosphere-Atmosphere-Ionospheric and Biosphere coupling theory.

The relevance of the forensics of a nuclear attack relates to the growing threat of terrorism in various parts of the world. Because of the cumulative effect, and unpredictable consequences in the environment and the Biosphere, including the human population, exact procedures at the global level have been applied in the countries targeted with DU missiles and in non-targeted ones. The evidence for internal sources of ionizing radiation after exposure to DU gases from the environment is complex. Direct evidence of the presence of depleted uranium particles in the tissues of a patient is not decisive if the person originates from the exposed territory. Implied contamination of land and water flows, and the entry of depleted uranium into the food chain impose the need to adopt a strategy of remediation of the environment to rescue humans

from the threat of nuclear weapons destroying human life in a permanently contaminated environment. Some countries, members of the NATO alliance near the territory of former Yugoslavia, are exposed to a high risk of malignant diseases after the bombing of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Forced tolerance and the silence imposed by NATO in targeted countries have not contributed to solving the growing problems or promoting peace.

The embargo on research and real-time epidemiological reports in the affected countries inevitably resulted in mobbing and corruption that seriously damaged the health system and the foundations of a democratic and humane society.

Minimizing and blurring the consequences of bombing with depleted uranium is an experiment *in vivo* that includes the governments and populations of the targeted countries. The experiment comprises the damage to health and the environment and the change in social conditions in the affected countries. The negligence of the cause-and-effect relationship between the environment and the health of tens of millions of people in the penumbra around the affected countries is a suitable platform for advocating new targets in the heart of densely populated Europe.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B&H = Bosnia and Herzegovina	NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization
BAL = bronchoalveolar lavage	NIOSH = National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health
CA = California	NU = natural uranium
DU = depleted uranium	ROS = reactive oxygen species
EEA = European Environment Agency	S = Serbia
FRY = Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	SFRY = Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
GW = The First Gulf War	U = uranium
IARC = International Agency for Research on Cancer	U.S. = United States
IGMASS = International Global Monitoring Aerospace System	WHO = World Health Organization
IOM = Institute of Medicine	WISE = World Information Service of Energy
LEC = lupus erythematosus cell/s	

“IMPOVERISHED SPINSTRESSES”
AND BAŞTINA INHERITRESSES: TWO TYPES
OF CHRISTIAN WIDOW HOUSEHOLDS
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, EXEMPLIFIED
BY THE 16TH-CENTURY SANJAK OF PRIZREN

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SUMMARY: This paper explores two types of Christian widow households in the Ottoman Balkans, with an emphasis on their taxation status. By using data from the 16th-century censuses (*defters*) of the Prizren province (*sancak*), the percentage of widows in the general population has been calculated as well as the factors affecting their lives in this area.

KEY WORDS: Ottoman Balkans, Christian widowhood, widow tax (*resm-i bîve*), landed property-*baştina*, women’s crafts.

The social history of the Ottoman Empire –the status and role of women in particular – has been the subject of scientific attention over the past few decades. Research in the fields of Islamic and Ottoman studies shows that Ottoman women, especially Muslims, were not in such a subservient position as had been assumed before. An insight ‘from inside’, into a variety of Ottoman sources – including kadi court records (*sicils*), sheikh ul-Islam fatwas, sultanic laws, and the Book of Grievances (*Şikayet Defterleri*) and ‘from outside’, into the testimonials of Western contemporaries, shows that women in the Ottoman Empire lived freely and enjoyed protection from society and the state judicial system regardless of their rank or religion. Ottoman women could own and dispose of their movable and immovable property, work and earn money. A Muslim woman could determine the terms of her marriage via prenuptial agreement (e.g., to preclude her husband from taking another wife, moving her away from her parents and relatives, or staying away from home under the pretext of work, etc.). In case of divorce, she was entitled to alimony for three months (a mandatory period, according to the Sharia, for determining whether she was pregnant by her ex-husband); it was common practice to award the mother custody of all underage children. A Christian woman, too, was allowed to divorce, though

with the complicated ecclesiastical procedure, on the grounds of mistreatment, stealing her property, or abandonment for a period of seven years without any allowance. Since the law and general social norms protected women's moral and physical integrity, women did not hesitate to approach the court whenever their rights were threatened [Jennings 1975: 53–114; Gerber 1980: 231–244; *Women ... in Islamic History* 1996; *Women in the Ottoman Empire* 1997; Establat and Pascual 2002: 301–319; Pierce 2003; *Women in the Ottoman Balkans* 2007].

While Sharia courts mostly saw cases brought by Muslim women, a significant number of Christian women appealed to these courts as well. There are no records of female Jews seeking justice from a kadi¹. Ottoman court records include cases of divorced Christian women demanding their share of property and regular alimony from their former husbands or reaching a divorce settlement with their ex-spouse [*Şer'iyeye Sicilleri* 1988: 275, 284, 292]. Girls and women who were abducted and raped also asked the courts to restore their honour and dignity [Bojanić-Lukač and Katić 2005: 227], while those whose husbands were absent for years on end asked for the right to freely manage/dispose of their husband's property to provide for themselves and their children. One recorded case mentions a daughter filing a complaint before the Sharia court against her father, who refused to give her jewellery bequeathed to her by her mother [Ivanova 2007: 174–175].

All these women, however, were likely a minority aware of their rights and in the position to assert them. The silent majority bowed to their community's traditions and customs, which could entail more freedom but alternately, even greater religious constraints.

Widows, as a particular subcategory of women, have not been the focus of research in Ottoman studies so far². The reason for this is likely twofold. First, widows were presumably not denied any rights other women had, be they married or not, so there was no reason to analyze their position. Second, male or female widowhood was a relatively short period in a person's life, representing the time between two marriages. Therefore, widows and widowers comprised a small percentage of the general population and were not registered in Ottoman official documents³. Only one category of Christian widows posed an exception to this, as would be discussed below.

In the Muslim world, a widow with or without underage children who lived alone was considered unprotected. That was not only viewed as an unfavourable position for her but also as proof of neglect by those who were, aside from

¹ Jewish communities had such strict social control over their members, and rabbis such unquestionable authority, that kadi *sicills* make no mention of Jewish women seeking greater rights from the Sharia courts than Jewish law prescribes (Jewish women could not divorce and, as daughters, received far less inheritance than Muslim daughters were awarded according to Sharia law). Jewish men, too, avoided bringing private lawsuits to a kadi and sought justice from Sharia courts only with regard to commercial disputes [Göçek and Baer 1997: 58–59].

² Their economic role in managing family property in the name of their underage children has been only touched by some authors: for example, widows of merchants and goldsmiths, whom the courts allowed to manage their deceased spouse's property [Abdal-Rehim Abdal-Rahman 1996: 109].

³ The number of widowers is impossible to determine based on census data because they were recorded as unmarried, single (*mücerred* in Turkish) [Inalcık 1987: xxxiii].

her late husband, legally or morally responsible for her wellbeing – namely close male relatives, such as her father, brother, uncle, her extended family or local community (*mahalle*). All of these individuals, hence, attempted to find the ‘poor’ and ‘unprotected’ widow another husband as soon as possible⁴. A widow remarrying was, therefore, a common and desirable outcome, while persisting in widowhood was considered irrational, morally improper, and contrary to accepted social norms. An exception is older women who had survived their husbands. Society was not concerned for them because they were under the protection of adult children or relatives. Generally speaking, women beyond reproductive age were not closely monitored and had immeasurably greater freedom of movement in public spaces⁵.

In the Christian world, social norms were opposite to the attitude of the Church, which condoned only the first marriage, whereas only tolerated subsequent marriages to a greater or lesser extent. To young people, i.e., those under 30, particularly if childless, a second marriage was considered a natural necessity. To those older than 40, a second marriage was not deemed necessary and was neither encouraged nor prohibited⁶. Female widowhood implied restraint, honour, and piety; helping widows and orphans was one of the principal duties of any good Christian.

Despite the values the Christian Church promoted, economic reasons – such as the need for a breadwinner or step-mother for orphaned children – along with personal reasons – like wanting children following a childless first marriage or seeking a socially acceptable context for sexual relations – compelled both widows and widowers to remarry soon. Worthy of note is that most of these individuals were still relatively young due to the common practice of marrying at an early age and the high mortality rates caused by wars, epidemics, birth complications and the like.

Furthermore, while female virginity was equally prized by Christians and Muslims, as is quite obviously evidenced by the amounts of Ottoman bride tax (*resm-i arûs, resm-i gerdek*), which considered virgins twice as valuable as widows or divorcees⁷, Sharia court protocols show that, in everyday life, virginity was

⁴ The fatwas of Ebussuud Efendi, a famous 16th-century sheikh ul-Islam, which greatly influenced the Ottoman social values of the time, show that, from the religious point of view, it was unacceptable to leave a woman unprotected, i.e., in an environment where she could be physically or psychologically harmed, or made to behave improperly [Ertuğrul Düzdağ 1972: 54-56].

⁵ Strict rules were imposed on girls and young women because it was believed that youth lacked maturity and control of physical needs, which inevitably led to unacceptable sexual behaviour. The same belief required close oversight of ‘beardless’ boys and ‘hot-blooded’ young men; boys were to be protected from the homosexual desires of adult males, while young men were to be guarded against contact with young women, boys and improper women [Peirce 1993: 280].

⁶ The Church considered the desire for progeny the only acceptable reason for a second marriage. The ‘lesson’ of one parable was that neither a widower nor a widow should seek to remarry, especially not for semi-legal physical comfort, but that they should fast and pray to suppress their sinful thoughts. Instead of remarrying, it would be best if they each joined a convent [Левин 2006: 149-150]. An ecclesiastical rule regarding so-called *church widows* illustrates the same attitude: “A widow if she is sixty years of age and desires to live with a man again, cannot be worthy of Holy communion until she is cured of impure passion.” [Никодим 1896: 381]

⁷ The bride tax was paid by all Ottoman subjects, regardless of religion or social rank, who were marrying off their daughters. It was twice as high for Muslims as it was for Christians or

less valued than financial status [Jennings 1975: 96]⁸. Studies of Ottoman court records from 17th-century Egypt indicate that wealthy widows or divorcees were more desirable brides than virgins from the same social circle⁹, and the children from previous marriages posed no obstacle to the second matrimony¹⁰.

In the Balkans, marrying a widow was also considered a better alternative to taking a virgin bride. Provided she had decent financial means, a widowed woman, although 'no longer pure' had equally good chances of marriage as did a maiden. The Serbian folk saying: "Better old gold, than new silver" implies that sexual experience and maturity played a role in male-female relations¹¹. The fact that South Slav folk epics noticeably lacks narratives where a widow with children remarries raises the question of how willing Balkan men were to accept the children of another person and how conducive legal and social norms regarding family inheritance were to a widow remarrying.

The law of Justinian, a medieval Byzantine-Serbian legal compilation, addresses only the remarriage of a childless widow. "If a man dies, and is survived by a childless widow, she is entitled only to a fourth of her husband's property should she remain unmarried. If she remarries, she [is entitled] only to her property and three golden rings from her husband" [Марковић 2007: 115]¹².

There is no data available on such customs in Serbian territories. However, it is possible that, especially among highland clans, a remarrying widow lost custody of her children to her late husband's closest male relatives along with control over her late husband's property and any financial support from his

those with the status of a slave (*kul*). For Muslim virgin girls, the tax was 60 *akçes*; for Muslim widows, it was 30 *akçes*, while Christians paid 30 *akçes* for virgin brides and 15 *akçes* for widow brides [Бојанић 1974: 50; Kalešić 1957: 294].

⁸ The author supports this claim with the lack of mentions of 'crimes of passion' in *sicil* records.

⁹ Muslim women acquired the property through inheritance from their mother or father or through the marital gift (*mehr*), a part of which the husband-to-be was obligated to pay upon entering the marriage, whilst the wife received the remainder upon her husband's death or divorce. 'More experienced' women demanded the entirety of their *mehr* in advance or several annual instalments. Thanks to the *mehr*, widows were financially better off than maidens [Abdal-Rehim Abdal-Rahman 1996: 103].

¹⁰ In such cases, the marriage contract usually included clauses such as: "Said groom confirms his knowledge of his bride having a son with another man and accepts that he [the son] shall eat his food, drink his drinks and sleep in his bed without compensation." [Abdal-Rehim Abdal-Rahman 1996: 100, 110]

¹¹ "And the falcon pondered then:/Should he love the widow Hyacinth/Or the timid maiden Rose./He pondered, then decided,/And spoke softly to himself:/Better gold, be it battered,/Than silver, newly-minted./So he loved the widow Hyacinth./The maiden Rose cursed angrily:/Sarajevo, may your blooms bear no fruit!/Why have you embraced the custom,/Whereby young men take widow wives,/And old men take pretty maidens?" Original: "Стаде соко мисли размишљати: / Ил' ће љубит Зумбул удовицу, / Ил' дјевојку питому Ружицу. / Све мислио, на једно смислио, / Па је онда тихо говорио: / 'Боље злато и поиздерато, / Него сребро изнова ковати.' / Па он љуби Зумбул удовицу. / Љуто куне Ружица дјевојка: / 'Сарајево, цвало, не родило! / Зашт' обичај у теби постаде, / Млади момци да љуб' удовице, / Стари старци лијепа дјевојке?" [Караџић 1976: 278]

¹² In urban Catholic communities such as Kotor in today's Montenegro, a widow lost all rights to her late husband's property upon remarriage and left his home only with her dowry. If she did not remarry, she could use his property economically without damaging or alienating it. [Blehova-Čelebić 2002: 121]

family – as was the case in Russia and the, geographically far closer, Dukagjini area in north Albania¹³.

It is also possible that, over time, some of these customs changed under the influence of Ottoman law¹⁴.

In the Balkans, remarrying was a common and, given the mortality rate, often unavoidable choice among widows. Still, not every widow was destined to remarry. Some were well-off enough that entering second matrimony was unnecessary, whilst others were not considered good marriage prospects due to their poor finances, poor health, or numerous children, which would have to be supported. Both of these categories lived as single women and were, therefore, recorded in Ottoman census records.

CHRISTIAN WIDOWS AND THE WIDOW TAX (*RESM-I BÎVE*)

Even the oldest census records from the Ottomans' European provinces contain mentions of Christian widow taxpayers who paid a reduced annual *ispence* tax of six *akçes*, also known as the 'widow tax' (*resm-i bîve*) [Inalcık 1987]. In more detailed cadastral records (*tahrir defters*), widows were entered under their late husband's name or their own [Inalcık 1959: 604], while summary records only list their number per settlement.

Research on 15th- and 16th-century Ottoman demographics, based on *tahrir defters*, invariably include the number of registered widow households. However, it is not the total number of widows in an area but only those who pay the widow tax. Therefore, a more accurate assessment of how prevalent widow households were in the general population, must begin with the analysis of the widow tax itself, i.e., the widow taxpayers.

In her remarkable study of the *ispence*, Dušanka Bojanić provides a detailed explanation of the taxation of Ottoman Christians [Bojanić-Lukač 1976: 9–30]¹⁵. In summary, the *ispence* amounted to 25 *akçes*, and every able-bodied Christian subject of the Ottoman Empire was obligated to pay the master of the land upon which he (or she) lived (e.g. a *timar*, *zeamet*, *hâss*, *vakf* or *mülk*), be it rural or urban. This non-Sharia levy originated in pre-Ottoman times and represents the monetary equivalent of seven medieval corvées (four agricultural, one construction and two craft labours) an agricultural household owed its immediate master [Bojanić-Lukač 1976: 25–28].

Bojanić hypothesizes that the agricultural labours referred to 1. tilling, 2. harvesting and threshing, 3. mowing, and 4. work in a vineyard. These corvées

¹³ According to the oral tribal tradition that cites the lost Code of Lekë Dukadjini, "a remarrying woman has no right to the children of her first householder if he has living relatives. [The children then] stay with the closest relatives. If her first husband has no remaining relatives, her new householder has to accept and feed her children as his own." [Космајаци 1901: 216-217]

¹⁴ Bulgarian *sicils* mention mid-17th-century cases of kadis allowing a Christian woman to sell her husband's house because he has been away for an extended period and has not sent any money for living expenses. There is also the record of a widow, Christian, who lost her sons and is legally battling relatives over her part of the inheritance left by her late husband. [Ivanova 2007: 174-175]

¹⁵ In her work, Bojanić also discusses the results of previous research into this topic and draws attention to certain shortcomings and errors. [Inalcık 1959: 602-608; Inalcık 1997: 211]

lasted a total of twelve days, and their equivalent was ten *akçes* paid to the master [Bojanić-Lukač 1976: 22]¹⁶.

The construction *corvée* was related to a peasant's traditional duty to build and maintain a master's mansion, a fort in which all those living on his land took refuge in the event of danger. This *corvée* was an exchange for the right to take shelter under the master's roof, around his hearth, i.e. hearth smoke. Bojanić convincingly argues that the Ottomans transformed this custom into a 'tax on smoke' or 'smoke-tax' (*resm-i duhan*), which amounted to six *akçes* and was sometimes collected separately from the *ispençe* [Bojanić-Lukač 1976: 18–19].

The remaining two craft labours referred to as 'aid' both men and women provided to the master's household. Men's duty mostly entailed carpentry work, while women were required to spin wool, flax or hemp. The male craft *corvée* amounted to three days of free labour per year and was transmuted to a three-*akçe* tax, as documented in the *Kanunname* of Mehmed the Conqueror¹⁷. In its passage on the widow tax (*resm-i bîve*), this legal text values female spinning labour at six *akçes* not specifying the number of days [Bojanić-Lukač 1976: 16].

All work-capable male Christians of the *reaya* class, be they married and at the head of their household (*hâne*) or unmarried and without a family of their own (*mücerred*), paid the full 25-*akçe ispençe*.¹⁸ Under certain circumstances, 'incomplete' households (a widow and her underage children) paid a reduced *ispençe* of six *akçes* i.e. the value of the annual labour of a work-capable Christian woman owed her feudal lord in compulsory craft labour. Apart from that, each married woman paid this amount through her husband's annual *ispençe*.

The condition for a widow to be eligible for a reduced annual tax of six instead of 25 *akçes* was that she be poor i.e. that she not own land. As it is prescribed by Mehmed the Conqueror's *Kanunname*: "Six *akçes* from a widow without land. And may she not be called to work in the house of her *sipahi* or forced to spin yarn, and if she does work, may she be paid."¹⁹

This quote makes it clear that a tax reduction was granted only to poor widows, to impoverished women whose only source of income was their work of spinning wool, flax or hemp, as depicted by the following Serbian folk song:

I bore nine dear sons,
Nine sons, one after the other,

¹⁶ The amount is calculated by subtracting the monetary value of the other *corvées* stated in Ottoman law from the total of 25 *akçes*.

¹⁷ For Muslim village artisans, the *Kanunname* states: "Artisans who live in villages: weavers, tailors, shoemakers, charcoal makers and those like them should annually provide three services or three *akçes*. For Christian village craftsmen, the rule was: "From tailors, weavers, fur and leather workers, shoemakers, those who work with horses and from other infidel artisans, after the 25 *akçes* of the *ispençe* are collected, nothing more should be taken with the excuse that they are artisans." Therefore, one can conclude that, in the mid-15th century, all village artisans were obliged to provide three days of service or three *akçes* annually. The Christians paid these three *akçes* together with other taxes included in the *ispençe*. [Bojanić-Lukač 1976: 17-18]

¹⁸ Christians who performed special services for the Ottoman state (such as *voynuks*, falconers, *derbencis*, miners and others) were eligible for a partial or complete waiver of the *ispençe*.

¹⁹ *Ve duldan ki çift olmaya yılda altı akçe. Ve suvari evinde kullanmaya. Ve iplik iğirtmeye. Meğer ki ücretiyle işlede ve suvari hasıl yazmış* [Barkan 1943: 393].

I bore them, then was widowed,
 And I fed them till they grew,
 With naught but my spindle and right hand.²⁰

In the spirit of protecting the weak and powerless, the *Kanunname* shields the poor widow “who has nothing in this world aside from her spindle and other’s hemp” [Караџић 1976: 546] from abuse by her master; the *sipahi* must not force her to work for an indefinite amount of time or without pay. Still, she has to, just as all other Christian women must, spin yarn for her master for free for a fixed number of days each year; transmuted to a monetary value, her duty equals six *akçes* [Војанић-Лукач 1976: 12]. Војанић hypothesizes that, in their conquests, the Ottomans encountered a resurrected form of the old custom to tax widows in some if not all, parts of Stefan Dušan’s former empire [Војанић-Лукач 1976: 14]; the practice the Emperor Dušan attempted to abolish via Article 64 of his Code, likely due to much abuse: “The impoverished spinstress shall be as free as a priest.” [Радојчић 1960: 55]²¹.

Based on available research and sources, it is impossible to determine a definitive reason why this group of widows was so poor. One of two explanations is most likely:

a) they hailed from the poorest social strata i.e. belonged to the urban destitute or extremely impoverished rural families without land (the sum of whom comprised merely 1-2% of the total population, see Table 1) and, once widowed, fell into even deeper financial hardship; or

b) unable to cultivate it, they lost their land along with their husband because the landholder (*sipahi*) gave it to someone else.

Whether there are other explanations aside from those offered above can only be determined through further research.

BAŞTINA – OWNING WIDOWS

The death of a spouse represented both an emotional and financial loss for a woman, but it did not necessarily lead to abject poverty. The woman and her children still had a family land at their disposal. These single mothers, like poor spinstresses, were the sole breadwinners of their families, and their households were considered incomplete. However, they did not pay the widow tax because they owned land; in Ottoman cadastral *defters*, they are recorded as *baştina*-owning widows. *Baştina* was a heritable family farm on state-owned land with clearly defined obligations, which could be sold, gifted, or bequeathed to anyone, provided that the new owner accepted all the burdens that the *baştina*

²⁰ Родила сам девей̑ мили сина, /Девей̑ сина, девей̑ њособаца, /Изродила, њак обудовила, /Удова сам све и одранила /На њреслицу и десницу руку. [Караџић 1976: 130]

²¹ In this edition of the Code, Радојчић, as editor, cited extensive sources regarding the ruler’s duty to protect the weak and poor, particularly widows. Across the Balkans, overtaxing poor widows was considered one of the worst kinds of abuse of power. Filipović [Филиповић 1953: 42] recorded a folk song about evildoer Halil Hrnjičić seizing horses, killing Vlachs and abducting maidens, all of which one can endure until he crosses the line: “Then he levied not a big tax: /Five hundred groschen from a widow /Who will spin it from hemp yarn.”

was subject to. Taxes for an agricultural *baştina* were the same as for land tenured to a *reaya* household (*hâne*), the main difference being that tenured land could not be sold or bought but remained in the hands of a family as long as they could cultivate it; otherwise, the estate holder (*sipahi*) would give it to a different tenant.

Christian *baştina*-owning widows, whose legal position was significantly different from the position of poor widows paying the widow tax, have not been discussed so far. Widow possessing a *baştina* was legally deemed the head of a whole household (*hâne*) i.e. placed in the same category as a male taxpayer, and was, therefore, liable to pay the full *ispençe* of 25 *akçes*. As a result, such widows are not always visible in Ottoman censuses; the summary *defters* list, not the names, but the number of ‘*hâne*’, ‘unmarried’, and ‘widows’ where *baştina*-owning widows are classified among *hânes*. The detailed *defters* do mention the names of *baştina*-owning widows, but among the male household heads’ names in a village, and therefore, they are not easily discernible. On the other hand, poor widows are always listed last of all. *Baştina*-owning widows are not numerous in the Ottoman *defters*. In the sample analyzed in this paper – namely the *defter* for the *sancak* of Prizren from the late 1560s and early 1570s [Катић 2010]²² – a total of only 150 widows are mentioned, of which just 21 are *baştina*-owners. It does not mean that most women became impoverished upon the passing of their husbands, for women who paid the widow tax were truly destitute compared to the average income of their time. It is more likely that moderately well-off widows by far outnumbered poor widows but were quick to remarry precisely because of their financial standing. Once remarried, they were no longer listed as taxpayers, for the *ispençe* became their new husband’s burden. Another possibility is that there were too few *baştinas* for the widows who owned them to feature prominently in tax records.

A widow could come into ownership of a *baştina* by inheriting it from her father or her husband, although, in the latter case, she retained ownership only until her eldest son came of age. Of the 21 *baştina*-owning widows in the abovementioned census of the Prizren *sancak*, two have inherited the land from their fathers²³, while the same could be assumed for another²⁴. These estates could be owned by the women independently or co-owned with persons with whom they did not have to be related²⁵.

Both categories of Christian widows mentioned in the detailed *defter* of the Prizren *sancak* were listed under their given names, not their husbands’. While a sample of 150 widows’ names is insufficient for an in-depth onomastic

²² The *defter* is housed at the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister’s Office in Istanbul under the signature *Tahrîr Defteri, no. 495* [TD 495].

²³ “The *baştina* of Boja Jovan held by his daughter the widow Stoja” was recorded in the village of Manastirica in the Prizren *nahiye*. “The *baştina* of Đon Biba held by his daughter the widow Todora” was recorded in the village of Danjani in the Hoča *nahiye*. [TD 495: 85, 158]

²⁴ “The *baştina* of Musa, previously held by Eynebeği Musa, Mehmed, Iskender and Karaman, now held by Ata Bali son of Ali and the widow Pava” was recorded in the village of Kočarnik, in the Trgovište *nahiye*. [TD 495: 276]

²⁵ See previous footnote as well as [TD 495: 326], where “Vojin’s *baştina* held by the widow Dafna and others” was recorded.

analysis, it is worth mentioning that the most frequent ones are: Mara (10), Jovana and Stana (9), Stojka and Petruša (8), Stoja and Todora (6), and Milica and Cveta (5). The vast majority of names were derived from the radix *stan-* or *stoj-* (meaning ‘stop’ in Serbian) – e.g. Staja, Stana, Stanka, Stanica, Stojka, Stoja) – to ward off death or prevent too many births, particularly of female children. The total of such names in the sample was 27²⁶.

Table 1
CHRISTIAN *ISPENÇE* TAXPAYERS
IN THE *SANCAK* OF PRIZREN IN 1571

Nahiye	<i>ispence</i> taxpayers*	poor widows	baştina-owning widows	percentage**
Prizren	3,308	62	4	2%
Hoča	1,932	10	7	0.9%
Trgovište	5,215	48	5	1%
Žežna	304	2	1	1%
Bihor	2,971	7	4	0.3%
Total	13,730	129	21	1%

* *ispence* taxpayers included everyone: the heads of houses (*hâne*) – including *baştina*-owning widows, unmarried men (*mücerred*) and impoverished widows (*bîve*).

** The percentage of both types of widow households combined compared to the total number of *ispence* taxpayers

The data in Table 1 refers to peacetime; one can see that the average frequency of widow households in the *nahiyes* of Prizren and Hoča – parts of which were once included in the Vuk Branković’s Land – was 1.5% in 1571, while in the immediate aftermath of the battles in 1455, the percentage of widows in the Branković’s Land was twice as high²⁷.

Table 1 also shows a great disproportion in the percentage of single female households across *nahiyes*, particularly between Bihor and the rest of the *nahiyes* in the Prizren *sancak*. This discrepancy can easily be attributed to the fundamental differences between these territories.

The *nahiyes* of Prizren and Hoča were densely-populated agricultural areas with developed wheat and vegetable farming and vineyards. Among their numerous villages, the most highly-populated and wealthiest were Mušutište (179 *ispence* taxpayers), Ljubižda (147 taxpayers), and Hoča (122 taxpayers),

²⁶ These names were also most frequent in the mid-15th century Branković’s Land, a part of which later composed the Prizren *sancak* [Грковић 2001: 647]. Interestingly, in the mid-16th century Prizren *sancak* one could find almost no old Slavic compound names save for two women named Vidosava (Vid+sava), whereas, just a century earlier every third woman in the Vuk Branković’s Land had a compound name (Beloslava, Bogoslava, Vidoslava, Vladislava, Stanislava, Stojislava, Radoslava etc.) [Грковић 2001: 645]

²⁷ The total number of *ispence* taxpayers was 16,953, of which 497 – i.e. 3% – were women paying the widow tax. [Јовановић 2001: 286]

which had its market. Prizren, one of the most notable cities in 16th-century Ottoman Rumelia, was an important craft and trade centre and, as such, was exposed to outside influences. This is confirmed by the rich diversity of given names in the city's census records, which shows a marked dominance of Christian over folk names²⁸.

In the *nahiye* of Trgovište, the dominant economic activity was animal husbandry, specifically sheep farming. The population also cultivated vegetables and grapes and planted mixed-grain crops, as was common in poorer areas.²⁹ As for the status, they belonged to the Vlachs (tur. Eflak), but became *reaya* by 1571. The *nahiye*'s census shows traditional Slavic folk names mixed with an influx of those from the Christian calendar of saints³⁰, along with a steady increase in conversions to Islam – a result of the fact that the area lay along the caravan trade route.

Compared to the rest of the Prizren *sancak*'s *nahiyes*, Bihor was economically underdeveloped. The populace was predominantly Vlach-herdsmen, just like in Trgovište, but unlike in Trgovište, a good deal of them retained their status well into the 16th century; about eight per cent of Bihor villages were still listed as Vlach settlements and were, therefore, exempt from the *ispençe* – and its reduced form, the widow tax³¹. Instead, they paid a 100-*akçe filuri* per house that comprised multiple adult male relatives and their families³².

Although the majority in Bihor belonged to the *reaya* stratum, it is apparent that the traditional Vlach way of life and family relations had not significantly changed under Ottoman rule. Extended family units were common, enabling a widow to continue living within the large household of her husband's family even upon his death. If a widow be left without such support, the social, economic and ownership norms demanded that she and her children be promptly integrated into another set of relatives. The low number of widow households in the Bihor area could be also explained by the fact that there was not a single urban settlement – or a settlement bigger than 80 to 90 houses, which, as will be discussed below, played quite an important role in enabling women to live independently and find work.

²⁸ The most favoured given names were Jovan, Nikola, Dimitar, Stepan, Petar, Bogdan, Marko and Đura.

²⁹ This mirrored the situation in the neighborhood *nahiye* of Žežna. It comprised only 19 villages on the mountain of Rogozna, which were tied to the Žežna silver mine and is, therefore, not suitable for comparison to the other *nahiyes* in the Prizren province. In terms of economy and demographics, it most closely resembled the *nahiye* of Trgovište.

³⁰ The most common names were Vuk, Radonja, Jovan, Radisav, Radič, Cvetko, and Živko. By far, the most productive radix for given name construction was *Rad-*, followed by *Raj-*, *Rat-* and *Ran-*.

³¹ Therefore, the number of people living in Bihor was higher than can be inferred based on the number of *ispençe* taxpayers from Table 1.

³² The onomasticon typical of Vlach-herdsmen populations is particularly visible in the Bihor *nahiye*, where the influx of Christian names was the slowest (compare the name Jovan – the Serbian variant of John – in the other *nahiyes* of the Prizren *sancak*). Aside from the overall prevalence of names with the root *Rad-*, the most dominant individual names in the area were Radisav, Vuk, Radonja, Radič and Jovan.

PEASANT WOMEN AND CITY WOMEN
IN VILLAGES *VS.* CITIES

The annual tax collected from the poorest Christian widows in early March was a token fee of six *akçes*. Considering that, from the days of Mehmed the Conqueror to the late 16th century, the value of the *akçe* had dropped, the amount was something a widow could earn in, at most, five to six days³³. How much she needed for day-to-day living, on the other hand, remains unknown since there is no data on the prices of basic foodstuffs in Prizren or the surrounding area from that time³⁴.

It can be assumed that fulfilling basic needs for food and clothing was more easily done in villages than in towns or cities since village economies rested on bartering. But in an environment where every woman spun yarn and wove fabric for her family while working the family land, it is questionable what additional source of income a widow in a village could find.

An analysis of widow households in the Prizren *nahiye* (see Table 2) shows that, in numbers and percentage, widows predominantly lived in urban areas: Prizren had 28 widows i.e. 7% of its Christian population; the nearby village of Ljubižda had eight (5.6% of all Christian taxpayers) and Sevice had four widows (2.4%).

Table 2
WIDOWS OF THE PRIZREN *NAHIYE*, PER SETTLEMENT, IN 1571

Settlement	Impoverished widows	Baştına-owning widows
Gradičevica	Petruša	
Đinovce		Cveta
Zagrad. Hoča	Mila	
Koriša	Jela	
Kraštani	Olja	
Ljubižda	Vida, Dana, Mila, Stana, Vidosava, Petruša, Jovana, Stana	
Ljubojevce	Stana	
Malčitova	Stana	
Manastirica		Stoja
Muštište	Kalina, Stojka, Jovica	
Orlad	Todora	
Gornji Oštrozub	Stojka	
Donji Oštrozub	Divna	
Planjani	Todora, Olja	Mara

³³ At the time, the daily wage for labourers at the mine in Bah (central Serbia) was two *akçes*. [Bojanić 1974: 87]

³⁴ In the late 16th century, six *akçes* could buy about 20 kg of lentil since, according to the laws of the Prizren *sancak*, the prescribed purchase price for lentil was 50 *akçes* per *tovar* (i.e. 160 *okkas*). [TD 495: 8] The prices were the same in the neighboring *sancak* of Skadar. [Inalcik 1983: 332]

Prizren	Jelka, Stoja, Staja, Veljka, Rada, Dimitra, Jela, Vida, Milica, Čubra, Milka, Kaja, Stanka, Stana, Petruša, Komlena, Cveta, Jela, Jovica, Damjana, Petruša, Jelka, Prenda, Petra, Jana, Stoja, Mara, Petruša.
Donja Radilovica	Mara
Rečani Mali	Petra, Marta
Selce (Sevce)	Todora, Milica, Jovana, Olivera
Gornja Sopina	Mara, Cveta, Nedeljka
Donja Ulišnica	Petka
Srednja Ulišnica	Milica
Čajdrak	Mara
Total	62
	3

Local marketplaces, particularly near large urban trade centres such as Prizren, offered village women an additional source of income. There, they could sell their crafts (rugs, throws, shirts, vests, etc.) and improve their household income or, in the case of widows, earn money in *de facto* the only way they could³⁵.

Spinning and embroidery were the predominant occupations among city women as well, not just in the Balkans but also in Asia Minor, the Middle East, Egypt, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Textile production and trade (including rugs, silk, cotton fabric and baize) were a mainstay of the Empire's economy. A significant portion of textiles was manufactured by women, either in their homes or in specialized urban workshops. For example, of the 300 silk spinning machines in Bursa – the centre of Ottoman silk production – 150 were owned by women, who operated them alone or employed slaves or waged workers – mostly women. It should also be mentioned that one Ottoman document describes said waged workers as “indigent women”! [Gerber 1980: 237]

Prizren was also famous for its silk. *Seta filata de Prizren* was exported via Dubrovnik to many European cities³⁶, so it is logical to conclude that the majority of the *sancak*'s “indigent hamp-spinstresses” lived in Prizren, where they could most easily find work. The city received raw silk from Macedonia, while flax and hemp fibres and wool came from the villages of the Prizren *nahiye*³⁷. In addition to spinning, weaving, and embroidery, the city offered single women employment as maids, laundresses, basket weavers, produce sellers, bakers, innkeepers, and the like. Some of these jobs were traditionally reserved exclusively for poor women³⁸.

³⁵ Since Antiquity and across societies, weaving and embroidery comprised the principal part of the education of female children, regardless of social class. In Medieval Serbia, all women without exception, from queens to indigents, engaged in crafts, while popular folk songs lauded the ability to spin quickly and produce excellent yarn.

³⁶ In the mid-16th century, the Ottoman state annually collected 150,000 *akçes* in revenue from Prizren's silk weighing scale alone, which, at the time, was the largest single source of imperial income in the province. [TD 92: 24]

³⁷ Sheep herding was widespread in the Prizren area. In 1518, the annual taxes collected from sheep-herdsmen was 285,000 *akçes*. [TD 92: 1]

³⁸ The mining law of Novo Brdo, issued by despot Stefan Lazarević, prohibited married women from working as greengrocers, reserving the job for indigent women because it was the only way they could feed their families. [Марковић 1985: 22-23]

All in all, urban environments offered widows more opportunities to live independently than was possible in the confines of a village; there were more better-paid jobs, and there were chances to connect with other women of similar circumstances.

In conclusion, it is evident that the payers of widow tax i.e. “indigent hemp-spinstresses” with children, constituted the poorest and most vulnerable segment of Ottoman society. As such, they were offered financial support from the state – in the form of token taxation – while most job prospects, legal protection, and safety they found in towns and cities.

Baştina-owning widows were financially stable and, therefore, subject to the same taxes men paid. They had nothing in common with poor widows hemp-spinstresses other than the fact that both of them had lost their husbands and were their children’s sole providers. *Baştina*-owning widows were, in fact, financially better off than most families whose tenured land belonged to the state. The social and financial status of these widows offered them good prospects for re-marrying, which they mostly did quickly, causing them to feature so infrequently in Ottoman censuses.

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ON COMPOSING CONTRIBUTIONS OF CZECH MUSICIANS TO CHORAL LITURGICAL MUSIC IN SERBIAN CULTURE DURING “THE LONG 19TH CENTURY”

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SUMMARY: The history of Serbian music, especially during “the long 19th century,” as well as in the interwar period, would have been different had it not been for the activities of numerous Czech musicians, whose contributions made in various domains uniquely influenced the dynamics and complexity of many developmental lines of music practice among Serbs. The paper particularly focuses on the period from the mid-19th century to 1914, and at the center of consideration is the area of choral Orthodox liturgical music. Special attention is paid to the following composers: Vojtěch Hlaváč, Joseph Cee, Quido Havlasa, Fran Vilhar, Václav Horejšek, Stefan Schramm, Robert Tolinger, Anton Tuna-Osvald, Vojtěch Šístek, Hugo Doubek, Hranislav Hartl, and Bohumil Holub. The aim of the study is to offer the most comprehensive possible overview of the Czech musicians’ activities in the field of Orthodox liturgical music, also taking into account the biographical and broader context. The paper also provides, in brief, a critical look at literature and an analysis of archive and other music material related to compositions which so far have not been mentioned in other available printed publications of importance for the history of Serbian music. Finally, the composition, technical and stylistic characteristics of the selected works were considered, so as to give readers an insight into this aspect of the Czech musicians’ work, especially from the perspective of connecting traditional Serbian church singing with the Western European approach to music creation.

KEY WORDS: choral liturgical music, Czech musicians’ contributions, dialogue between Serbian church singing and Western European composition technique, the long 19th century.

The history of Serbian music, especially during “the long 19th century,”¹ as well as in the period between the two world wars, would have been different

¹ The concept of the long 19th century in Western history, as a period between the French Bourgeois Revolution and the start of World War I (1789–1914), leans on the historical and theoretical

had it not been for the activities of numerous Czech musicians, whose contributions made in various domains uniquely influenced the dynamics and complexity of many developmental lines of music practice among Serba. On this occasion, we are paying particular attention to the first stage of their activity, i.e. the period between the mid-19th century and 1914. At the center of consideration is their composition work in the area of Orthodox liturgical music, the longest lasting and oldest genre of Serbian musical art. It is one of the areas of activity of Czech musicians which so far hasn't been the subject of more extensive research, with the exception of monographs written by the author of this paper. However, like in many other music genres, composers of Czech descent provided valuable, interesting and innovative contributions in this field, too, and without understanding them the historical and musicological considerations of the genre would not be complete or founded.

The nature of Czech–Serbian ties is complex and dynamic and its range, as Karamijalković also notes, is highly developed: “from historical science, and more narrowly, the history of Slavic philology, to historiography, from musicology to university Slavic studies, from politics to economy” [Карамиялкович 2013: 21]. Indeed, where music is concerned, there is practically no activity important for musical life in which the aforementioned academically educated musicians of Czech descent did not leave their mark. Czechia, which already Charles Burney in his travelogues on music in Central Europe and the Netherlands called the music “conservatory of Europe” [Hefling 2004: 315], thanks to the composers and performers who occupied important positions in all top European music centers in the course of the 18th century and later, in subsequent centuries, continued to be one of the biggest places of origin of talented, dedicated and well-educated musicians. As for Serb-populated settlements (in present-day Vojvodina) or Serbia, Czech colonization was systematically carried out as of 1766, as a project of sorts of the Court in Vienna (in the case of the Habsburg monarchy) or was conducted with the support of Serbian rulers [Карамиялкович 2013].

During the second half of the 19th century, when musical art was becoming an increasingly important segment of cultural life among the Serbian people, one of the big problems was an extremely small number of educated musicians. For that reason, Czech composers and performers, who gained their music education at the Conservatory in Prague, as well as at the Organ School in the same city, but also in Vienna, Leipzig, or Budapest, came to Serb-populated towns or to Serbia and were easily assimilated by the Serbian society. Serbian music culture, which was getting European but also national Romanticist outlines, welcomed them with open arms. Almost 250 Czech musicians were engaged in numerous fields of Serbian music [Gajić 2009: 73]: they worked as educators, music writers and textbook authors, music publishers and critics, chaplains and choirmasters, who raised the quality of musical performance.

model of Eric Hobsbawm (Eric Hobsbawm). Cf. [Weliver and Ellis 2013]. In the history of Serbian music, the starting line is, of course, moved to the time after the Second Serbian Uprising, especially to the second half of the 19th century.

Last but not least, they worked as composers, not just within the framework of existing music genres [Гајић 2010: 53], but rather took the first steps in conquering new kinds of music.

Serbian Prince Mihailo, “wanting to get closer to the West... invited people of science and culture to come to Serbia and help its development. Thus, in the mid-19th century, many craftsmen, intellectuals, and especially musicians came from Czechia” [Карамиджалковић 2013: 47]. Articles in periodicals describing the Turks’ withdrawal from Serbian towns in 1867 and the grand ceremony of “the handover of the keys” held at Kalemegdan Fort on April 6 also testify to that. The event, in the words of poet, jurist and publicist Stevan Vladislav Kaćanski, was enhanced by music “from all sides,” and so “song... rang out in all parts of the town.” Among the instrumentalists who added to this ceremony were “Czech women with harps” [Каћански 1937: 668]. It’s a shame there is no more information about these female harpists.

Although they primarily hail from a different religion, some of the Czech musicians who took part in laying the foundations of Serbian musical life, made an important contribution to the field of Orthodox church music.² The fact that many of them received Serbian citizenship and converted to Orthodox Christianity, and some even changed their names, indicates a readiness to fit into the new environment as much as possible. Therefore, the composition work in the area of choral liturgical music for Orthodox rites not only enriched the repertoire of the choral ensembles the Czechs worked with, but was also one of the forms of assimilation in the religious spheres of the Serbian society.

The aim of the following presentation is to offer, as much as possible at this time, the most comprehensive possible overview of the activities of Czech musicians in the area of Orthodox liturgical music, taking into consideration the biographical context, if there are any available data. Furthermore, we will provide a critical look at the literature and an analysis of archive and other music materials related to the compositions which so far haven’t been mentioned in available printed publications of importance for the history of Serbian music. Finally, we will consider the composition, technical and stylistic characteristics of the selected works, so as to give readers an insight into this aspect of Czech musicians’ activity.

The beginnings of Vojtěch Hlaváč’s (1849–1911) work in music are tied to Orahovica (1865–1867), and then to Vršac as well (1867–1870). Interestingly enough, this student of the Prague Organ School started working professionally already at the age of 16. Later, as of 1871, he worked in Saint Petersburg; he achieved considerable international success as a pianist [Карамиджалковић 2013, 70]. Despite his international career, he maintained contact until the end of his life with the Serbian Church Singing Society from Vršac and planned his performances in this town [Аноним 1896]. During a three-year service in Vršac, he adapted Kornelije Stanković’s *Liturgy* (adaptation

² On terminological matters related to the terms church, liturgical, spiritual... music v. [Перковић Радак 2008]

for the men's choir), and composed several other liturgical compositions:³ *Opelo* (an Orthodox counterpart to *Requiem*), troparia for Epiphany and for Christmas (this troparion is not mentioned in available sources, while copies were found in the music library of the Vršac Serbian Church Singing Society), as well as a number of songs for Easter (ekteneia, *Thy Resurrection*, *Christ Is Resurrected*). It is worth mentioning that Hlaváč's short troparion *Thy Birth* (Christmas troparion), sung in the fourth church mode, in 25 bars, harmonized in A minor, unlike the major version which is present in the writings of numerous melographers in the 19th and 20th century, as well as in modern Church singing practice. Furthermore, he wrote a hymn to Saint Sava which was often on the repertoire of the Vršac choir.

Quotes of traditional Serbian church melodies make up a "musical weft" of sorts in all of Vojtěch Hlaváč's works. The musical texture of his works is very simple, while harmonies are almost on a school level, which is to be expected in the case of an 18-year-old musician encountering the distinctive and not familiar enough to him musical intonation fund of Serbian church singing.

Two years after Vojtěch Hlaváč, Joseph Cee (1842–1897) arrived in the Pančevo Serbian Church Singing Society as choirmaster and composer. Cee worked at this music association between 1869 and 1873, and later moved to Zemun, where he stayed for more than 20 years (1873–1895), working at the Serbian Church Singing Society, but also as a music teacher. He spent the last two years of his life in Kragujevac (1895–1897), also working in music pedagogy.

The liturgical compositions created by this Czech composer, who spent nearly half of his life in Serbian choirs and schools, are not many: besides the musically inspired prayer *Our Father* for four male voices and a cycle of songs for the feast of Easter (composed in Pančevo in the period 1869–1873), he wrote music for the wedding ceremony (for the men's choir) and adapted, like Vojtěch Hlaváč, Kornelije Stanković's *Liturgy* (during his stay in Zemun).

Cee's most successful work is certainly the *Our Father* prayer. This short composition comprising some 30 bars in A-flat major deserves a place among anthological examples of liturgical music composed for ceremonies of the Serbian Orthodox Church, as the work of one of the prominent predecessors of Serbian musical Romanticism greats, Josif Marinković and Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. Clear phrases, proper diction of the text, interesting harmonic planing characterized by rich non-chord tones which result in interesting passing/embellishing harmonies, approachable melodies – these are all features of Josif Cee's *Our Father* composition.

After Vojtěch Hlaváč's departure from Vršac, Quido Havlasa (1839–1909) arrived at the post of choirmaster of the Serbian Church Singing Society in the town, and would remain in that position for four years (1871–1875). After that, Havlasa would spend two years working in Senj and would then return to Czechia. The renowned and respected Vršac musician made an effort to achieve good communication with the audience, which was reflected in the field of

³ [Luke 1873] also writes about Hlaváč's version. Luke believes Hlaváč's version is on a higher level than the one authored by Slovenian-born composer Davorin Jenko.



Figure 1. Quido Havlasa

liturgical music through frequent quoting of traditional melodies for a solo voice in Serbian singing. Unlike the works of other Czech-born composers, certain compositions by Quido Havlasa were accepted and performed relatively often, which particularly pertains to the choral composition *Thee Who Deckest Thyself*, based on the traditional stycheron sung in the fifth voice.

The encounter with the distinctive descants of so-called “Karlovec chant,” characterized by unique principles in building the musical form, structural particularities, and a special combination of tonal and modal systems of musical flow, in melodies belonging to one of the eight church modes, was – judging by preserved archive sources – a particular challenge for a composer educated at the Prague Organ School. Not only was the Church Slavonic language, which was new to him, used, but rather the music vocabulary too was very different from the “maternal melodies” of Quido Havlasa. In that light, the notebook of manuscripts found in Vršac, containing a myriad of his church compositions, is precious. The sketches and unfinished concepts reveal that Havlasa first composed the music and then added the text (sometimes, as was typical of Czech composers, in the Latin script!) or vice versa: he added music to the already written text. He did not deal too much with the matter of metric division, and so he mostly applied the same metric method in a single composition, i.e. the same kind of beat, without, therefore, going into questions of accentuation. Besides, that was one of the common characteristics of the vocal music work of Czech authors, who made mistakes in accenting Serbian and Church Slavonic text. Furthermore, Havlasa also musically adapted liturgical texts without applying elements of traditional descants; among them are the Song of the Cherubim (in the form of a stanza song with a coda), *Requiem*, *Holy God*, and the incomplete *Liturgy*. An example from the kontakion of the *Requiem* (With the

Saints) illustrates the composers' approach to connecting the lyrics and the music by meaning: the words "there shall be no more sickness, or crying, or sorrow" are entrusted first to the choral unison, and then the facture is enriched by a chord syllable, with the application of *forte* dynamics. On the other hand, the textual phrase "but where life is endless" brings a contrast that is realized through long note values and *piano* dynamics, thereby pointing to the opposites of the suffering of life and eternal peace after death.

(Andante)

и - дѣ - жѣст бо - ље зан, ни пе - чал. ни воз - ди - ха - ни -

5
је рно жи - зањ бе - ско - не - чна - ја

Example 1. Quido Havlasa, *With the Saints, Requiem*, b. 10–15.

The most famous church composition by Quido Havlasa is certainly the Good Friday stycheron *Thee Who Deckest Thyself* according to the melody of the fifth mode.⁴ It is very interesting that Emanuel Pichert, another Czech composer who worked in Vršac (1883–84 or between 1896 and 1902),⁵ adapted Havlasa's aforementioned work. There will be more talk of Pichert further in the paper. According to available data, Quido Havlasa's stycheron was sung in different Vojvodina towns: besides the denizens of Vršac, the people of Kikinda, Pančevo, Novi Sad, and other places also heard it, both as part of the evening liturgy on this feast and at spiritual music concerts [Перковић Радак 2008].

A number of songs for the wedding ceremony have been found in the music library of the Vršac Singing Society, signed by Pichert and Fran Vilhar (1852–1928), who worked in Bela Crkva from 1872 as a music pedagogue. Vilhar, on whose activities there are no significant data available for the time being, composed the ektenia responses of this cycle, which does not contain tinges of Serbian church singing.

⁴ In [Ђорђевић 1969], this stycheron is listed under numbers 2054, 2055 and 2072: as *Glory Be to the Father*, *Glory Be to the Father (Thee Who Deckest Thyself)* and *Thee Who Deckest Thyself I and II*. This is, in fact, one work (whose two variants are not too different from each other; it is a matter of leading the voices and, partially, harmonization). Cf. [Ђорђевић 1950, 56].

⁵ Data on Pichert's interventions taken from the Vršac copy of the composition.

The church compositions of lesser known and prematurely deceased Czech composer Václav Horejšek (1839–1874), choirmaster in Zemun and Pančevo (1873–74), are characterized by a mature artistic approach. In addition to the *Liturgy* for a mixed choir, which the Pančevo Serbian Church Singing Society sung relatively frequently at liturgies [Томандл 1938: 222], the liturgical song *The Only Begotten Son* and the irmos for the Feast of the Ascension (*Bless My Soul*; this is Horejšek’s only composition to contain the traditional church melody of the fifth mode), he also composed a *Requiem* for the men’s choir (which is not mentioned in the available sources). The sheet music for the *Requiem* is in the music library of the Pančevo Serbian Church Singing Society (along with the other aforementioned compositions), but sections have also been found in Zemun, and so one should not rule out the possibility of the composition having been written for the Zemun Singing Society, while the sheet music was subsequently brought to Pančevo.⁶ All the works are in manuscript form.

Stylistically speaking, Horejšek’s liturgical works composed for the Orthodox rite are among the earliest Serbian church works that clearly exhibit elements of musical Romanticism. They are present in the harmonic component and its expressive properties, particularly noticeable if they are in the service of psychological interpretation of the text (this element is the most pronounced in the *Requiem*). An expansion of the tonal boundaries was achieved through the early Romanticist total chromatic, altered chords, open chromatic lines, passing/embellishing harmonies, endings marked with an ellipsis, frequent mutations, and a typical Romanticist characteristic is the harmonic varying of the same musical thoughts. For the sake of illustration, we can present the short response *Alleluia* from the *Requiem*, whose features include a well-developed and discreetly imitational facture, subtle use of chromatics and unity of motifs.

Example 2. Václav Horejšek, *Requiem*, *Alleluia*.

The music library of the Serbian Church Singing Society in Vršac contains the composition *Holy God* by Alexander Dozela, choirmaster of the singing societies in Bela Crkva (1873–1874), Vršac (1877–1880), Timisoara (circa 1885), and Old Bečej. Interestingly enough, the notes of this trisagion were found in the notebook of Quido Havlasa, which probably means that the contacts between the two composers who worked in Bela Crkva (Dozela) and Vršac (Havlasa)

⁶ On the “journeys” of some of Horejšek’s sheet music after the composer’s death v. [Томандл 1938, 185–86].

at the same time also entailed their artistic cooperation. This work of modest dimensions without the application of traditional descants has the characteristics of a lullaby, which leads to the assumption that the composer had arranged some already existing work for liturgical use by “signing” the text of the trisagion.

The professional career of Stefan Schramm (1853–after 1898) – a shape-note singing teacher at the School of Theology (from 1875), Belgrade schools and gymnasiums, conductor of the Belgrade Singing Society (1879–1881) and other, lesser known choirs (Typographic Singing Society, the Palilula Singing Society) – was firmly tied to church music, in the interpretation sense. We believe that the fact that Schramm was a respected choirmaster of the Belgrade Singing Society, “an industrious man, committed to his work... who contributed a great deal to the Society’s consolidation, to form a mixed choir” [Калик 1903, 46], also testifies to his regular engagement on the plane of the choir’s participation in liturgies at the Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Belgrade. Thus, the modest number of his available church sheet music is slightly surprising, as is the absence of this author’s liturgical choral compositions from the repertoire.

From the positions of church music, Schramm, also known as one of the founders of the first Serbian chamber ensemble – the Belgrade String Quartet – together with Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, is best known as the author who adapted Francesco Sinico’s *Liturgy*, printed in Božidar Lukić’s collection.⁷ However, his work in this field is far more extensive. Kosta Manojlović mentions two liturgies: one for the men’s choir according to Serbian church singing (this work, according to Manojlović, comprises only harmonizations of church descants; [Manojlović 1921: 109]), and another, also for the men’s choir, which “contains fresher harmonic places and counterpoint ideas in the voices” [Манојловић 1923: 175]. Manojlović particularly likes *Holy God*, a song rich in “emotion and expression.” It may be a version of the trisagion that was part of the redaction of Sinico’s *Liturgy*: indeed, it is one of the more successful hymns from this work which, thanks to its modal undertone and final gradation, can from a distance recall the well-known eponymous song from Tchaikovsky’s *Liturgy*.

Vladimir Đorđević, however, mentions just one *Liturgy*, but only in the *Contributions Towards a Biographical Dictionary of Serbian Musicians*.⁸

Besides the *Liturgy*, Schramm also composed songs for weddings, vigils,⁹ usual or liturgical hymns for feasts (*Bless the Souls, Only Begotten Son, Praise, The Body of Christ, Save, O Lord Christ; Through the Prayers, Save Us, You Who into Christ*), troparia (The Birth, The Epiphany, Resurrection, St. John), and the great *Holy God* which is sung during Great Lent (this work is not

⁷ The first part of the *Liturgy* is wholly Schramm’s (trisagion, Only Begotten Son), the Song of the Cherubim relies on Sinico’s, while *One Is Holy, We Saw, To Fill, Be the Name of the Lord* were also written by Schramm. More details on Schramm’s redaction [Михалек 1992].

⁸ V. [Ђорђевић 1950]. Kosta Manojlović says he had the manuscript of Schramm’s *Liturgy*, but it remained in Munich in 1914, along with the whole music library. At the time of writing that text, he did not have access to some other copy of this work.

⁹ The composition was not available to us; if these really are songs for vigils, Schramm should be observed as a composer who introduced, or at least transferred from Russia, a new genre into Serbian church music.

mentioned on the available lists of Schramm's church compositions). The last composition for the mixed choir has elements of the so-called "big" first mode.

Robert Tolinger (1859–1911) is counted among the most renowned Czech composers who worked at Serbian singing societies in the second half of the 19th and in early 20th century. Like other incomers, he probably got acquainted with Orthodox church music upon arrival at the helm of the singing society that hired him, which in his case was a music association in Kikinda, where Tolinger arrived in 1880. Working at the *Gusle* singing society for the next 10 years, he initiated considerable progress, not only of this choir but also of the entire musical life of Great Kikinda and the surrounding villages.

Before Tolinger's arrival, the *Gusle* singing society sang the *Liturgy* by Vienna composer Benedict Randhartinger at the Kikinda church, and the same practice may have continued even after 1880, seeing as the same work is mentioned in the periodical and programs of the choir even eight years later. Apart from Randhartinger's, Tolinger also prepared with the choir his own, and Stanković's *Liturgy*, adapting the latter for the needs of the choir he was conducting.¹⁰ After going to Cetinje (1890–97), Tolinger, as a music teacher at the School of Theology, did not lose touch with church music, and the case was probably the same in Šabac (1902–1911) where he performed the duty of conductor of the Šabac Singing Society and music teacher at the Gymnasium.

Tolinger's small church opus includes compositions printed by the *Gusle* society: *King of Heaven* and *An Easy Liturgy for Three Male Voices* (1886?), and a number of works in manuscript form: *A Liturgy for Two Female Voices*, troparion to St. Sava, the Song of the Cherubim ("according to Kornelije Stanković"), *Save, O Christ, and Requiem* [Мишков 1998: 574]. *King of Heaven* according to the sixth voice descant, for the mixed choir, bears the mark opus 1, and based on the dedication written to Vršac Bishop Emilijan Kengelac we draw the conclusion that it was composed before 1885 (when the bishop died). The minor tonalities of this composition (the beginning is in G minor and the ending is in B minor, which is unusual but is in line with the nature of the monophonic sixth mode) are well harmonized with the maestoso nature of the work, which is dominated by stripped down *piano* dynamics and a homophonous texture, which is enriched at the word "treasury" by free polyphonic performances of the soloist and the voices of the choir.

The *Liturgy* for three male voices is one of Tolinger's less demanding compositions.¹¹ The author consciously strove for more accessible solutions, which he also wrote about, albeit in a slightly difficult to understand language, in a presentation of the composition in 1886: "this liturgy is a purely homophonic

¹⁰ Data from the book of rehearsals of the *Gusle* Singing Society for 1888–1890, Historical Archive, Kikinda.

¹¹ Kosta Manojlović said the following of Tolinger's *Liturgy*: "Robert Tolinger composed a liturgy in which the Song of the Cherubim particularly stands out, which was, like the entire liturgy, done more in the counterpoint style and is stylistically closer to the Catholic Church. We do not know whether the manuscript has been preserved, because I know about it from an article in Brankovo Kolo" [Manojlović 1921: 110].

Manojlović obviously did not have access to *A Liturgy for the Men's Choir*. His observations may have been based on an article by Dragutin Popović [Поповић 1902].

composition, in forms shortly executed, as much as that was possible, and in an all-round narrow (sic!) framework, given to it by the standpoint of practical use, and elevates and emphasizes certain moments of the liturgy only with a serious and dignified mien” [Толингер 1886, 116]. We single out the song *I Sing Thee* which flows naturally, without any mannerism found in certain parts of the liturgy, and with harmonically fresh solutions.



Example 3. The front page of the composition *King of Heaven* by Robert Tolinger

Besides the *Gusle* Singing Society, Tolinger’s church music, or specifically *King of Heaven*, was also performed by the singing societies from Uljma, Bečkerek, and Šabac. It seems that the discrepancy between the popularity and distribution of his secular and religious works is justified by the fact that the artistic reaches of church music are mostly lower than those in secular genres.

Another founder and cello player of the Belgrade String Quartet, long-time music professor at Belgrade’s Great School (1883–1898), conductor of the Ac-

ademic Music Society, Josef Svoboda (1856–1898), composed the *Liturgy* for the mixed choir. What is interesting is that during his work in Belgrade he also wrote a requiem for the choir and orchestre, which his students, led by conductor Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, performed at the Catholic church after Svoboda's death [*Memorial Book on 100th Anniversary of the First Men's Gymnasium in Belgrade 1839–1939* 1939: 361]. The whereabouts of the sheet music for the aforementioned works are unknown.

Anton Tuna-Osvald (1864–1936) was praised for his qualities as a conductor. “Every piece,” Tomandl wrote, “that he did conduct was performed with plenty of finesse and feeling, knowing especially how to demonstrate all the nuances that gave the musical effect to an individual composition” [Томандл 1938: 266–67]. We are familiar with his church compositions created in Pančevo (1912–1919), whereas we have no information about his work between 1883/84 and 1911.¹² They include an adaptation of Mokranjac's *Requiem*, then a “potpourri” of sorts that combined Oswald's and Mokranjac's wedding songs, and *A Liturgy for the Women's Choir* for three voices lithographed in Pančevo in 1917. In other words, Oswald focused more on adapting existing works for a particular performance group than on independent composing work.

Czech composers rarely wrote down homophonic Serbian church singing. One of them was Vojtěch Šístek (1864–1925): during his service at the Teachers' Gymnasium in Niš, he recorded the Octoechos. It is not known where that record is. This composer may have applied his knowledge of Serbian church singing also when composing choral church music: there are data in literature about his liturgical song *Be the Name of the Lord*. Šístek quite probably also worked on other polyphonic liturgical hymns.

Although he prepared and led choral singing in Vršac churches, organized religious music concerts, taught students of the Serbian Elementary School, the long-time and in multiple terms choirmaster of the church singing society from this town, Emanuel Pichert (1860–1902) did not sign a large number of liturgical works. Vladimir Đorđević mentions one composition: it is *Glory to the Father and the Son* for the men's choir, or in fact *Only Begotten Son* with a doxology [Ђорђевић 1950; 1969]. Research of the archives has shown that this work was created in 1891 and that Pichert had already addressed the church music genre in the past: in 1887, at the start of his second term in Vršac, when he wrote the cherubim song (*Holy*) for a choir of six voices (mixed and children's choir of two voices). This interesting and short composition, which, like the composition *Only Begotten Son*, does not contain quotes of church melodies, is characterized, relative to the works of Pichert's predecessors, by an unusually rich polyphony and a well-developed harmonic language. If certain illogical elements with regard to accents were corrected, this work could end up in an anthology of 19th century church music.

¹² In the period 1883/84 and 1911, Anton Tuna-Osvald worked in Old Bečej as the choirmaster of the Serbian Church Singing Society, then in Novi Sad (from 1899) as chaplain of the Serbian National Theater, and then in Sombor – at the Serbian Craftsmen Singing Society, and in Vršac – at the Serbian Church Singing Society.

Vladimir Đorđević's reviews make no mention of Anton Tuna-Osvald's church music.

The name of Czech composer Hugo Doubek (1852–1897), thanks to his work at the Serbian Novi Sad Public Library Singing Society (1888–1889) and the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad (1891–1896), is primarily linked to secular choral and stage genres, rather than to church music. That is exactly the reason why it is particularly interesting that in September 1892 Doubek composed a *Requiem* for a mixed choir of six voices. The sheet music for this work is kept in the music library of the Kikinda-based *Gusle* singing society. Since it is the original manuscript which, together with some of Doubek's other secular compositions, is kept in Kikinda, we can assume that the *Gusle* society, attempting to solve the choirmaster problem (during the conflict with Hranislav Hartl in 1891–1894),¹³ may have hired Doubek part-time, along with other musicians or teachers.

Doubek's short *Requiem* contains traditional Serbian church descants in all songs, except in the opening *Holy God*, but even here the composer's intention to get closer to the church melos may be recognized in the melodic marked by a descending major second melodic interval. The modesty of means of expression – the harmony, the way in which the choral sections are “sculpted,” the factures – as well as errors in text accentuation, as characteristics which bring Doubek's work in the field of Orthodox liturgical choral music closer to that of other authors of Czech provenance.

The *Gusle* singing society, at Dvorak's recommendation, in 1890 hired Hranislav Hartl (1858–1900), a renowned concert pianist and conductor of the Vienna Opera. Hartl also worked as a music teacher, tried to run a music school, and for a while (between 1891 and 1894) also cooperated with the Serbian Church Singing Society from Bela Crkva [Мишков 1998: 262–63]. Literature says that in 1894 he composed the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* for a soloist and a mixed choir, and dedicated the work to the *Gusle* singing society.¹⁴ Unfortunately, we do not know whether the sheet music for Hartl's liturgical cycle has been preserved.

The composition *Many Years* by Czech composer Bohumil Holub (1880–1951), who worked in Sremska Mitrovica as of 1902, was found in the music library of the Kikinda-based *Gusle* singing society.

Thanks to the insights presented, the artistic work of Czech musicians in the field of Orthodox church music can be understood in a more comprehensive and more complete way. Their composing, conducting, but also work in the field of music publishing, left a significant trace in the area of choral liturgical music in the Romanticist period. In a unique way, each of them enriched the genre, often combining elements of traditional Serbian church singing with the Western European music vocabulary, which led to stylistic progress within this type of music. Unfortunately, a large portion of the work of Hlaváč, Cee, Havlasa, Tolinger, and many other authors whose contributions were considered in this paper, was extremely local by nature, and the absence of ambition of many authors to print their works in this field greatly contributed to the oblivion that

¹³ On Hartl's work in Kikinda v. [Мишков 1998: 262–63].

¹⁴ Unfortunately, this manuscript was not found during the research of the archive in Kikinda in 2002.

covered their composing contributions. Despite that, it has been proved that their commitment to liturgical music not only reflects their artistic capabilities, but rather also conspicuously contributes to the diversity of Serbian musical heritage.

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THE RECEPTION OF ST. SAVA'S *ZAKONOPRAVILO* IN RUSSIA: REASONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

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SUMMARY: Even though it was back in 1869 when Russian canonist A. S. Pavlov discovered that at the request of the Metropolitan of Kiev Kirill II, in 1262, Bulgarian Despot Jacob Svetoslav had sent to Russia the Serbian *Kormchaia* and not the Bulgarian one, the contemporary academia, Serbian especially, has not written much about the reasons that had allowed the reception of St. Sava's *Zakonopravilo* (also known as St. Sava's *Kormchaia*) in Russia in the second half of the 13th century.

Compared to the old Slavic translation of *Nomocanon in 14 Titles* (the so-called *Ephraim Kormchaia*) which had been in use in Russia since the 11th century, *Zakonopravilo* boasted many advantages. Among the most notable of them are the translated comments of the 12th-century Byzantine canonists, Aristenos and Zonaras, which the older, *Ephraim Kormchaia* was missing. In addition, *Zakonopravilo* featured mostly the abbreviated versions of the canons, while the older translation included the complete canon texts.

The Kiev Metropolitanate needed a new version of the *Nomocanon* because the Mongol invasion of Kievan Rus left the Church's treasures and libraries in ruin and without many manuscripts, including the old Slavic *Kormchaia*.

The copious records of his thirty years as the metropolitan make it clear that it is no mere coincidence that it was Kirill II who initiated the adoption of Sava's *Kormchaia* as the official canonical collection of the Metropolitanate of Kiev at the Council of Vladimir in 1273/4. It is obvious that he, just like St. Sava of Serbia, had a clear plan to lay the foundations – canonical and organizational – for the establishment of a national, autocephalous Church of Russia, where the reception of *Zakonopravilo*, it seems, played a crucial role.

KEY WORDS: reception of law, *Kormchaia*, Russia, Saint Sava, Kirill II

THE ORIGINS OF KIRILL'S *KORMCHAIA*

Speaking of the role that St. Sava played in the ecclesiastical, legislative, and cultural history of Russia, the two perhaps most renowned contemporary scholars of medieval legal ties between Russia and South Slavic states, Yaroslav Shchapov and Yelena V. Belyakova, concluded that the activities of the Serbian

prince-turned-churchman had a cultural impact that went beyond medieval Serbia and even the Balkans, as “his work on organizing the Serbian Church and state, and the establishment of monasteries was of importance for the entire Orthodox world” [Белякова и Щапов 1998: 359]. Although there is hardly an area in which the Serbian Archbishop did not leave his mark, his legacy serving as a model for the other Orthodox people, it is “the creation of the new comprehensive collection of canon and [Byzantine] imperial law” that had the greatest impact on the Russian cultural heritage [Белякова и Щапов 1998: 359]. The document in question, of course, is St. Sava’s *Zakonopravilo*, which had been called, following the later Russian linguistic tradition – a *Kormchaia* (*Кормчая книга/Кормчая книга*), which may have been, according to the recent findings of M. Petrović, a misnomer [Петровић 2002: 28]. In his research on the Byzantine and South Slavic legal heritage in Russian, Shchapov writes that the Serbian redaction of the *Kormchaia*, which according to him owes its ultimate shape to St. Sava of Serbia, was “the state-of-the-art accomplishment of the Byzantine ecclesiastical and legal thought, and showed off the Slavic translation and writing prowess on the topic of church law” [Щапов 1978: 241–242]. The Serbian redaction of the *Kormchaia*, the Russian researcher noted, had “played an important role in introducing the [Russian] feudal society and its Church organization to the legal and administrative framework of Byzantium and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the polemical writings from the time that Constantinople and Rome fought for control and influence over the Christian world, and the accomplishments of the Byzantine culture in certain areas” [Щапов 1978: 242].

Just how St. Sava’s collection found its way to Kievan Rus was a question answered a century and a half ago, in 1869, by A. S. Pavlov, a Russian canonist. Thanks to him, later scholars, most notably S. Troitskii and Y. N. Shchapov, explored a safer and more clearly marked path. Troitskii even opened his research paper by honoring Pavlov as the one who had discovered the “true origin of the Slavic translation of the *Kormchaia* with clarifications” [Троицки 1952: 16]. Here the author is referring to the so-called Kirill’s *Kormchaia* which the Bulgarian despot of Russian origin, Jacob Svetoslav, sent to Kiev Metropolitan Kirill II in 1262 – at the latter’s behest. Records of this are found in Jacob’s letter addressed to Kirill and the note of Bulgarian scribe Dragoslav, whom it took, in his own words, 50 days to transcribe the book that was sent to Kiev¹.

¹ In Jacob’s letter to Kirill II it also says,
 “Богом избранному пастырю оучителю словеснаго стада правовѣрныя
 вѣры нашае отцу ми по Духоу Святомуу преосвященномуу архиепископу
 Кирилоу преславнаго града Кыева,
 оучителя же всеи Роуси и свѣтилника
 Церквамъ богоспасенаго града Кыева.
 И о семь благодари господиство ми
 преподобствие твое еже о Христѣ и
 приявъ азъ писание святаго ти владычества... Освященны архиепископе вся Рускыя
 земля, благодаръжавнаго родиа моего, их же отрасль и корень азъ быхъ, святыхъ праотецъ моихъ.
 Пишу тебѣ, възлюбленны Богомъ
 архиепископе Кириле протофрону.“
 [Щапов 1978: 141, 146–148; Розенкамф 1829: 7]

Pavlov came to his discovery while trying to solve the discrepancy problem that at first glance existed between the numerous sources which testify to the Slavic translation of the *Nomocanon in 14 Titles* being used by the Kiev Metropolitanate as early as the 11th century (the co-called *Drevnoslavyenskaia Kormchaia* (Древнславянская кормчая) and its Russian redaction, the *Ephraim Kormchaia*)² and Kirill II's address written down in the so-called *The Rules of Metropolitan Kirill*, a collection of local church laws adopted during the so-called Council of Vladimir of 1273/4³, according to which the church canons were unavailable in Slavic translation to the Russians before the said council [Павлов 1869: 2–3]. Namely, in his address before the Council, Kirill II pointed to “the numerous disorderliness in churches” he had observed and heard of – a result, he claimed, of church rules being incomprehensible to the clergy, having previously been “shrouded in the wisdom of the Greek tongue.” Referring to the newly arrived *Kormchaia* from Bulgaria, he concludes that “[o]nly now did [the rules] radiate, translated, and with the Grace of God shine through the darkness of ignorance and bring forth the light of reason.”⁴

To a versed connoisseur of the South Slavic medieval written canon law, such as Pavlov, the fact that Kirill II had in his address but echoed the afterword of the Ilovitsa transcript of *Zakonopravilo* – could not go unnoticed [Павлов 1869: 63].⁵ The author of the afterword writes that, “Произидоше на свѣтъ словѣньскаго языка б(о)год(ь)хновеніе сіе книги. нарицаеміе номоканонъ.

² For example, the broad redaction of Prince Yaroslav's Church Statute opens with “Се яз, князь великий Ярослав, сын Володимерь, по данию отца своего съгадал есмь с митрополитом с Ларионом, сложил есмь гречьскый номоканун. Аже не подобает сих тяжь судити князю, ни боярам, дал есмь митрополиту и епископом.” According to that introduction, the division of jurisdiction between the Church's and Prince's court was based on the rules from the Greek *Nomocanon*, a text that Prince Vladimir, Yaroslav's father, and Metropolitan Ilarion had consulted together. It was common for the 13th- and 14th-century Russian transcripts of the *Kormchaia* to feature those early church statutes of the Russian princes [Щапов 1972: 293; Владимирский-Буданов 1876: 201; Розенкамф 1829: 135; Бенеманский 1917: 19–20].

³ Until Shchapov, it was generally thought that the mentioned council took place in Vladimir, a city in northeastern Russia, in 1274. The scholar, however, proposed a new hypothesis, which he supported with plenty of evidence, according to which the meeting actually occurred not only a year before (1273) but in an entirely different city as well: Kiev, the traditional seat of the metropolitans [Щапов 1978: 184]. Despite the fact that over 40 years have passed since the Russian scholar published his groundbreaking research on the Kievan Rus' Byzantine and South Slavic legal heritage, contemporary Serbian scholars writing on the topic still use 1274 as the year that the so-called Council of Vladimir took place.

⁴ Kirill's address was written down in the foreword to *The Rules of Metropolitan Kirill*. The mentioned citation in the *St. Sophia Kormchaia*'s version reads as: “Азь Кюриль смѣрени митрополитъ всеа Роуси, многа оубо видениемъ и слышаниемъ неустроение церквахъ, вво сице держаща, вво инако, несъгласиѣ многа и гроубости, или неустроениемъ пастушьскимъ, или убычаемъ неразумиѣ, или неприхожениемъ епископъ, или в неразумныхъ правилъ церковныхъ. Помрачени бо бѣахоу преже сего вблакомъ моудрости елиньскаго языка, нынѣ же вблисташа, рекше истолкованы быша и благодатью Божиною ясно сияють, невѣдениѣ тмоу вгонаше и все просвѣщающее свѣтмъ разумнымъ и в грѣхъ избавляющее.” [Памятники древне-русскою каноническоу права 1908: 85].

⁵ Famous Russian Church historian Golubinski had been of the same opinion [Голубинский 1900: 64]. Shchapov, among the contemporary Russian researchers, is the one who has adopted this thesis promoted by both Pavlov and Golubinski that in his address before the council, Kirill II had but repeated “another's words” from the forward to the Serbian redaction of the *Kormchaia* [Щапов 1978: 182].

помрачени бо бѣхоу прѣжде сего вблакомъ моудрости иелиньскаго ѳзыка. н(б)нѣ же вблисташе. рекше истлькованы быше. и бл(а)годѣтию б(о)жиною ѳсно сияють. невѣдѣнѣа тмоу вт(б)гонеше. все просвѣшающе свѣтомъ разумнымъ” [Петровић 2002: 40; Щапов 1978: 182]. Seeing how Kirill’s words had been taken verbatim from the Plovitsa afterword, Pavlov concluded that the metropolitan had “not received from Bulgaria the Bulgarian *Kormchaia*, but the Serbian” [Павлов 1869: 62, 66, 81]. Namely, Despot Jacob Svetoslav sent to Kiev a transcript of the *Nomocanon* copied from the official exemplar (протофроня/протофронѣа, протофронесия/протофронѣсія), which in turn, according to Svetoslav’s letter to Kirill, the despot had obtained from the Bulgarian patriarch himself.⁶ In light of the fact that the metropolitan directly quoted the closing note of the Plovitsa copy of *Zakonopravilo* when addressing the Council, it follows that the book Svetoslav received from the Tarnovo Patriarchate contained a text identical to the Plovitsa’s afterword [Голубинский 1900: 62; Щапов 1978: 185–186]. Therefore, it can be concluded that the manuscript in Tarnovo (протофронесия), whose copy was sent to Kiev, and the Plovitsa *Zakonopravilo* had come from the same source.

Using Pavlov’s findings, S. Troitskii further explored the genealogical link between the now-lost *Kormchaia* Kirill had received from Bulgaria and the protograph of St. Sava’s *Zakonopravilo*. Troitskii noticed that the first part of the Plovitsa’s afterword, and thus Kirill’s address, was identical to the closing note of the so-called Morača Monastery copy of *Zakonopravilo* from 1615. The latter transcript, it turned out, contains a written claim that it was a copy (likely, indirect) of the lost sourcebook which Theophile, the bishop of Budimlje, had copied from the official protograph of St. Sava’s collection (“архиѳскопѣихъ книгъ”) which had been kept in the Žiča Monastery, as the seat of Serbian Archbishopric until 1250, when Peć became the new seat of the Serbian Church [Троицки 1952 18, 67; Даниловић 2014: 37]. What is more, Theophile’s words from the Morača copy are to be found, although without his name being cited, not only in the Plovitsa transcript but the transcripts from the Ras⁷, Peć, and Mileševa monasteries as well [Троицки 1952: 67]. With all this in mind, Troitskii concluded that, first of all, Kirill’s speech “at the Council of Vladimir in 1274, proves that the lost manuscript (which the Kiev metropolitan obtained from the Bulgarian despot) also featured Theophile’s afterword”, and secondly, as a result, “it follows that all the copies of this redaction (Russo-Bulgarian) come from the same source, along with the five above-mentioned copies of the Serbian redaction (Plovitsa, Ras, Peć, Mileševa, and Morača), or in other words, they all share A (Архиѳскопѣы книги) as the protograph, and T (Theophile’s transcript) as the most distant common ancestor” [Троицки 1952: 67].

⁶ “Того ради и азъ испросивъ от патриарха и преписах и припустих за святопочивших родители моихъ,” writes the Bulgarian despot in his letter to Kirill, explaining the origins of the transcript that he is sending to the Metropolitanate of Kiev [Щапов 1978: 141].

⁷ Pavlov included the complete text of the afterword of the Ras transcript in his paper [Павлов 1869: 88].

ECCLESIASTICAL AND LEGAL REASONS FOR
THE RECEPTION OF *ZAKONOPRAVILO*.
THE SHORTCOMINGS OF *EPHRAIM KORMCHAIA*

The differences between St. Sava's *Zakonopravilo* and the older *Ephraim Kormchaia* to a large degree explain why the Kiev metropolitan requested a new Slavic translation of the *Nomocanon* despite the fact that *Nomocanon in 14 Titles* – in Slavic translation, had been used in Kyievan Rus since the 11th century.

The canonical part of *Ephraim Kormchaia* comprised complete canon texts copied from the pre-Photian third and so-called *systematic* redaction of the *Syntagma in 14 Titles*⁸ which had been translated in Bulgaria, the same place that, in all likelihood, the old Slavonic *Kormchaia* (*Древнславянская кормчая*) – upon which the *Ephraim Kormchaia* was based on – had come from [Щапов 1978: 52–54, 95, 97–100, 101]. The canons in the *Ephraim Kormchaia* were not accompanied by commentaries of Byzantine canonists [Павлов 1869: 67–68; Щапов 1978: 234], whereas *Zakonopravilo*'s canonical part was rooted in “the synoptic rules of Stephan of Ephesus (6th century), Aristenus' interpretations (12th century), Zonaras' interpretations (12th century), and the complete canon texts” [Законоправило Светога Саве... 2004: xv; Богдановић 1979: 93]⁹.

These interpretations and comments were the “main advantage” of St. Sava's collection [Павлов 1869: 68], and just how important the comments were at the time is reflected in the fact that the Bulgarian despot and his scribe Dragoslav even referred to it by the name of one of the commentators, Zonaras („а писанием сию Зонару“; „Написана же бысть сия Зонара“) ¹⁰. Thus, Pavlov concludes, that “[i]t is indisputable that the attainment of the Slavic *Kormchaia* with interpretations and other supplementary articles, until then unknown in our country, had as big an impact on the history of Russian church legislation as the translation into their native tongue of the entire Greek

⁸ The collection in 14 titles appeared around 580 AD, and it came in two forms: one was the *Syntagma* which only included canon law, and the other was the *Nomocanon*, which comprised both church and common laws. It is thought that the third redaction of the *Syntagma in 14 Titles*, the so-called more systematic one, occurred right after the Seventh Ecumenical Council as it featured the council's edicts, that is, during the period of Ecumenical Patriarch Tarasios (784-806). The later new redaction of the canon part (*Syntagma*), as well as the entire of *Nomocanon in 14 Titles*, meaning the redaction of the common laws of Byzantine emperors, was completed by the famous Patriarch Photios in 883 [Щапов 1978: 51–54; Нарбеков 1899: 107].

⁹ This framework is what convinced Golubinski that *Zakonopravilo* was solely the work of St. Sava, whom he also considered the sole translator of the *Nomocanon* material included in the collection. Golubinski writes, “Кормчая книга, содержащая в себе сокращенные каноны црковные, с кратким толкованием Аристиновым, не слишком задолго до Кирилла была переведена с греческого языка на славянский св. Саввою, первым архиепископом сербским, и от Сербов была заимствована Болгарами. Этот перевод Саввы и был доставлен митрополиту Кириллу деспотом Святиславом.” [Голубинский 1900: 64].

¹⁰ Pavlov proposed that Zonaras' popularity among the Serbs and Bulgarians, which is why *Zakonopravilo* was closely linked to the Byzantine canonist and often named after him, had to do with the fact that Zonaras had “lived and wrote his commentaries” on Mount Athos “not long before” Sava would come to this holy place. And because on Mount Athos “there had always been many Slavic people, including the Serbs, for whom St. Sava built the Hilandar Monastery,” Zonaras' name and “glory could be spread among the Slavs even before the translation of the book with clarifications could reach them.” [Павлов 1869: 65, 66, 72; Троицки 1952: 2].

Nomocanon had among the Serbs” [Павлов 1869: 71]. This is why Kirill II in his address could without reservations just repeat St. Sava’s words from *Zakonopravilo* on how the canons had been “помрачены бо бѣхоу прѣжде сего вѣлакомъ моудрости кѣлинскаго кѣзыка. н(ы)нѣ же вѣлисташе,” despite the fact that the Kiev Metropolitanate had been using the comment-less Slavic translation of the *Nomocanon in 14 Titles* for two centuries.

The reasons that led the 13th-century Kiev clergy to demand a new Slavic translation of the *Nomocanon* with the interpretations of the Byzantine canonists – are numerous and diverse. Looking for an explanation for Kirill’s lament at the aforementioned council about how his brethren have “forgotten the council rules,” Pavlov points out that “even the Greeks of the 11th and 12th centuries often found the original canons written in their own language incomprehensible” [Павлов 1869: 68]. This is why the Byzantine canonists wrote down the interpretations of certain church rules, often just paraphrasing the existing text – they wanted to clarify the unclear archaic expressions for their contemporaries. In short, the application of the original canon texts from the 4th, 5th, or 7th century in the 13th century, required “a special skill, or so-called legal technique” [Павлов 1869: 68–70]. The application of those complete canon texts from the *Ephraim Kormchaia* by the Kiev Church courts was made even harder due to the collection being “an outdated, too literal, and therefore, unclear and erroneous Church Slavonic translation,” with duplicate content, contradictory procedures, and lacking newer rules from the 9th century (foremost those from the local synods of Constantinople held in 861 and 879) and onwards [Бенеманский 1869: 30; Э.В. Еремян 2000: 199; А. Павлов 1869: 69]. In those early centuries of the Orthodox Church in Russia, relying solely on a collection of vague and often conflicting church laws without (the much-needed) interpretations, certain Kiev archbishops took matters into their own hands, leaving their understanding of the texts. This is how the canonical responses of Metropolitan John II from the mid-11th century [*Памятники древне-русскаго каноническаго права* 1908: 1–20] and Novgorod Archbishop Niphont (*Войрошание Кирика*) from the second half of the 12th century both came to be.¹¹ With Sava’s *Zakonopravilo*, the Kiev clergy got not only the first Slavic translation of the commentaries but, as Shchapov stresses, a fresh translation of the canon texts, “done around 200 years after the old [translation] and that was executed with more expertise” [Щапов 1978: 172].

In addition to the Byzantine commentaries, there was another advantage that *Zakonopravilo* had over the *Ephraim Kormchaia*. Over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, the heads of the Kiev Church worked hard on condensing the canonical part of the old Slavic *Kormchaia*, as some of its transcripts from this time, especially those from Pliginski and Uvarov, testify to [*Памятники древне-русскаго каноническаго права* 1908: 45–46]. To get the codebooks that responded to the needs of the local parish courts, the redactors of the era would leave out certain portions of the original *Kormchaia* texts that pertained to, for example, the Church in Africa, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, or would omit

¹¹ *Войрошание Кирика* were included into Synodic *Kormchaia* from the 13th century [*Памятники древне-русскаго каноническаго права* 1908: 22–62].

the rules that had already been adopted into the local princes' church statutes. Additionally, during the copying, some of the canons were often shortened. With the arrival of *Zakonopravilo*, many of the above-mentioned problems were solved, as the new book comprised 859 canons, of which 700 were taken over from the already abridged Synopsis of Stephen of Ephesus, with the addition of Aristenos' comments – courtesy of St. Sava [Троицки 1952: 8; Щапов 1978: 238–240].

THE NEW WAVE OF THE BYZANTINE LAW RECEPTION

Zakonopravilo not only made the application of canon law easier for the Kiev Church courts but enriched the existing collection of Byzantine common law available in Slavic translation. The most notable example would be the inclusion of the entire translation of *Prohiron* as the 55th chapter of *Zakonopravilo*, titled “City Code” [Богдановић (1979: 93; Троицки 1952: 89)], whereas the *Ephraim Kormchaia* featured only a couple of its titles. Out of its original 40 titles the older *Kormchaia* contained only three: the one on marriage (the 3rd), the one on the property of those who opted for monastic life (the 24th), and the one on the election of bishops (the 38th) [Щапов 1978: 96, 235; М. Бенеманский 1917: 34].¹² The fact that out of the entire assortment of common laws that *Prohiron* boasted, *Ephraim Kormchaia* included only these three that concerned marriage life, only confirmed M. Benemasky's suggestion that “*Prohiron* was, in the eyes of the Serbian and Bulgarian clergy, and later Russian, foremost a handbook on marital law” [Бенеманский 1917: 107].

Only when taking into account that the jurisdiction of the church courts in Kievan Rus in the matters of family law, inheritance law, and criminal offenses against religion, sexual morality, marriage, and family, had been guaranteed by the church statutes of Prince Vladimir and his son and heir Yaroslav, it becomes clear just how significant it was for the Church to get its hands on a complete *Prohiron* [Владимирский-Буданов 1876: 197–199, 201–206]. According to the princes' statutes, certain criminal offenses against religion were under the jurisdiction of both the church and the princes' courts. This means that when *Zakonopravilo* arrived, with its 39 titles dedicated to criminal law, it undoubtedly impacted the operation of the lay courts [Щапов 1978: 237]. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that St. Sava's translation of *Prohiron* was later, at the end of the 13th and in the beginning of the 14th century, made part of the 26th chapter of *Just Measure* (*Мерило Праведное*), a collection of laws put together for the use of the highest church and secular judges in Russia [Вершинин 2019: 6, 12; Николаев 2007; Щапов 1978: 154–155]. According to Shchapov, the compilation of *Just Measure* is directly related to the beginning of a much wider application of the received Byzantine criminal regulations by the Russian secular courts [Щапов 1978: 243–244].

The dominance of customary law and the overall low legal awareness among the Russian society of the time, with its still strong tribal connections,

¹² Vladimir Mošin claimed that only two titles (chapters) of *Prohiron* were actually translated and incorporated into Ephraim's *Kormchaia* – the 24th and the 28th [Мошин 1979: 121].

on the one hand, and the specificity of the religious life of a people newly converted to Christianity, on the other, have forced both the church' and princes' courts to adapt the received Byzantine common and ecclesiastical laws to the needs and conditions of the times and place [Щапов 1978: 236; Попов 1904: 48]. The Byzantine laws that were part of the *Kormchaia* or had been partially included into the church statutes of the Russian princes, made in Russia, in the words of A. Popov, "law, so to speak ideal, whose norms they wanted to introduce into Russian life, to make them valid law." This "foreign (i.e. received) law was but one of the elements in the formation of a new legal system", and despite that in practice there were "major deviations from the Byzantine dogma", the received law gave the Russian law a strong push, "forcing the establishment of a series of new legal institutes" [Попов 1904 46, 66–69]. Thus N. Kalachov in his writing recalls that "many to us known sources of common law before Peter the Great, just like court rulings, were composed under the direct or indirect influence of, on the one hand, church legislation, and on the other, the general Byzantine law, but by and large, the sources that were found in the *Kormchaia* were of the greatest influence [Калачов 1850: 16].

The Serbian *Kormchaia*, according to Shchapov, played a decisive role in Russia's centuries-long reception process of the *Nomocanon* law, because with its arrival "began a more active work on its adaption, which compared to the previous period had a different, more involved creative character" [Щапов 1978: 242]. Namely, although the Serbian *Nomocanon* redaction was officially adopted at the Council of Vladimir [Голубинский 1900: 62; Щапов 1978: 185–186], and then used as an official exemplar whose copies were distributed to the diocesan seats – as the Ryazan transcript from 1284 testifies to [Щапов 1978: 152–153] – active steps towards the creation of a Russian redaction of the *Kormchaia* were taken immediately after the council in 1273.

The Russian redaction was a compilation of the *Ephraim Kormchaia*, with its complete but unexplained canon texts, and Sava's *Zakonopravilo* and its abridged canon texts with commentaries. Moreover, the first transcripts of the Russian *Kormchaia*, just like the oldest found version – the *Synodic Kormchaia* from 1282, already featured the local church and common laws [Щапов 1978: 185, 248].

THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES THAT HELPED THE RECEPTION OF *ZAKONOPRAVILO*. THE MONGOL INVASION OF KIEVAN RUS AND THE RUSSIFICATION OF CLERGY

The Mongol invasion of Kievan Rus, which had begun in 1237, definitely influenced Kirill II's decision to request from Despot Svetoslav the new Slavic translation of the *Nomocanon* with clarifications, i.e. Sava's *Zakonopravilo*. It is no secret that many books, including copies of the old *Kormchaia*, disappeared in the invasion. It was the southern and eastern bishoprics that took the greatest hit, including Kiev, which lost its great metropolitan library in 1240 [Щапов 1978: 152]. The *Kormchaia* from Ryazan (1284) testifies to

these occurrences as it states that after 1240, many bishoprics were left without their copies of the codex [Щапов 1978: 139, 141].

The loss of the old *Kormchaia* must have seriously affected the church life in the Kiev Metropolitanate, especially the workings of its courts and the legal disciplinary practice of the clergy and the laymen, given that Kiev clergy at the time was already predominantly Russian and could not really use the Greek *Nomocanon*. A. S. Pavlov notes that in this period, finding a Greek among the bishops was as hard as finding a Russian priest among the metropolitans [Павлов 1869: 6]. Pavlov explains that the Russian prevalence over the Greeks among the clergy during the 11th and 12th centuries is directly related to the fact that, unlike the metropolitans who were ordained in Constantinople, the bishops were elected in Russia. Not only that, but “the right to elect the bishops belonged either to the princes (as was the case in the bishoprics on the territory of the principalities) or the people’s councils (as was the case in Novgorod from the second half of the 12th century onward)”. There is, for example, a story of a Rostov prince opposing the proposition of the then metropolitan of Kiev, Niciphor, to appoint a fellow Greek priest Nikolai as the bishop of Rostov (“не избрasha сего людие земли нашея“), and demanding that the place instead be filled by the *hegumen* of a local monastery [Павлов 1869: 6–7].

The expedited russification of the Kievan clergy in the 11th and 12th centuries greatly resembled the establishment of the Serbian national clergy that St. Sava, a mere *hegumen* of the Studenica Monastery at the time, had planned out and put into motion after 1206 [Богдановић 1981: 316; Петровић 1986: 38, 40–41]. And just like Studenica’s monastic brotherhood had acted under the auspices of St. Sava, as a starter culture in the rise of the Serbian clergy well before the Serbian Church received its autonomy in 1219, so did the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, according to a source from the first half of the 13th century, “give to [the Russian] Church around 50 archbishops” by the time of the writing of the said source [Павлов 1869: 7].

THE BULGARIAN EXPERIENCE

When it comes to the availability of the *Nomocanon* texts after the Mongol invasion, with its clergy and flock mostly Russian and thus autonomous in every way but formal, as it was still under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Kievan Metropolitanate found itself in a situation very much like the one the Bulgarian Church had been in some time prior. Namely, following the subjugation of the Bulgarians and Macedonian Slavs to Byzantine Emperor Basil II in 1018, the newly arrived Greek clergy all but eradicated the old Slavic translation of the *Nomocanon in 14 Titles* from the Ohrid Archbishopric, replacing it with Greek texts. When Bulgaria finally regained its political and church independence in the 13th century, according to S. Troitskii, it adopted St. Sava’s *Zakonopravilo* as its official codex [Троицки 1952: 2]. This decision was made possible by the fact that Bulgarian Emperor John Asen II managed to free himself of the Western political and church yoke, becoming, in the words of G. Ostrogorski, “the initiator of the anti-Latin alliance of the Orthodox rulers”.

Once Bulgaria's Church became officially autocephalous in 1235, Sava's *Zakonopravilo* would become its main legal authority [Остроропски 1996: 295–296, 408, 410; Радојчић 1938: 241 and onward]¹³. According to Pavlov, *Zakonopravilo* could likely have been “generally binding” for all the local Orthodox Slavic churches, meaning that all of them had to abide by it. He writes, “Just how highly regarded St. Sava’s translation in Serbia and Bulgaria had been was reflected in the fact that the prototype of the document was adopted as the undisputed model that all the subsequent Slavic *Kormchaia* manuscripts were fashioned after.” [Павлов 1869: 66] To support his thesis, Pavlov cites Despot Svetoslav’s letter to Kirill II, where the former not only calls the book he is sending “Zanaras” but, “а писанием сию Зонару да бы нигде не препишет. **Понеже так подобно есть сей Зонаре во всяком Царстве единой быти на Соборе.**”¹⁴

Whether or not the above thesis about the formal adoption of *Zakonopravilo* as the highest legal act by the Bulgarian Church is true, it stands to reason that the respect that the Bulgarian Church had for *Zakonopravilo* must have influenced Kirill II’s decision to ask the Bulgarian despot to send him this particular redaction of *Nomocanon* with clarifications.

Kirill II and St. Sava of Serbia

Only upon deeper inspection of the life and work of Kiev Metropolitan Kirill II, can one get a complete picture of all the factors that enabled the reception of St. Sava’s *Zakonopravilo* in Russia in the 1270s.

Kirill II was appointed the metropolitan of Kiev during an extremely taxing period in Russian history. His predecessor Joseph, a Greek, who had been appointed in 1237, fled back to Constantinople as the Mongols descended upon Kievan Rus. Having heard Joseph’s terrifying stories of the Mongol atrocities, the Constantinople Patriarchate tacitly left it to the Russian princes to elect a new church head on their own. The patriarchate also had other, more important matters to attend to, mainly the fact that its seat had been vacant between 1240 and 1242. And so, somewhere between the fall of Kiev (1240–41) and the year 1242, it fell upon Daniel Romanovich, the ruler of Galicia, to elect a new metropolitan. Daniel’s choice was Kirill, a Galician Russian who had been either a *hegumen* or a *hieromonk* in one of the Galician monasteries before his appointment [Голубинский 1900: 51–53]. He was only the third Russian to hold this position in over 200 hundred years, since the establishment of the Kiev Metropolitanate¹⁵. It took seven more years for him to be formally recognized and officially appointed in Nicaea by the Constantinople Patriarchate,

¹³ S. Šarkić, without citing his sources, puts 1226 as the year that the transcript of *Zakonopravilo* was taken to Bulgaria, where it would be adopted as the main legal authority. He was likely influenced by Pavlov, according to whom 1226 was the year that the Bulgarian Patriarchate had been founded. The political alliances John Assen II made with “the Latins” before 1232, however, even without taking into account the supposed union between the Bulgarian Church and Rome in the years leading up to 1232, go against Šarkić’s assumption, because chapters 49, 50 and 51 of *Zakonopravilo* contain texts that openly condemn “the Latins”, calling them new heretics for their erroneous teachings [Шаркић 2015: 109; А. Павлов 1869: 63–64; Петровић 1996: 107–108].

¹⁴ A citation of the text published by Rosenkampf, whereby the pre-revolutionary orthography was replaced with the modern one [Розенкамф 1829: 58].

¹⁵ According to Pavlov, until Metropolitan Kirill II, “there had been only two other metropolitans who were without a doubt Russian: Ilarion, during the reign of Yaroslav I, and Kliment Smoliatiich

during which his power did not extend outside the Principality of Galicia. The bishoprics of the northeastern provinces, the so-called Vladimir-Suzdalian Rus, accepted Kirill II as their head only after his return from Nicaea in 1249 [Розенкамф 1829: 52–53; Голубинский 1900: 53–54].

Kirill's decades-long career as the metropolitan of Kiev (which ended in 1281 with his death) was marked by the Mongol invasion and the ever-growing political and religious divide that spread among the older, southwestern principalities and the new ones that were formed in the northeastern Russian territories. As Daniel Romanovich grew closer with the Pope, who would eventually crown him in 1253, Kirill began favoring the northeastern Vladimir-Suzdalian Rus over his native Galicia. At the same time, the metropolitan worked hard on repairing relations with the Mongol Khan, while seeking firm guarantees from the Horde that the Church would be free to operate under the Mongols [Лаушкин 2002; Голубинский 1900: 58–59].

Even though it was foremost Daniel's ever-growing reliance on Rome that made Kirill turn to the northeastern provinces, primarily Alexander Yaroslavich Nevsky, the Grand Prince of Vladimir and a vocal supporter of the anti-Latin politics¹⁶, there were numerous other factors that helped pave the way, in Kirill's time, for the eventual move of the Metropolitanate seat from Kiev to Vladimir in 1299. Having fallen to the Mongols in 1240, Kiev was not only plundered and left in ruins but was also left without a prince who would protect its citizens from further pillaging and attacks by Lithuanian bands. This is why for a while Kirill, upon returning from Nicaea, could not go to the unsafe and almost empty Metropolitanate seat. For the next 30 years, the metropolitan would often leave Kiev to visit the various parts of the vast territory under his jurisdiction, although most of his time away he would spend in the Bishopric of Vladimir, keeping its seat vacant for 25 years. His travels also had a work aspect to them as he introduced a new way of dealing with the appeals against the rulings of the diocesan courts – he held a traveling appellate court of a kind, wherever he went. Instead of “summoning the litigants to his court, he would adjudicate where the dispute began, which meant that he passed his judgment in the seat of each diocese” [Голубинский 1900: 55–57]. Sources confirm that these excursions to the Russian principalities and bishoprics were motivated to a greater extent by the metropolitan's desire to continually “teach, discipline, and set [his flock] right” rather than because of the unstable circumstances in Kiev [Лаушкин 2002].

As the Mongols, according to Golubinski's writings, from the beginning of the conquest had given the Russians the absolute freedom to practice their religion, and “left the rights of the clergy completely unassailable,” although “not by giving [the] clergy some kind of immunity charter, but in actuality”,

during Iziaslav II” [Павлов 1869: 9]. Kirill's Russian origin, before Pavlov, was particularly emphasized by G. A. Rosenkampf [Розенкамф 1829: 52].

¹⁶ In 1252, Kirill II participated in the act of installing Alexander Yaroslavich as the Grand Prince of Vladimir. Over the years, the two would often meet and counsel, with Kirill finally laying the Prince to rest upon the latter's death. Additionally, numerous researches confirm that compilation of *The Life of St. Alexander Nevsky* is tied to Kirill's name [Лаушкин 2002].

in 1261, Kirill succeeded in obtaining permission to establish a diocese in the Golden Horde's capital of Sarai. Two years before his death, in 1279, he finally got Khan Mengu-Timur to sign a written guarantee (*jarlik*) which ensured the privileges and standing of the Orthodox clergy and Church under the Mongol rule [Голубинский 1900: 59–60].

Yet, it seems like the Council of Vladimir (1273/74) and its edicts hold a special place in Kirill's career. In this assembly, the first of its kind according to the available sources, the diocesan bishops of the Kiev Metropolitanate adopted the new translation of the *Nomocanon* with clarifications obtained from Bulgaria in 1262, as well as *The Rules of Metropolitan Kirill*, a collection of the local ecclesiastical laws which was named after its main author – Kirill II himself [Голубинский 1900: 62; Щапов 1978: 185–186]. For the famous historian of the Russian Church Golubinski, however, these activities of the Council are neither unusual nor unique given who presided over it. For “the especially dedicated shepherd” the meeting was but a “crowning of [his] endeavor to repair the state of the Russian Church, which had occupied his mind throughout his long years as the metropolitan” [Голубинский 1900: 56, 66]. The notion that this was but the crowning of Kirill's continuous activities, according to Golubinski, is supported by the fact that at the time the council was called, Kirill had already served as the metropolitan for some 25 or 26 and as an archbishop for 31 years [Голубинский 1900: 65]¹⁷. His collection of laws paints a rather vivid image of the main issues the metropolitan spent years battling. For instance, at his urging the compilation included regulations against “the abuse and oversight in church administration,” “the errors and irregularities during church service”, and “the moral deficiencies in the lives of the clergy” [Голубинский 1900: 68].

Looking at the fall of Russia under the Mongol yoke through a biblical lens, and comparing it to the Babylonian exile, Kirill saw the invasion as punishment for the sins of the Russian people and their separation from God. In his address before the Council, calling upon the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the metropolitan revealed the reasons for the “captivity”:

What have we gained from turning away from divine rules? Has God not scattered us across this land? Have our towns not been lost? Have our princes not perished under sharp steel? Have our children not been enslaved? Has the holy God's Church not been desolated? Are we not tormented each day by these godless and unholy pagans? All of this came to pass because we did not abide by the rules of our holy and venerable fathers [Голубинский 1900: 66].

Aware that cleansing from sin and the restitution of faith was the only way out of captivity, Kirill asserts that guided by the words of the Old Testament prophets, “he is putting a lot of effort into purging the faith on the territory

¹⁷ If Shchapov was right and the year the Council convened was 1273 instead of 1274, as traditionally thought, as otherwise the length of Kirill's episcopal tenure before the so-called Council of Vladimir would be shorter.

under his jurisdiction” [Лаушкин 2002]. The road to the reinforcement and restitution of Church life led through the reinforcement of the church laws within the Metropolitanate, although the loss of political independence and Rome’s aggressive proselytism made the matter of Church organization even more important. This is why, Golubinski writes, Kirill II upon taking the mantle vowed to be “not only the Russian Church’s archbishop but its reformer and restorer.” “He stayed true to his word to the best of his abilities and power throughout his long career”, says Golubinski concluding his written portrait of the metropolitan and his era [Голубинский 1900: 66].

Given all of Kirill’s immense effort to reorganize the Metropolitanate during those first decades under the Mongols and all his work on canon law, from ensuring the Church got the latest translation of the *Nomocanon*, through the compilation of his *Rules*, to initiating the drafting of a new Russian redaction of the *Kormchaia* – one could easily call him “an organizational and legislative giant,” which are the exact words that V. Mošin applied to St. Sava of Serbia [Мошин 1979: 126]. The comparison between the two only grows stronger when one takes into account that Kirill played a vital role in laying the foundations for the later move of the Metropolitanate from Kiev to the northeastern Russian territories, where the Russians will finally get their political independence and their Church its autonomy in the 15th century. In short, Kirill’s actions speak of the existence of an elaborate plan to create the right ecclesiastical and legal conditions for the establishment of a Russian national church, and within this plan, it seems, the reception of St. Sava’s *Zakonopravilo* was paramount.

Just like the political and religious strife between Serbian King Stefan the First-Crowned and Prince Vukan was mirrored in the tumultuous relationship between Russian princes Alexander Nevsky and Daniel of Galicia, so did St. Sava have in Kirill, with the latter’s efforts to ensure an autonomous national church and his firm stand against the Pope, a faithful follower. Consequently, the life and work of the Kiev Metropolitan show that for the Slavic Orthodox Churches, the 13th century was marked not only by the reception of *Zakonopravilo*, but the adoption of the complete model for an autocephalous national church that St. Sava had devised.

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SERBIAN MUSIC CRITICISM AND ESSAY WRITING OF THE 19TH AND FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY AS A SUBJECT OF MUSICOLOGICAL RESEARCH*

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SUMMARY: Over the last 30 years, a considerable number of scientific papers have been published on a particular branch of national musicology – the history of Serbian music literature. We believe that the time has come to bring to light an elaborate history of that research – the main authors' names, books, discussions, opinion journalism – as well as problems from this segment of Serbian musicology. At the end, the paper points to potential directions and tasks of future research of national musicography until 1945.

KEY WORDS: Serbian music criticism – 19th and 20th century, Serbian music essay writing – 19th and 20th century, Serbian musicology – 20th century.

Scientific research of Serbian literature on music – music criticism, essay writing and various publications – started more than a century ago, with bibliographic work.

In the first several years of the 20th century, Vladimir P. Đorđević (1869–1938), a pioneer of Serbian ethnomusicology, began gathering material for the history of national musical art and culture. His *Essay on Serbian Music Bibliography Until 1914* is not just a guide through printed, lithographed and manuscripts of musical work of Serbian composers, as well as of foreigners who based their compositions on Serbian musical themes and motifs. In its second part, the *Essay* provides a bibliographic overview of domestic texts on music – discussions, extensive reviews, articles, brochures, etc. The author's preface clearly shows that his intention was not to put together a complete but rather a selective bibliography of Serbian dailies, magazines and special publications. That is why that part of Đorđević's book is more of historical than of practical interest to present-day musicology. The fragmented nature of the bibliographic

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list offered poses an immovable obstacle that prevents this otherwise fundamental work from serving as a comprehensive and thus reliable basis in the process of making a history of Serbian music criticism and essay writing of the 19th century¹.

Seven decades would pass from the time when praise deserving Vladimir P. Đorđević completed his pioneering work to the appearance of our next bibliography of music literature. In 1984, the Zagreb-based Miroslav Krleža Yugoslav Institute of Lexicography published the 13th, and two years later also the 14th volume of a capital retrospective bibliography of discussions and articles in the languages of the Yugoslav peoples, spanning from the 18th century to the end of World War II [Kuntarić 1984; Kuntarić 1986]. The two books published by the Yugoslav Institute of Lexicography contain the so far most extensive repertoire of bibliographic data on Yugoslav music criticism, essay writing and opinion journalism pieces; on musicological, aesthetic and ethnomusicological studies and essays; on polemic writings, obituaries, and sundry notes on music. Supplemental registers published in volume 14 have very important scientific value; numerous codes and pseudonyms were solved there and the authorship of a large number of (unsigned) articles on music was determined. Thanks to these two books, a historian researching Serbian musicography and musicology of the 19th and first half of the 20th century has so far the best auxiliary tool for their scientific work. However, it must be used cautiously.

It follows from the foreword signed by the editors in volume 13 that the *Zagreb Bibliography* was done in extenso. Unfortunately, practice showed that this was not the case. For undisclosed reasons, many bibliographic data originating in the Serbian press were not included². Furthermore: the user of these manuals is not given, through a separate list, headlines from dailies and periodicals, magazines, almanacs, calendars, anthologies, and other such publications from which data were drawn. According to our direct examination neither was the entire Serbian and Yugoslav press consulted, nor were all the available bibliographic facts about music taken from all the reviewed sources³.

In 1994, the *Chronicle of Music Life in Belgrade 1840–1941* was published, authored by Slobodan Turlakov (1929–2018), music historian and critic, theater director, writer, and author of a series of articles [Турлаков 1994b]. Turlakov's work is the first and to date only contribution to a complete reconstruction of music life in the Serbian and Yugoslav capital from the time when Serbia was a vassal Ottoman state to the year in which the Kingdom of Yugoslavia found itself in World War II. In his bibliography, the author gathered the facts on concerts, opera, ballet and music shows held, and the repertoire that over those exceptionally dynamic, emancipatory hundred years of Serbian cultural history

¹ Completed in 1908, supplemented until 1914, published posthumously: [Ђорђевић 1969].

² A testimony to that being the case with the Croatian press too is, for example, a paper by Rozina Palić-Jelavić [Palić-Jelavić 2009].

³ Let us add that the World War II period was especially reductively covered. That is easily noticeable when the Zagreb manual is compared to the data offered by the aforementioned paper by R. Palić-Jelavić, and especially by a book by Bojan Đorđević [Ђорђевић 2001]. These limitations are quite certainly a consequences of sociopolitical circumstances in the time of the second Yugoslavia.

broadened the horizon of expectations of Belgrade's musical audience. A historian of Serbian music literature will find Turlakov's additional bibliographic data on music reviews published in the national press regarding concerts or musical plays staged very helpful. The author of the *Chronicle* did not consider it his obligation to document *all* the critical reactions in relation to a particular music event, because the goal of his work – as we saw – was of a different kind. However, even this *selection* from older Serbian criticism and opinion journalism provided to us artfully and usefully meets the needs of scientific readers/researchers.

Local philologists also gathered bibliographic data of interest to the history of Serbian music criticism and opinion journalism. Three fellows of the Belgrade Institute for Literature and Art, associates on scientific research projects titled *The History of Serbian Literary Periodicals*, i.e. *Serbian Literary Periodicals of the First Half of the 20th Century*, focused their attention on literary, theater, visual, music, and film sections of the leading Belgrade print publications, as well as on an extremely pro-Yugoslav Zagreb magazine. First, in 1989, Vidosava Golubović put together a selective cultural and historical bibliography of the *Vreme*, *Politika*, and *Pravda* papers, specifically for the period from 1914 to 1925 [Голубовић 1989]. The same methodological and thematic criteria guided Marija Cindori Šinković, who in 1992 published a bibliographic cross-section of the dailies *Politika* and *Pravac*, for the period 1904–1907 [Циндори-Шинковић 1992]. In 2002, she published a sequel to this work, for the years 1908–1911, and in 2013 also for the period of the Balkan Wars and (partially) World War I [Циндори-Шинковић 2002a; 2013]. A big result of Marija Cindori Šinković's work is also her integral chronological bibliography of the *Nova Evropa* magazine [Циндори-Шинковић 2002b]. Bojan Đorđević turned to a long-suppressed subject of domestic historiography and bibliography – Serbian cultural life during German occupation in World War II – in his pioneering bibliography [Ђорђевић 2001]. Finally, the Institute also published a bibliography of the *Ruski Arhiv* magazine (1928–1937), which also provided articles on music [Грујић – Ђоковић 2012].

Srpski književni glasnik (*Serbian Literary Gazette*) (1901–1914, 1920–1941), one of the most important magazines in the history of Serbian literature and culture, was thoroughly bibliographically processed by Ljubica Đorđević [Ђорђевић 1982] and Staniša Vojinović [Војиновић 2005].

All these bibliographies contain precious data for the history of musicography in our language.

A whole host of excellently created bibliographies of our older dailies and magazines will also be helpful to a historian of (music) opinion journalism. Those bibliographies were published by Matica Srpska, between 1968 and 2013.⁴

⁴ [Малетин 1968; Зеремски – Љубибратић – Чурчић 1972; Љубибратић 1976; Малетин – Марић – Вртунски 1976; Трећаков 1977; Љубибратић 1982; Веселинов 1984; Трећаков 1984; Милитар 1985; Васић 1987; Веселинов 1987; Љубибратић 1989; Веселинов 1989; Љубибратић 1991; Аранитовић 2013 (Aranitović's book was published as a joint publication of Matica Srpska and the Official Gazette)]. Musicologist Danica Petrović managed a project at Matica Srpska called *Music in the Serbian Press of the 19th and First Half of the 20th Century*. As part of that project,

Nonetheless, as may be sensed from the aforementioned, a musicologist focused on a comprehensive view of Serbian music criticism and essay writing in the 19th and first half of the 20th century will have to rely on their own bibliographic research. Despite the efforts of individuals and institutions, there remains an unfulfilled need for a musical analytical bibliography of Serbian press in the above-mentioned period⁵.

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During the 76 years of organized, institutional scientific research activity, domestic composers and their works were the thematic priority of Serbian musicology⁶. The first history of Serbian music was methodologically conceived as a history of musical art, while the data on music writers, books and articles were given as a side note and in an elementary way⁷. Other historical presentations of Serbian music did not pay much attention to the developmental processes of domestic musicography either⁸. Writings about music and music magazines would be separately covered only in a collective history of Serbian music published in 2007 [Веселиновић Хофман 2007]. More intensive work on interpreting and evaluating Serbian literature on music was done in the last two decades of the previous century, and that tendency continued in the first decades of the 21st century.

The most important contribution to historical research and study of the domestic written word about music was made by Stana Đurić Klajn, Roksanda Pejović and Slobodan Turlakov.

Stana Đurić Klajn (1905 or 1908–1986) started dealing in domestic musicography ahead of World War II⁹. She first appeared as a critical presenter

bibliographic inventories were made of musicographic articles in about 20 Serbian dailies and magazines. The gathered material is kept at Matica Srpska and served as a source for studies published in the *Matica Srpska Journal of Stage Arts and Music Archives*. The authors of those papers are Jelena Gligorićević (1993), Neda Vekić (1995) and Bogdan Đaković (1996); see the bibliography of references at the end of this paper.

⁵ A fundamental pillar for researchers of the Serbian press is the capital work [Кисић – Булатовић 1996]. Attention also needs to be drawn to the book [Бицички – Каћански 1977].

⁶ In 1947, the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts was founded. The following year, the Department of Music History and Music Folklore was opened at the Music Academy in Belgrade (present-day Department of Musicology and Department of Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music). Before World War II, there was no institutional scientific work in Serbia in the area of music history, but between 1922 and 1939 Miloje Milojević, the first Serbian doctor of musicology, taught music history and theory at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade. Milojević did not have independent musicological departments, rather his discipline was studied as an auxiliary four-semester course, specifically in the study groups for general history and comparative literature and literary theory. Milojević started his academic career at the Faculty of Philosophy as a member of the Seminar for Classic Archeology and Art History led by professor Bogdan Popović, and ended up at Pavle Popović's Serbian Seminar; see [Живановић 1989: 230–234; Живановић 1990]. The memorial books the Faculty of Philosophy published on the occasion of its 150th and 160th anniversaries make no mention of musicological classes in the Faculty departments in the interwar period; s. [Поповић 1990; Михальчић 1998].

⁷ S. [Đurić-Klajn 1962b: 529–709].

⁸ That refers to the following works: [Ђурић-Клајн 1959; Ђурић-Клајн 1963e; Маринковић 2000].

⁹ The most complete bibliographic data on Stana Đurić Klajn can be found in the monograph by Roksanda Pejović [Пејовић 1994b: 173–201; also see the author's note on p. VIII]. With certain

of domestic Yugoslav literature in *Zvuk*, a magazine she launched and edited [Ribnikar 1935]. She soon also came out with her first contribution to the historical study of our written word on music, namely her historical review of Yugoslav music magazines in 1940 [Đurić Klajn 1940; again in: Ђурић Клајн 1956: 79–93]. After the war, she would dedicate herself to putting together studies on prominent Serbian music writers Petar Konjović, Vojislav Vučković [Ђурић Клајн 1955: 1–10; reprinted in: Перичић 1968: 371–379 and Ђурић Клајн 1981: 169–179], and Isidora Sekulić [Ђурић Клајн 1986a; reprinted in: Ђурић Клајн 1986b: 77–93]. She prepared for printing selected works by Konjović and Vučković¹⁰. Stana Đurić-Klajn did a great deal in the field of music lexicography too, publishing, among other things, a number of articles on Serbian music criticism, our critics, essayists, musicologists, and music magazines¹¹. The first, and to this day only anthology of the Serbian essay on music came from her pen¹².

It has been 37 years since the death of this pioneer of Serbian music historiography. During that time, Serbian musicology has unearthed new facts from the history of criticism and essay writing. The scientific analytical apparatus has been enriched by more modern methodologies. The scientific work of today's interpreter of the national musical literary heritage happens in sociopolitical circumstances free from certain restrictions of the socialist epoch. That is why it should come as no surprise that the modern professional readers of Stana Đurić Klajn's books and studies will not wholly agree with their important predecessor. Today, we will not support certain factual¹³, methodological and value¹⁴ or ideological assessments made by that Serbian

corrections by Aleksandar Vasić, in 2010 the Bibliography was presented in the 10th edition of the *Muzikologija* magazine, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Institute of Musicology of SASA [Музиколоџија 2010: 180–204]. Roksanda Pejović published a selection from the bibliography of books, writings and music reviews by S. Đurić Klajn in her book in 2008 [Пејовић 2008: 174–184].

¹⁰ [Коњовић 1947; Вучковић 1955]. On writer Jovan Popović's negative opinion of Stana Đurić Klajn as the announced editor of Konjović's *Knjiga o muzici* (*A Book About Music*) in 1946, and his distrust of Konjović's book itself, which was in preparation at the time, s. [Милисавић 1998: 160].

¹¹ [Đurić Klajn 1958; 1963a; 1963b; 1963c; 1963d] (all these units were repeated in the second edition of the *Music Encyclopedia* (1971–1977). Also: [Đurić Klajn 1962a; 1965].

¹² [Ђурић-Клајн – Трифуновић 1966]. For this edition, S. Đurić Klajn also put together a preface titled *Music Essay Writing and Opinion Journalism Among Serbs* (pp. 175–201), and that introductory study was reprinted in the author's previously cited collection of studies and articles [Đurić Klajn 1981: 189–209].

¹³ Writing about Stanislav Vinaver, Stana Đurić Klajn says, among other things, the following: "If we leave aside the music reviews he wrote in *Vreme* between 1925 and 1929... the rest that Vinaver wrote on the subject of music is not extensive..." [Ђурић Клајн 1966b: 199]. This Serbian historian passed over Vinaver's dazzling reviews in the *Vreme* daily too easily. The research of Vinaver's work as a critic conducted by literary historian Gojko Tešić suggests that Stanislav Vinaver left more than 500 music reviews behind him; v.: [Тешић 1990: 484]. Gojko Tešić's feat in Serbian science on literature and musicology is unique; he collected on his own and independently organized the collected works of Stanislav Vinaver in 18 books (publishers: the Official Gazette and the Institute for Textbooks, Belgrade). Vinaver's articles on music are also in the books *Muzički krasnopis* (*Music Calligraphy*), *Videlo sveta: knjiga o Francuskoj* (*The Light of the World: A Book About France*) and *Beogradsko ogledalo* (*The Belgrade Mirror*). We provide full data on those volumes in the bibliography at the end of this study.

¹⁴ Thus, for example, Stana Đurić Klajn denies Petar Konjović, in several places in his works, the properties of a musicologist. It is true that Konjović was first and foremost an artist – a composer,

historian¹⁵. We will also notice that in her works, the breadth of the aesthetic, ideological and thematic amplitude of Serbian music criticism, essay writing and opinion journalism of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, in fact: the volume and branched out nature, even the importance of the domestic musicographic legacy were not always sufficiently described and highlighted¹⁶.

However, a big credit to Stana Đurić Klajn is that she was the first to establish the fundamental, unavoidable data on the evolution of Serbian music literature and the fact that she presented measured and well-balanced views on many subjects in that sphere, which have remained acceptable to subsequent researchers. In her discussions and essays, she laid out guidelines for further research and study of the rich heritage of the written word about music among Serbs.

Out of all the musicologists of the second half of the 20th century, her student Roksanda Pejović (1929–2018) most persistently focused on researching, analyzing and evaluating the legacy of Serbian music literature in the 19th and 20th century¹⁷. She began her scientific work in that field in the 1960s, when she was working on her master's thesis titled *Music Criticism and Essay Writing in Belgrade Between the Two Wars*¹⁸. Later she would put together studies, discussions and articles on music writers such as Stana Đurić Klajn, Miloje Milojević, Branko M. Dragutinović, Stanislav Vinaver, Antun Dobronić, Kosta P. Manojlović, Stevan Hristić, and Stevan Mokranjac¹⁹. The pen of R. Pejović also produced the first monograph on a domestic musicographer and musicologist

and that in his articles he most frequently acted as an essayist. But that does not allow for the overlooking of the fact that exactly in his book on Miloje Milojević – who is the main target of Stana Đurić Klajn's negative qualifications – he provided a musicological monograph. The fact that Konjović does not always have complete bibliographic data, or that he writes about his music contemporary and colleague who is a year younger than him, cannot essentially affect the assessment of the nature and range of the historiographic procedure carried out in the given book; cf. [Đurić Klajn 1962b: 661; Đurić Klajn 1981b: 264; Đurić Klajn 1981c: 273]. It should, however, be noted that at one point Stana Đurić Klajn, regarding the monograph *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzički pisac (Miloje Milojević, Composer and Music Writer)*, she wrote differently about Konjović, now as an author who uses scientific methods in his work; cf. [Đurić Klajn 1966a: 96].

¹⁵ In her otherwise nuanced and convincing image of Vojislav Vučković as a musicologist and music writer, S. Đurić Klajn also came out with assessments which can be understood only as time-related (1955), or as an expression of the ideological propensities of the author herself. It is unlikely that a present-day musicologist could accept the assessment by S. Đurić Klajn regarding Vučković's article headlined *Contemporary Soviet Music* [Вучковић 1955: 173–182], an article written from the standpoint of Soviet ideological dogmatism from the 1930s: "...the study was written with such objectivity that today it requires no correction or modernization" (Ђурић Клајн 1955: 9). Sonja Marinković wrote about these musicological assessments [Маринковић 1993: 26–29].

¹⁶ In her historiographic work, S. Đurić Klajn was often in a position to write about her older contemporaries. It may have been a lack of distance that occasionally prevented her from completely seeing and highlighting more strongly the contribution of the people she wrote about. On the other hand, the ideological restrictions of the second Yugoslavia did not allow an extensive and objective study and evaluation of the Serbian society and culture of the interwar period.

¹⁷ The personal bibliography of this scientist was published: [Пејовић 2007].

¹⁸ Written under the mentorship of Prof. Stana Đurić Klajn, defended at the Department of the History of Music and Music Folklore of the Belgrade Music Academy in 1965, the thesis was not publicized and was not available to us. It can be assumed that the insights and results the author obtained in this early work of hers were later supplemented and expanded, and incorporated in her printed studies and features.

¹⁹ [Pejović 1968a; 1968b; 1986a; 1972b; 1986b; 1972c; 1973; 1988a; 1990; 1991c; 1992].

[Пејовић 1994b]. The music magazines *Gudalo*, *Savremeni Akordi* and *Zvuk* also drew her attention [Пејовић 1979; Пејовић 1984; Пејовић 1985; Пејовић 1993]. Prof. Roksanda Pejović also wrote comprehensive, review and problem-oriented papers on Serbian music criticism, essay writing and opinion journalism: she tracked the ideology of the national style through the process of professionalization of writings about music in 19th century Serbia [Pejović 1987]; she analyzed the fundamental terms of Serbian interwar criticism – the notions of what is musically contemporary, modern and avant-garde [Pejović 1988c]; she analyzed the approach of earlier Serbian reviewers to music interpretation matters in the 19th century [Пејовић 1988b]. Among her contributions, resting on a broader factographic foundation, are also those on music in the Serbian periodical press of the 19th century [Пејовић 1989]; on Serbian music and literary thought until the '80s of the century of Romanticism, as well as a report on the attitude of Serbian opinion journalism toward problems of church music, from 1839 to 1914 [Пејовић 1991a; 2000b].

Roksanda Pejović approached music criticism of the earlier period also as an abundant register of information on other forms of Serbian music history. She addressed the written word as a source of knowing the reception of certain foreign and domestic composers and reproductive music artists²⁰. Her historical reviews of the leading institutions of Belgrade music life or Serbian musical performance were primarily – or certainly to a great extent – built on the original material coming from dailies, magazines and similar publications [Пејовић 1977; 1996; 1991b].

Like her teacher and her predecessor Stana Đurić Klajn, Roksanda Pejović, too, was a prominent Serbian music lexicographer²¹.

In the second half of the 1990s, Roksanda Pejović published, in two separate books, the first synthesis on the history of Serbian music criticism, essay writing and musicology, spanning from 1825 to 1941 [Pejović 1994; Пејовић 1999]. In the final period of her life and professional path, when she had already retired, Dr. Pejović also turned to writers of the second half of the 20th century, and enriched Serbian musicology with books about Branko Dragutinović, essayists from Petar Konjović to Oskar Danon, Pavle Stefanović and Dragutin Gostuški, and to reviews, essays and books by the first Belgrade musicians – graduates of the Music Academy after 1945. All those books contain precious selective bibliographies of the aforementioned music writers and provide an important contribution both in the primary research sense and in the sense of interpretation of the covered material. R. Pejović's musicological and bibliographic book on Serbian musicology and musicography of the second half of the 20th century is also worth mentioning as a sort of pioneering compendium of critically elaborated bibliographic data [Пејовић 2005].

Roksanda Pejović's scientific work undoubtedly represents a datum in our knowledge of Serbian music literature, from the oldest preserved texts to the most recent times. She above all conspicuously expanded the factographic

²⁰ [Пејовић 1965; Pejović 1967; 1968c; 1968d; Пејовић 1968e; Pejović 1970; 1972a; Пејовић 1995; 2001a; 2001b; 2002a; 2002b].

²¹ S. [Пејовић 2007].

foundation that was originally laid out by Stana Đurić Klajn. Knowledge of music writers, their bibliographies and their historical, aesthetic and ideological views, as well as the developmental arc of Serbian musicography as a whole were enriched with new, original data and interpretations. The successful library research that she conducted for decades, as well as the analyses and interpretations she proposed based on said research played a crucial role in getting a part of the music and scientific public to stop being ignorant or insufficiently respectful of the earlier periods of history of Serbian music literature, but also of the history of musicography as a subject of national musicology.

If we leave aside certain interpretations which we need not agree with²², Roksanda Pejović's treatment of the sources remains as a much bigger problem. In her books and studies, the author does not base her analyses and interpretations on complete knowledge of the source material but rather on one, even if larger, but selected portion of that material. In the process, the reader is regularly denied information on the reasons and criteria for such choices. This uncertainty burdens to a considerable extent the scientific use of R. Pejović's two histories of Serbian musicography until 1945 too. In both of these volumes, the main text was supplemented, as expected, by the appropriate factography in the notes. They truly contain a vast number of bibliographic references on our criticism and essay writing. But the reader is not given an explicit list of the dailies, magazines, almanacs, calendars, and other publications on music that were used and examined. The unfathomably voluminous material of the press and periodicals certainly surpasses the capabilities of a researcher. That is why we believe a writer should precisely define their ambition and thereby eliminate any vagueness or misunderstandings.

A special and very important place among the researchers and interpreters of Serbian music criticism and essay writing of the 19th and first half of the 20th century belongs to Slobodan Turlakov (1929–2018). He focused most on the reception of the great creators of European music in Serbia: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Giuseppe Verdi, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, Ludwig van Beethoven, Giacomo Puccini and the verists, as well as Frédéric-François Chopin. In that process, he largely relied on the information that can be found in old reviews, essays and other writings. Also notable is his reconstruction and analysis of the ideological and culturological aspects of reception of Richard Strauss' musical drama *Salome* in Belgrade, from the 1930s. Prof. Turlakov's magnum opus, the voluminous *History of Opera and Ballet at the National Theater in Belgrade (Until 1941)*, is also largely based on the material of interwar music criticism²³.

²² S. [Васић 1995: 233–234].

²³ [Турлаков 1993; 1994a; 1997; 1998; 2003a; 2003b; 2002]. While working on the study titled *Bishop Irinej and Salome* [published in: Турлаков 2002: 83–118], the author did not know that the late Zdenka Petković, an Anglicist and comparatist, in 1976 covered reactions to the premiere of the opera *Salome* in the Belgrade press of the 1930s. She did that in her master's thesis [Petković 1976]. The thesis was written under the mentorship of Prof. Dr. Vida E. Marković and was defended at the Department of English Language and Literature Studies at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade. A typewritten copy of that discussion is stored at the Library of the Belgrade Department of English Language and Literature Studies: inv. no. 19245, sig. 378; see

Other musicologists and music writers, members of different generations, also contributed to the study of Serbian literature on music of the 19th and 20th century. The oldest among them, Petar Konjović (1883–1970), in 1954 published a fundamental monograph on Miloje Milojević, one of the most important Serbian composers and music writers of the first half of the 20th century (Коњовић 1954).

A long-time professor of General History of Music at the Belgrade Music Academy, composer and musicologist Nikola Hercigonja (1911–2000), studied the musicological opus of Vojislav Vučković, our renowned music writer of the interwar period, who was a Marxist by orientation. However, his study on Vučković was written in a one-sided, ideologically biased manner and today holds importance as a testimony about its author and the time in which it was created, but may serve as an incentive for modern researchers of Vučković's writings [Херцигоња 1968; again in: [Hercigonja 1972: 115–147].

Out of all of our musicologists, Dušan Plavša (1924–2009) focused on Vučković the most; he prepared for printing a selection of Vučković's studies and essays in the fields of music aesthetics and sociology of music [Вучковић 1962]²⁴.

Mirka Pavlović Sovrlić (1924) researched the attitude of Serbian critics toward the works of Stevan Mokranjac [Pavlović 1981a; Павловић 1981b; Павловић 1983]. Jelena Milojković Đurić (1931–2019), a musicologist and Slavist, a university teacher in the U.S., in her doctoral dissertation titled *Music as a Part of Serbian Culture Between the Two Wars* also dealt with Miloje Milojević and Vojislav Vučković as music writers²⁵.

Danica Petrović (1945) provided an image of representation of music topics in Teodor Pavlović's *Serbski narodni list* newspaper and in the magazine *Srbsko-dalmatinski magazin* [Петровић 1989a; 1989b]. Composer Vlastimir Trajković (1947–2017) presented, in a polemic manner, suggestive observations about the properties of Miloje Milojević's musicographic procedure [Trajković 1986]. Melita Milin (1953) partly examined the reception of avant-garde in Serbian music magazines between the two world wars [Милин 1996]. Her last contribution to the study of domestic musicography is a study of a magazine of our avant-garde that has not been musicologically covered so far – Ljubomir

chapter five of the aforementioned master's thesis, pp. 37–42, as well as the chronological bibliography, pp. 99–100. The author published an abbreviated version of her master's discussion under the title *Reception of the Works of Oscar Wilde in the Serbo-Croatian Language Area (1901–1970)* [Петковић Прошић 1990] (Strauss' *Salome* is covered on pp. 121–22 and 134). As far as we know, Slobodan Turlakov's bibliography was not published anywhere. The data brought by Yugoslav and Serbian lexicography are incomplete due to being outdated; cf. Ковачевић 1984: II, 480; *Ko je ko u Srbija (Who Is Who in Serbia) 1996*: 595. Surprisingly, Prof. Turlakov's bibliography was not presented, not even by being listed, where one would rightly expect to see it [Пејовић 2005].

²⁴ In the cited anthology *Vojislav Vučković, umetnik i borac: lik – sećanja – svedočanstva (Vojislav Vučković, an Artist and a Fighter: Image – Memories – Testimonies)* [Перичић 1968], Plavša is represented with eight articles. Outside of that collection, one more study of his was published [Плавша 1968; Plavša 1990: 29–46].

²⁵ Written under the mentorship of academician Radovan Samardžić, the dissertation was defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1981; cf. [Михаљчић 1998: 610]. An English translation of the dissertation was published [Milojković Đurić 1984].

Micić's *Zenit* (1921–1926) [Милин 2005]. Sonja Marinković (1954) devoted her master's thesis to the so-called Prague group of Serbian composers, and also dealt with the musical and ideological views of Vojislav Vučković [Marinković 1983]²⁶.

Musicologists born in the 1960s and later also showed interest in the history of Serbian music literature. Katarina Tomašević (1960) determined the relationship between traditional and modern views on modern art on the pages of the *Chronicle of Matica Srpska* from 1895 to 1914 [Томашевић 1992]. She also partly tackled the matters of Serbian criticism and periodical publications in a review study titled *The Problems of Studying Serbian Music Between the Two World Wars* [Томашевић 2001]. Criticism and periodical publications were given a place in her monograph as well, which brings a synthetic reach into Serbian musical art and culture of the interwar period [Томашевић 2009].

Tijana Popović (1962) painted the portrait of Petar Binguļac as a music writer [Popović 1989]; Jelena Gligoriјеvić Jovanović (1964) covered the *Karadžić* magazine from both the bibliographic and the ethnomusicological aspect [Глигоријевић 1993]. We will also mention music pedagogue Neda Vekić (1965), who focused on music features in the Mostar literary magazine *Zora* from 1891 to 1901 [Векић 1995].

The biggest portion of scientific work so far of the author of these lines (1965) has been devoted to Serbian music criticism, musicography and periodical press of the first half of the 20th century. He has published a number of studies, articles and lexicographic pieces on domestic music writers, news publications and the problem circles of that literature. He has covered, musicologically and bibliographically, all the music magazines of the interwar epoch, as well as the *Srpski književni glasnik*, a magazine that persistently nurtured literature on music and played an extremely important part in the forming of modern Serbian music criticism and essay writing²⁷.

Bogdan Đaković (1966) provided a bibliographic and study in music history on the *Novi Sad* daily (1924–1941), as well as on writings about music in the *Chronicle of Matica Srpska* between the two world wars [Ђаковић 1996, 2006]. Dragana Stojanović Novičić (1968) published a number of papers in which she researched and studied the Serbian musicographic heritage [Стојановић Новичић 1997a, 1997b, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2006]. Mariјana Kokanović Marković (1975) tied her attention to writings about music in the Corfu-based *Zabavnik* magazine [Кокановић 2006, 2014]. In 2021, Dina Vojvodić defended her doctoral dissertation on music writer Petar Binguļac at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade [Војводић 2021]. Mariја Golubović approached interwar Belgrade criticism as a source for learning about the reception of Nikolai A. Rimsky-Korsakov's music. She then also turned to Russian immigrant periodicals as a source for studying music in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia [Голубовић 2019, 2022]. In co-authorship with Aleksandar Vasić, she wrote the first study

²⁶ The author published the parts of the thesis devoted to the views of Vojislav Vučković in a separate study [Маринковић 1993].

²⁷ S. [Васић 2023]. In this book, on pp. 223–228, the reader will find a bibliography of the works of A. Vasić in the field of history of Serbian musicography.

on the *Gusle* magazine (1911–1914), with the accompanying integral bibliography of the magazine [Васић – Голубовић 2021].

The thematic anthology called *Prag i studenti kompozicije iz Kraljevine Jugoslavije (Prague and Composition Students from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia)* was published in 2010, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Stanojlo Rajičić and Vojislav Vučković. Features on Vučković in that book were written by Vlasta Reittererová, Sonja Marinković, Mirjana Veselinović Hofman, Aleksandra Paladin, Biljana Milanović, and Milica Gajić²⁸.

Serbian philosophers, sociologists and aestheticists, albeit wanted and needed, neither gladly nor frequently set foot into the territory of our musicographic and musicological thought. The reasons for that should probably be sought in their insufficient familiarity with musical notation and terminology of music theory and history. Nevertheless, Dragan M. Jeremić (1925–1986), Milan Ranković (1932–2012), Sreten Petrović (1940–2022), Slobodan Žunjić (1949–2019), and Miodrag-Miško Šuvaković (1954), discussed Serbia's music writers and their philosophical and aesthetic views²⁹.

Authors coming from other branches of education and professions, who joined the procession of researchers of our music writers and magazines, should also be mentioned. Milana Bikicki (1925–2005), literary historian, librarian and bibliographer, also wrote about music periodicals: about Isidor Bajić's *Srpski muzički list* newspaper, music publication *Gudalo*, as well as about music articles in Petar Konjović's daily *Jedinstvo*. Milana Bikicki also examined older Vojvodina press as a source for learning about the life and work of Kornelije Stanković [Бикицки 1964, 1966, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1995]³⁰. Art historian and theatrologist Veroslava Petrović (1936–2012) provided a documented presentation of the attitude of interwar Belgrade critics toward the operatic art of Russian immigrants. Like Slobodan Turlakov, she was interested in the distinctive characteristics of reception of R. Strauss' musical drama *Salome* in Belgrade during the fourth decade of the 20th century [Петровић 1994, 1997].

Experts from other academic environments sometimes also dealt with the legacy of Serbian music literature. Croatian musicologist Dubravka Franković (1930–2012) provided meticulous studies on critics Miloje Milojević and Petar Konjović [Franković 1986, 1989].

* * *

Based on the overview of conducted research provided here, the conclusion can be drawn that Serbian musicology has made a considerable and praiseworthy effort to become acquainted with, interpret and evaluate the national legacy of music literature. That effort came more from individuals than from

²⁸ The book was edited by Mirjana Veselinović Hofman and Melita Milin, and published by the Serbian Musicological Society. Data on the works of the aforementioned authors can be found in the bibliography of references at the end of this book.

²⁹ [Jeremić 1968 (about Vučković on pp. 69–70); again in: Јерemiћ 1997: 165–167; Ранковић 1998; Petrović 1980; Жуњић 2009, 2014, 2021; Шуваковић 1999, 2000, 2001].

³⁰ Papers from 1983 and 1985 were reprinted in the author's book of selected works [Бикицки 1993: 66–72, 86–101].

organized work of scientific and professional institutions with their research teams and projects.

When we say a considerable effort has been made, that does not mean that everything that was and is necessary was done. The problems plaguing research of older Serbian music criticism, essay writing and opinion journalism can be divided into general and special.

The main problem burdening the study of our written word about music is the same problem that slows the work of our other national, cultural and historical sciences, namely national historical bibliography. Work on an analytical bibliography of early Serbian press is unpopular and unrewarding for many reasons, but absolutely necessary and fundamental. As far as we know, the launch of such an extensive project is not in consideration at this time. During the second Yugoslavia, the institution in charge of that type of research was the Yugoslav Institute of Lexicography in Zagreb (in collaboration with the bibliographic centers in Belgrade and Ljubljana); it did that job most diligently and published 14 encyclopedic bibliographic manuals for various fields of national humanities³¹. As it turned out, and we have already considered that here, the music profession is strained by lacunas, which is why the *Zagreb Bibliography* cannot be considered the ultimate manual in this area. Before World War II, not many books about music were published in Serbia. By far the biggest part of musicographic activity of Serbian music writers at that time happened in the daily and periodical press, which is why work on an analytical bibliography of the Serbian press certainly cannot be avoided.

There are separate problems too, and they pertain to the current state of affairs in Serbian musicology.

Although dealing with Serbian musicography is not the only task of national music historiography, it should still be noted that at this time there is no independent expert in musicological departments in Serbia whose specialty would be the history of music literature. (That, of course, does not mean that specialists in other musicological branches and themes do not occasionally reflect on the material and problems of Serbian musicography.) There is only one researcher at the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts who is a specialist in this scientific field.

The formation of the experts themselves is a separate question. By the nature of things, the written word about music cannot be the central part of university classes in the sphere of general and national music history; compositions and styles, musical genres, types and procedures, are and must be the core of

³¹ The Zagreb bibliography was published from 1956 to 1986, initially under the title *Bibliografija rasprava, članaka i književnih radova* (*A Bibliography of Discussions, Articles and Literary Works*), and as of 1965 and volume 8 under the title *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka* (*A Bibliography of Discussions and Articles*). The following fields are covered: literary science (literature in general), literary theory, comparative literature, history of Yugoslav literature, history of foreign literature, literary periodical publications, history of folk literature, literary societies, Yugoslav poetry, foreign poetry, history (history in general, auxiliary historical sciences, archaeology, documentation, material), history of Yugoslav peoples, visual arts, and music. After the dissolution of SFRY, volume 15 was published – a bibliography of M. Krleža and the literature about him – and volumes 16 and 17 which focus on theater in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were published in 2004.

those classes. Later on, if a musicology graduate chooses to focus on the history of musicography, he or she is faced with numerous problems. A musicologist who opts for this kind of scientific work needs additional education, which is not provided at music academies and faculties. Largely disciplinary by nature, research of the written word about music, research of its history, theoretical, methodological, aesthetic, and ideological aspects require broad philological and historical knowledge, specifically from the fields of the history of general and Serbian literature, methodology of the science about literature, national sociopolitical, cultural, theatrical history, the history of aesthetic theories and national bibliography. That is why post-graduate studies must open towards the institutions which offer that kind of knowledge and content – primarily towards the faculties of philology and philosophy and their experts.

In parallel with this work – on an analytical bibliography of the Serbian press and on the forming, motivation and engagement of a larger number of competent experts – the tasks allowed by the measure of current capacities and means can and must be done. Individual and systematic, bibliographic and musicological processing of Serbian dailies, magazines, anthologies and other similar publications should certainly be undertaken. Let's not forget that even such an important daily as the Belgrade *Politika*, which had a highly developed music criticism in the interwar period, has not been integrally – either bibliographically or musicologically – processed to this day.

In current circumstances, individual and successive research of Serbian daily and periodical publications, with presented access to the complete music bibliography of each examined title, remains the most realistic *desiderata* of scientific work in this field of Serbian musicology.

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In memoriam

BORIVOJ DOVNIKOVIĆ „BORDO”
(1930–2022):
A HERO OF THE PERICLEAN AGE

The English-speaking world has a saying “to peel an onion,” to describe how one comes to know the complicated character of some people. This is to say that one must peel off layer by layer until one reaches the core, a person’s essence that is layered and not “a single piece.”

The aforementioned culture was close to Bordo, especially American culture, through the magic of comics and, of course, Disney’s genius, and I feel that he would have liked this metaphor as an attempt to explain his personality.

The first several layers would be the most visible, the ones that he will be remembered for as long as this culture lasts: he was an illustrator, caricaturist, comic book author, a director of international repute and, of course, an animator, inseparable from the “Golden Generation” of the world renowned Zagreb school of animated film, in which he stood out with his achievements. Back then, in the period beginning with the 1950s until the end of the Golden Age, both for the school and the entire culture of the onetime big and whole country, he achieved his greatest successes as part of the legendary roster of artists and animators whose most prominent member was Dušan Vukotić, our only Oscar-winning artist. This generation (or generations) was truly unique, a strange and motley group of visual artists who produced a series of anthological works that first changed the Zagreb school of animated film and then the Croatian and Yugoslav scenes, and – it would not be overdoing it to say – European and world animation as well. After some thirty movies that Bordo worked on as an animator, director or writer, after a series of domestic and foreign awards for these films, including two international awards for life achievement, Bordo drew countless newspaper caricatures. He handed over the last of these to the *Novosti* weekly, which he cooperated with for ten years, two days prior to his death.

The second layer of Bordo’s personality has to do with his ability to recall memories. When we last spoke in December last year, even at his age, his brain functioned extraordinarily well. Bordo remembered a huge number of details

and told anecdotes, both private and job-related, the two often being inseparable in his case. He had soaked up copious amounts of information from the worlds of history, film, comics, art and politics. He loved to talk about the first comics that fascinated him, by Alex Raymond and Hall Foster, the fathers of Flash Gordon and Prince Valliant, the initial “jab” for an entire generation infected with 1930s American comics which subsequent European filters of artistic comics and animation would create the main characteristics of the Zagreb school. This is Bordo, initially as the child of an era when these parts, void of any provincialism, during the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were already heavily connected with world centers. Therein lies the third layer of Bordo’s personality, his cultural choices, which were so naturally and healthily global.

Bordo understood that every artist must choose whether or not to succumb to provincialism or say: “The world and its centers are far away, but the center is where I am.” At the same time, we forgot what was said when Bordo entered his first youth in 1941 and equally fifty years later in the Frankist* horrors, for the first, second, third time, the so-called racial question. With his “Swedish” blonde hair and goatee, sophisticated manner, Bordo’s physiognomy alone quashed the baffling scandalous, defamatory and hopelessly primitive “theories” of physiognomy of local Serbs then and now. As usual the most primitive and backward defamed those better and nobler than themselves with their babble about “pointy heads.” Perhaps Bordo did not choose Prince Valliant as his childhood hero and artistic ideal as an adult only for highly esthetic reasons or reasons of a beautiful imagination. As [Džoni] Štulić would put it, riff-raff cannot be replied to by talking about “memory of beauty” but by holding up a mirror to them which they could then smash in Caliban fashion. Which is what they did, when they were given a chance.

The next layer is the Bordo who witnessed our cultural history but also the histories of our peoples who inhabit these parts, especially through the 20th century which he largely belonged to and actively brought to life. That is Bordo in several tightly packed and pressed layers –born and raised in Osijek, a naturalized citizen of Zagreb, Bordo as a Yugoslav in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a boy refugee in Nedić’s Serbia who was ironically saved by the Germans, and lastly, Bordo a citizen of the socialist country of Yugoslavia, during his and our Periclean Age.

Bordo was important precisely for this crucial reason: his longevity and agile mind and pen up until the very end. He was one of the last remaining witnesses of much of what Hobsbawm might say was the end of the “brief 20th century,” an era incomparable to others, and how it unfolded here. Bordo consciously experienced some of the key changes during the century of Yugoslavia as someone marked by history from childhood and boyhood and later as one of the creators of modern national culture, especially during the period when the joint country’s art and culture were at the peak of their creative and all other forms of tension. At the same time, as an individual and artist, he spent 47 years as a patriot, suddenly relatively at peace, after his horrific experiences and the unending trauma that one people experienced more than

others, under the shared and happy roof of Yugoslavia no matter how problematic it was. This is the lasting equation and definition of what it means to be a Serb in Croatia.

When the shared roof collapsed, Bordo equally and then increasingly felt, and this feeling, which he carried inside and which awakened him, a conscious declarative belonging to the Serb people. He was an important person to talk to in this regard, as a man who had undergone personal and general historic changes, as they reflected on the Serb people in Croatia, as an ethnic group, collectively and individually. Listening to how he spoke on this subject, one could not but notice another layer to him, left on the already mostly peeled imaginary “onion.” Bordo’s manner of speech and expression was a combination of an old Zagreb and Osijek accent and vocabulary, a mix of the Ekavica (mainly used by the Serbs) and numerous Serbisms, which he consciously and spontaneously used. Despite the possible interpretation of the way that he talked as a metaphor, altogether it sounded typical of his generation and is sorely lacking today – it was an entirely original and veritable pleasure to listen to. Hence, when he would reflect on his work, when he would draw a line under his opus, but also when the past would be discussed, both his and that of his/our people, Bordo would impart his stamp along with his opinion in a special *tone*. His responses to the media and in private observations would open doors one after another diving into the depths of the past and going deeper and deeper. If Bordo was talking to you, you would feel that you were being given an extremely rare opportunity in a time of obliviousness, forgetfulness, forgeries and increasingly unauthentic expression, to directly experience that tone and the scent of a preserved personal and collective history, to hear a true testimony of several eras, unchanged, undeformed by ideology.

His testimony and the way that he spoke it, with a mystical allure, an infallible sound of the old world that is disappearing with him like an unrecoverable treasure, will be missed indeed. This loss is equal to, and possibly bigger than his characteristic and charming drawing style, and the ease with which it was performed even when covering difficult subjects, with a light hand and pen that is effortlessly urbane and global – all of what made Borivoj Dovniković earn a permanent spot in the history of our people and global visual culture, many years ago, while he was still alive.

Some people are so complex, consciously or not, as a result of their heritage and their fate, that even when all of the aforementioned metaphorical „layers,“ are peeled off, instead of the expected core, there remains always something untouched, mysterious and inexplicable. Bordo was a plant like this, noble, its fruit, unique, as a born esthete, a lover of beauty, a magical prisoner of his imagination, an enthralled boy riding the waves of unrepeatable drawings in strict comic squares and magical Disney scenes, a boy born with a talent that made him exceptional so young, whose style only appeared to be constricted and „simple,“ later a true artist, and, let us not forget – an essentially happy and light-hearted man. A man of the world, but from a certain geography, a citizen of Zagreb, Osijek, a Yugoslav, a Serb from Croatia. At every age and level this eternal boy with his merry drawings makes all eternal children rejoice

and all those who have preserved in themselves a tiny bit of purity and innocence.

May his memory be eternal.

Dorđe Matić

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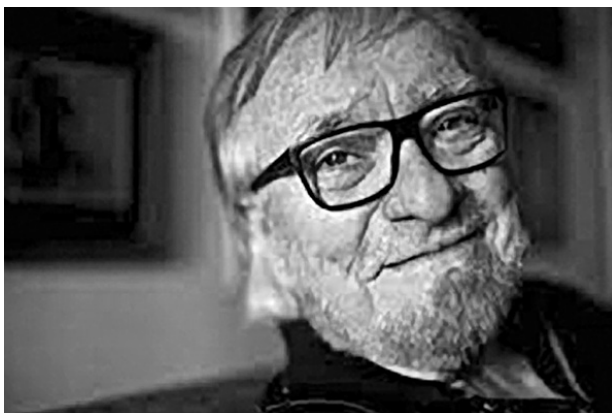


Borivoj Dovniković
Bordo

1929 - 2022



Borivoj
1929 - 2022, 4. 06. 01.



* Frankism (frankovština) – after Josip Joshua Frank (1844–1911), a Croatian lawyer and politician, a noted representative of the extreme nationalist anti-Serbian Party of Rights; some members of Party of Rights joined Ustashi in extermination of the Serbs in Independent State of Croatia, Nazi puppet state, 1941–1945.

BOOK REVIEW

A LOOK AT THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF SERBIAN ENLIGHTENMENT

(Владимир Симић, *Портрети српској интелектуалца у доба просветиљелства*, Нови Сад: Матица српска: Галерија Матице српске, 2022, 354 стр. / Vladimir Simić, *Portrait of the Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment*, Novi Sad: Matica Srpska: The Gallery of Matica Srpska, 2022, 354 pages)

The book by Prof. Dr. Vladimir Simić, *Портрети српској интелектуалца у доба просветиљелства* (*Portrait of the Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment*), was published as part of the Art and History edition launched by the Gallery of Matica Srpska in 2016 with the aim of highlighting the links between social and historical circumstances and art. That gave the authors a broad framework of ideas within which contemporary methodological and interpretive approaches to art history are valued and developed. On this occasion, before the readers is a book co-published by Matica Srpska and the Gallery of Matica Srpska as the sixth publication in the Art and History edition. Previously, in 2018, within the same edition the monography *Романови и Срби: рецејција слике руских владара у уметности XVIII века* (*The Romanovs and the Serbs: The Perception and Dissemination of the Portraits of Russian Monarchs in 18th Century Art*) was published as an important scientific contribution by Vladimir Simić, PhD – tenured professor at the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Numerous published scientific articles and studies make Dr. Simić the leading researcher of the history of Serbian art in the modern age, with an outstanding contribution in researching 18th century cultural history and the visual culture of the Enlightenment. That status of Dr. Simić was definitely fortified by the book *Portrait of the Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment*, which includes an introduction, four chapters of discussion, a conclusion, and abstracts in the English and German languages.

Manager of the Gallery of Matica Srpska Tijana Palkovljević Bugarski addressed readers on behalf of the publisher in *A Word in Advance*, expressing particular gratitude to Simić, stressing that the modern approach he had applied in the book showed the important role of portraits not only in understanding artistic achievements, but rather broader social phenomena and geopolitical trends. The author writes about the breadth of the term *image of an intellectual*

right at the beginning of the *Introduction*, thereby hinting exactly at a contemporary methodological approach which he then goes on to completely define and clarify by explaining the remaining key terms in the book title. Thus, in the *Introduction* Simić provides a possible definition of the term intellectual and immediately afterwards a new periodization of the time interval from the second half of the 18th to the fourth decade of the 19th century known as the Enlightenment. On those grounds, in subsequent chapters the author focuses on individual terms and phenomena pertaining to the *physical and mental image* of the enlightened intellectual. He does that by interpreting portraits done in different visual techniques, which depict various individuals whose lives and inclinations fit into the previously determined methodological framework.

The chapter *Basic Terms* builds on the *Introduction* through a contextualized review of the key terms – intellectual and the Age of Enlightenment. By verbally sketching the profile of the 18th century intellectual, Prof. Simić here lays a foundation of sorts for the subsequent portrait which he would gradually, but with the methodological precision of a seasoned researcher, create in the following chapters. For the purpose of analyzing the occasion for the emergence and development of the Enlightenment in Serbian culture, he performs the observation from different perspectives, which particularly enriches and completes his contribution to one of the important open questions of Serbian “intellectual history”. Thus, he first places an analysis of the Age of Reason in Serbian culture in the cultural framework of the Habsburg monarchy, emphasizing different interweavings that varied between Central European and Russian influences, a religious and a secular worldview, the Roman Catholic and Protestant church circles, but equally of influences originating in Greek culture.

Reading the central portion of the book, titled *Portrait of an Intellectual: Typology and Iconography*, provides a complete insight into Simić’s well-practiced research skill. The fact that this is a scientific achievement that comes only with enviable research experience is noticeable primarily in the way the research topic is problematized, then in the breadth of literature on the grounds of which the author builds his conclusions, but no less in the style of writing, too. Observations about complex humanistic questions are presented in a way that is equally accessible to specialists and art history aficionados. Professor Simić first analyzes the very meaning of the term portrait in the period of Enlightenment. Citing the viewpoints of famous 18th century writers about art, Simić contributed to the answer to an important open question of contemporary Serbian art history – what is the modern age portrait? Accordingly, a typological grouping of portraits follows in the book, which shows how by observing a *physical image* one can simultaneously see a *mental image* of the Serbian intellectual of the enlightened epoch.

Portrait and Society is the title of the chapter in which the author further develops his examination of the image of Serbian intellectuals, first through a statistical view whereby he very precisely maps the (small) number and position of learned people in the society around 1800. By grouping portraits according to the placement of the portrayed in different social orders (clerics, clerks, writers, scholars) and stages of life, Simić helps the readers understand the role

and position of intellectual identity in the Serbian society at the time. The last chapter of discussion – *Public Memory and Forgetting*, is skillfully announced by the last sentence of the previous chapter, and refers to events in society after the death of an intellectual. At a time that marks the start of understanding the private and public sphere in a way obvious for the modern man, the author examines how, through the press and the culture of building monuments, but also a whole host of other sociopolitical circumstances, intellectuals enter the collective memory or oblivion of the Serbian people. Also relying on the perception of a painting as an effigy, this chapter wraps up Simić's research and constitutes a final experienced move whereby he finishes *Portrait of the Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment*. The *Conclusion* convincingly summarizes the research results but also – which is especially commendable – explains the conspicuous absence of women's portraits. The book includes 52 illustrations which actually represent the research material that served as the starting point in the writing process. That is why the selection and order of the illustrations once again confirms that Simić, by creating a publication future generations of interpreters of art and cultural history will cite, has successfully carried out his intent as a researcher.

Aleksandra Čelovski, curator
The Gallery of Matica Srpska, Novi Sad



Владимир Симић, *Портрет српског интелектуалца у доба просветиљства*,
Нови Сад: Матица српска: Галерија Матице српске, 2022, 354 стр.

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Graduated in art history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She obtained the title of curator in 2016 as an associate of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade. In the same year, she enrolled in doctoral studies in art history at the University of Belgrade. She spent the summer semester of 2017 in Vienna as a visiting researcher at the Institute for Habsburg and Balkan Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW). She participated in the 5th International Forum of Eastern European Art History Doctoral Students held at the Humboldt University in Berlin. In October 2020, she defended her doctoral dissertation in the field of 18th century art and visual culture, which was published in 2021 under the title *Nobility in the eighteenth-century Serbian visual culture*. Since 2021 she works at The Gallery of Matica Srpska as a Curator of Prints and the New media collection. Aleksandra Čelovski is the author of several scientific articles and the co-author of the monography on the history of tamburitza orchestra of her hometown Šid. As the member of the curatorial team of the Gallery of Matica, in 2022 she curated the exhibition *Parallels. Timișoara/Novi Sad*.

Areas of interest: visual culture studies, visual representation. She is a member of the National Committee of ICOM Serbia.

ZORAN ČVOROVIĆ (Peć, Serbia, 1969) – jurist, university professor

Graduated from the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade. Obtained PhD degree (2013) from the Faculty of Law of the University of Kragujevac. Published several books and over 60 scientific papers in different journals.

Research areas: history of Russian Law, history of Serbian Mediaeval Law, history of Byzantine Law, the influence of Christianity on the evolution of law.

Major works: *Pravo i pravoslavlje*, Belgrade 2021 (2nd ed.); *Dušanov zakonik u ruskom ogledalu*, Belgrade 2018; *Листая страницы сербской истории* (co-authors), editor E. Y. Guskova, Moscow 2014.

BOJAN JOVIĆ (Belgrade, 1963) – literary historian

Principal research fellow at the Institute of Literature and Arts, Belgrade. Institute Director, Head of the scientific department Comparative Research of Serbian Literature. Editor-in-Chief of *Književna istorija*.

Research areas: international avant-garde, utopian and science fiction literature, poetic features of Serbian literature in the 19th and 20th centuries, theoretical and methodological issues related to comparative studies of literature.

Selected publications: „*Временски Арто*” – неколико зајажња о увођењу времена времјелова као мојива и шеме у научној фанџасџици и (фанџасџичној) науци, 2012; *Dr Mengele Spotyka Frankensteina (o niektórych aspektach antyutorii medycznej w powieści Ivana Ivanjega Na końcu było słowo)*, 2013; *Вога као елементџ уџојџџкој хроноџоја*. 2013; *Ог уџојџџкој до (аниџи)ухрониџкој хроноџоја: џпросџор, време, исџориџа*, 2014; „Heilung vom Tod – Tod als Heilung zur Dys-/Utopie der Unsterblichkeit bei Aleksandr Bogdanov und Vladan Desnica”, 2018.

TATJANA KATIĆ (Belgrade, 1967) – historian

Historian of the early modern Ottoman Empire, turkologist, working as a senior research fellow at the Institute of History in Belgrade. Graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, Belgrade (1991) and Faculty of Philology, Department of Turkish Language and Literature, Belgrade (1993). Obtained a Magister's degree in history from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade (1997). Since 2013 holds a PhD in history from the Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, University of Sarajevo.

Research areas: economic and social history of the Ottoman Balkans in the late medieval and early modern period, historical geography, and historical demography.

Published five books and over thirty scientific articles (most of them available on <https://iib-ac.academia.edu>).

LJUBISAV M. RAKIĆ (Sarajevo, 1931 – Belgrade, 2022) – doctor, academician, university professor

Ph.D., MD Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), Department of Medical Sciences: corresponding member from March 21, 1974, and a full member from December 15, 1983. Member of the Presidency of SASA and Vice President of SASA for Natural Sciences from 2008–2015.

Graduated from the Faculty of Medicine University in Belgrade (1955) as one of the first students in his class. During his studies, he was a demonstrator in physiology for 4 years and participated in research work. Upon graduation, he became a teaching assistant for the subject Physiology and Biochemistry at the School of Medicine, where he became an assistant professor and a full professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade. Broadened his scientific experience at the Institute of Academician P.K. Anohin in Moscow (in 1956) and at the Brain Research Institute of the University of California in Los Angeles (1961–1962).

Since 1971, academician Rakic has been a professor of neurobiology at the Center for Multidisciplinary Studies at Belgrade University for postgraduate teaching. For several years, he was the Head of the Institute of Biochemistry from the beginning of the institute (1964–1979) and the Head of a Chair (1969–1975) of the Department of Physiology and Biochemistry of the School of Medicine in Belgrade. Academician Rakić was the dean of the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade (1980–1984). He was scientific director of the Laboratory for Neurophysiology of the Institute for Biological Research („Dr. Siniša Stanković”) and of the Laboratory for Brain Research in Kotor (since 1962); a visiting professor at the University of California in Los Angeles (1960–1980); and the Baylor College of Medicine in Houston in the 1980s.

Academician Ljubisav Rakic established the Laboratory for Electrophysiology and Behavior at the Department of Physiology, School of Medicine at the University of Belgrade (1956). He founded a Laboratory for Neurophysiology (currently the Department of Neurobiology) at the „Siniša Stanković” Institute for Biological Research of the University of Belgrade in the 1960s. Under the auspices of UNESCO and the National Institute of Health (USA), academician Rakić established the International Brain Research Laboratory in Kotor, Montenegro, in 1966. These institutes successfully established international scientific collaborations with many labs around the world (the USA, France, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia, etc.), especially with labs and institutes in Russia (the Institute of Biology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow; the Institute of Evolutionary Physiology and Biochemistry of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad; the Pavlov Institute of Physiology of the USSR, Leningrad; the Institute of Brain AMN of Russia, Moscow; the Institute of Neurocybernetic of the

State University of Rostov-on-Don; the Institute of Physiology of the Moscow Institute of Sechenov, etc.).

He was a member of several scientific societies and academies in the former Yugoslavia (member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, a member of the Scientific Society of Serbia since its inception, Society of Physiologists, Biochemists, Biophysicists, Clinical Neurologists, Physiologists of Yugoslavia, SLD, etc.); was a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Srpska since 2011, a member of the New York Academy of Sciences, the International Brain Research Organization of UNESCO (IBRO), the Royal Society of Medicine London, the International Societies of Physiology, Biochemistry, Neurosciences, Neurochemistry, Biological Psychiatry, and others; was the chairman of the Inter-Departmental Committee for Biomedical Research and the president of the Joint Committee for Collaboration between the Council of Academies of Sciences and Arts of the Former Yugoslavia and the USA National Academy of Sciences. Academician Rakić was a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (the current Russian Academy of Sciences), a member of the European Academy in Paris, a foreign member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts in Salzburg, and a member of the Euro-Asian Academy of Sciences. He was an honorary member of Pavlov's USSR Federal Society of Physiology and Biochemistry and a member of the British Brain and Behavior Society. Academician Rakić was vice chairman of the Advisory Committee for Biomedical Research WHO for four years and a member of the Nobel Nominating Committee for two mandates.

Research areas: study of the neurological underpinnings of behavior reflects; fundamental neurological processes (excitation and inhibition) (from the perspectives of several scientific disciplines: neurophysiological, biochemical, immunological, and evolutionary). The findings of his research may be broadly divided into the following groups: (1) Regulatory mechanisms of CNS excitation and inhibition; (2) biochemical organization of the CNS; (3) biological rhythms in the brain, with a focus on determining the underlying causes of the paradoxical stages of sleep; (4) research on neuroimmunology and brain plasticity; (5) evolutionary biochemistry and brain physiology, with an emphasis on how the nervous system regulates early embryogenesis; (6) the blood-brain barrier; (7) CNS and cancer; tumor gene therapy.

Has published over 500 publications in extenso (mainly in international scientific journals), ten monographs, and co-authored five textbooks; participated in numerous research projects and the planning of scientific meetings over his forty-eight years as a member of SASA.

ALEKSANDAR VASIĆ (Belgrade, 1965) – musicologist, senior research associate
Senior research associate at the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, deputy editor-in-chief of the Matica Srpska Journal of Stage Arts and Music, and a member of the Committee for the Preservation of Serbian Musical Heritage of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Graduated in musicology at the Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade, received master's degree at the Faculty of Philology at the University of Belgrade, and earned his doctorate at the Academy of Arts at the University of Novi Sad.

Research area: the history of Serbian literature on music.

He has published, in international and national scientific journals and in the collective monographs, the collections of scientific studies, a number of studies and articles on Serbian musical writers and musical and literary periodicals of the 19th

and 20th centuries, as well as historical, aesthetic and ideological aspects of Serbian musicography. He is a contributor to the *Serbian Biographical Dictionary* and the *Serbian Encyclopedia*. His monograph *Literature on Music in the "Serbian Literary Herald" 1901–1941* has been published this year by the SASA Institute of Musicology.

SVETLANA ŽUNIĆ (Kragujevac, 1958) – Ph.D., MD, university professor

After graduating from the Belgrade University Medical Faculty Department in Kragujevac (1983), she earned her Master's Degree (1987) and a Doctoral Degree (1993) at the Medical Faculty of Belgrade University. Completed her internal medicine specialty (1989) and nuclear medicine specialty (2000) at the Belgrade University Medical Faculty. In 1983, began her general practice career. From 1984 to 1989, worked as an assistant in biochemistry at the Medical Faculty of Belgrade University Department in Kragujevac. She transferred to the Immunological Laboratory at the Belgrade University Clinical Center after specializing in internal medicine, where she continued with both regular and research work. As the head of the Laboratory for Microanalytic Diagnostics at the National PET Center of the Clinical Center of Serbia, developed cooperative projects with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts as a member of the Academic Board for biomedical research since the beginning of 1994. As an assistant professor of medical biochemistry at the Medical Faculty of the Medical Military Academy in Belgrade, and the European Center for Peace and Development, Belgrade, has a broad range of education and experience in fundamental and practical research. At Apeiron University in Banja Luka, Republic of Srpska (2019), was awarded a full professorship for the scientific discipline of Medical Chemistry (for the course Medical Biochemistry). In addition to being a member of the New York Academy of Sciences, was the head of the Serbian Medical Society's nuclear medicine department from 2009 to 2012.

Author of several books, monographs, and scholarly articles. For the last ten years of her professional life, has committed herself to shedding light on the pathogenetic processes underpinning the harmful consequences of depleted uranium on human health. Has written several publications in this area and given presentations at conferences attended by members of the world's scientific societies.

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