

MATICA SRPSKA
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

SYNAXA
MATICA SRPSKA INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES, ARTS AND CULTURE

Established in 2017

16–17
(1–2/2025)

Founder and Editor-in-Chief
Časlav Ocić
(2017–)

Editorial Board
Slobodan Antonić (Belgrade)
Aleksandar Vasić (Belgrade)
Dragana Grbić (Cologne)
Sanja Ivić (Belgrade)
Milena Joksimović (Pula)
Zoran Kindjić (Belgrade)
Boris Milosavljević (Belgrade)
Peter Radan (Sydney)
Vladimir M. Simić (Belgrade)
Aleksandra Stevanović (Topola)
Oliver Subotić (Belgrade)

Editorial Secretary
Nikola Pavlović (Novi Sad)
npavlovic@maticasrpska.org.rs

Language Editor and Proof Reader
Ana Selić

Articles are available in full-text at the web site of Matica Srpska
http://www.maticasrpska.org.rs/

Copyright © Matica Srpska, Novi Sad, 2025

SYNAXA

СИН@КСА♦ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ♦SYN@XIS

Matica Srpska International Journal for Social Sciences, Arts and Culture

16–17
(1–2/2025)

NOVI SAD
2025

The publication of this issue was supported by
City Department for Culture of Novi Sad, and
the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation
of Republic of Serbia

CONTENTS

TREATISES AND ARTICLES

Tatjana Jovićević
THE LAND OF ANCIENT GLORY, IMPERIAL PAST AND CONTEMPORARY PERPLEXITY: SERBIAN TRAVELLERS THROUGH THE 19th CENTURY ITALY
7–53

Slobodan Vujić
SHORT HISTORY OF MINING IN SERBIA
55–122

Momčilo Isić
THE WRITTEN WORD OF DRAGOLJUB JOVANOVIĆ
125–153

Sofija Božić
A FORGOTTEN SCHOLAR: ANTONIJE (ANTUN) FARČIĆ AND HIS HISTORIOGRAPHICAL WORK
155–173

Bojan Drašković
SLAVKO ŠEĆEROV: A CANCELED LUMINARY
175–185

Slobodan Maldini
IN MEMORIAM
ARCHITECT OF LIGHT AND SILENCE
ALEKSANDAR SAŠA RADOJEVIĆ (1934–2025)
187–191

BOOK REVIEWS

A LOOK AT THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF SERBIAN ENLIGHTENMENT
(Владимир Симић, *Портрет српског интелектуалца у доба просветитељства*, 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)
193–194

Vjeran Katunarić
YUGOSLAVIA AS A DEVELOPMENT LOOP
(Carl-Ulrik Schierup. *Migration, Socialism, and the International Division of Labour. The Yugoslavian Experience*, Aldershot, Avebury 1990, 339 pp)
195–198

Nebojša Cvejić
THE GUARDIAN OF HISTORY
(Dobrilo Aranitović. *Bio-bibliography of Boško I. Bojović: 1987–2020*,
Archives of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 2021)
199–200

AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE
201–204

WHY SYNAXA?
205

THE LAND OF ANCIENT GLORY, IMPERIAL PAST AND CONTEMPORARY PERPLEXITY: SERBIAN TRAVELLERS THROUGH THE 19TH CENTURY ITALY*

TATJANA JOVIĆEVIĆ
Institute for Literature and Art, Belgrade, Serbia
tbjovicevic@gmail.com
ORCID 0000-0002-2823-0719

SUMMARY: The paper examines a number of travel writings (travelogues as well as diaries, memoirs, letters and various newspaper genres with travelling/travel guide contents), starting from the second decade of the 19th century until its end. The writings reveal different aspects of the experience of Italy – fascination with cultural monuments, nature, controversies of contemporary life and social customs, all of which, at certain points, are similar to the general discourse of writing about Italy in this period. But apart from that, Serbian travellers also leave a series of observations related to special historical experiences and (geo)political attitudes, which separate them from the general European tourist view of the country that preserves the common heritage of humanity.

KEY WORDS: Italy, travel discourse, cultural heritage, history, empire(s), transience

PREDECESSORS

Although Serbian mediaeval rulers made family and military alliances and occasionally established special state relations with Italian states, primarily Venice, in the period from the 13th to the 15th century no preserved documents testify about their experiences of travelling to Italy. After the fall of the core of Serbian lands under Turkish rule in the 1460s, not only dynastic, but trade and cultural ties were severed for the most part. As the vast majority of Serbs are of the Orthodox Christian faith, there weren't pilgrimages to Rome, nor records from such trips, which have long been the dominant form of writ-

* This work is based on the research conducted within the Ottawa project held by C.I.R.V.I. (Centro Interdisciplinare Ricerca Viaggio in Italia, Moncalieri, Italy), with prof. Emanuele Kanceff, and then prof. Sebastiano Marco Cicciò as the editor-in-chief. The project hasn't been completed, and my contribution to a co-authorial publication concepted as its result would be of a completely diferent format.

ing about Italy in Catholic environments. On the other hand, a certain number of Serbian speakers, including a number of Roman Catholics, along the eastern Adriatic coast fell under the rule of Venice, and, especially since many of them were sailors, it could be expected that they have left some travel testimonies about their closest overseas neighbour. However, such documents have not been found so far, and the first significant descriptions of travel to Italy date from the 18th century. The most significant among such texts is certainly in the autobiography of the central author of the Enlightenment epoch in Serbian literature, Dositej Obradović (1740–1811)[1]. In the second part of this autobiographical work, written in epistolary form, Obradović in two letters refers to his stays in Italy. In the first one, he only mentions a quarantine stay in Venice during a trip from Corfu to Dalmatia, but in the second he describes how he met the Russian Archimandrite Varlaam in Trieste, who hired him as a teacher of Italian, and how they travelled together to Venice for a carnival, and then to Bologna on a boat, where they were daily entertained by "the crowd of musicians and comedians of male and female gender". He does not write in detail about the beauties of several Italian cities that he later visited, since the beauty he witnessed "in all that earth paradise of Italy" would require a larger book. Although he does not develop travel writing discourse, it is clear that Obradović primarily experienced Italy as a country of beauty and art. His next century followers will only partially follow that path.

TYPOLOGY OF TRAVELLERS AND THEIR WRITING

Apart from the fact that they are relatively wealthy, nineteenth-century travel writers are, almost without exception, intellectuals/members of the better educated population, initially Serbs from Austria (including Dalmatia, Venice and Trieste, who fell under Habsburg rule in the 19th century), and soon after those from the renewed Principality of Serbia. Their journeys are very often connected with their educational and professional status. Travellers from Montenegro were an exception, exclusively related to the ruling family of Petrović Njegoš, and only one, the most important among them, left a few notes with the border features of the travelogue. However, several travel texts, including one traditionally considered the most important book of its kind in the 19th century, came from authors who travelled through Italy as companions or chaperones of members of this dynasty.

The autobiography of Gerasim Zelić[2] (Žegar, district of Obrovac, Dalmatia, Venetian Republic, now Croatia, 1752 – Buda, Austrian Empire, now Bu-

---

[1] *Животь и приключенія Димитріа Обрадовича, нареченоїа у калуђерству Досіѳеа, нимь истимь списать и издать*, in Leipzig, first part 1783, second 1788. In English: *The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović, who as a monk was given the name Dositej, written and published by himself*, transl. by George R. Noyes, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953.

[2] *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића Архімандріта свето-успеске обители Круше у Далмацiи бывшеїа* (*The Life, Birth, Education, Travels and Various Experiences and Suffering through the World and in the Fatherland, of Gerasim Zelić, Former Archimandrite of the Fraternity of The Assumption of Holy Virgin Monastery in Krupa*, *Dalmatia; in that country*

dapest, Hungary, 1828), the episcopal vicar of Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor, completed and published in 1823, contains reviews of several of his stays in Italy during the previous decades. The first of them fell in the spring of 1782, when, as an ordinary monk, he was staying in Venice, looking for a ship to Corfu, where he intended to study icon painting; the second in the summer of 1808, when, asking the newly established French authorities to form a Serbian Orthodox Dalmatian episcopate, he visited Milan and, on his way back, once again Venice and several other cities; the third in 1809, when as a member of the Dalmatian delegation he was invited to an audience with Napoleon, and travelled to Paris via Milan, where the meeting was originally planned.

Apart from Zelić, in the first decades of the century two other important Serbian culture figures left their impressions of Italy in various forms. The first among these Zelić's younger contemporaries was his acquaintance Pavle Solarić (Velika Pisanica, district of Bjelovar, Habsburg Monarchy, now Croatia, 1779 – Venice, Venetian Republic, now Italy, 1821), a renowned philologist at the time, living in Trieste and then in Venice, as a proofreader in the local Cyrillic printing house. There remained two letters from his travels to other parts of Italy. The first of them is from Rome, at the beginning of February 1818, and we know about it thanks to Gerasim Zelić himself, since he published it at the end of his *Life*, explaining that because of that trip Solarić had no time to review his manuscript, as they both wanted. The second – from Naples, a little later that month – was also published posthumously, in 1826, in the *Letopis Matice srpske* (*Matica Srpska Chronicles*). Solarić set out on this journey as the Lord Guilford's[3] temporary secretary and tutor in grammar of Slavic languages, and it is possible – especially since his interests extended to ethnology and geography – that he intended to write a more extensive text, but various circumstances (illness and premature death) prevented him from doing so. Joakim Vujić (Baja, Habsburg Monarchy, now Hungary, 1772 – Belgrade, Principality of Serbia, 1847), later a playwright and the founder of the first state theater in liberated Serbia, was more successful in that. After studying philosophy and law, he gave up a career of a civil servant and went to Italy, wanting to learn the language and get acquainted with its theatrical and cultural life. He settled in Trieste as a private teacher of Serbian and German for members of the then numerous community of Serbian merchants in that city. In agreement with his employers, in 1803 he undertook a tour of Italy, later described in his biography, originally with the intention to go sightseeing and describe the country in a special book.

While in the first decades of the 19th century the tourist experience most often appeared as a by-product of travel undertaken for some business, educational or political purpose, around 1850 the number of exclusively tourist trips

---

and the Bay of Kotor, vicar above Christians of the Eastern Orthodoxy), Buda 1823; hereinafter: *The Life of Gerasim Zelić*.

[3] Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford, British politician and colonial administrator. In 1791, he converted to the Eastern Orthodox Christianity and later (1824) established Ionian Academy on Corfu, than under the British control, as the first university in modern Greece. About his stay in Italy Solarić gives only basic information.

increased sharply, with the appearance of a special type of "health tourism" – longer staying in (primarily southern) Italy, whose mild climate during the winter months was considered to have a good effect on lung patients. The encounter of two such Serbian tourists in Naples, in the spring of 1851, result with the most famous travelogue in Serbian literature of the 19th century – *Letters from Italy* by Ljuba Nenadović (Brankovina, district of Valjevo, Principality of Serbia, 1826 – Valjevo, 1895). Nenadović, a member of a rich and influential family in the Principality of Serbia, often went on long stays abroad, during which his in epistolary form written travelogues were created. The one from Italy begins with a letter from Naples, addressed to an unnamed, imaginary addressee, apparently at a time when one part of the journey is already behind the writer. Nenadović soon informs that virtual correspondent that he will no longer describe the beauty of Naples and its bay, nor its dead stone monuments and landmarks "since there I came across ... an Serbian, important and living monument" – the bishop of Montenegro, about whom he will write "more than about whole Italy"[4].

The bishop of Montenegro and the most admired Serbian poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš (village of Njeguši near Cetinje, Montenegro, 1813 – Cetinje, 1851)[5] was spending the winter in Italy, looking for a cure for an advanced disease, and in the upcoming time Nenadović's book would indeed become one of the central sources for building his cult in Serbian culture. Nevertheless, the above statement should not be taken literally: describing their further stay in Naples and, later on, a joint trip to Rome, Livorno and Florence, he talks a lot about Italy, but from a perspective unknown in travel literature. Although he conveys his own impressions and experiences, he considers it far more important to suggest what kind of feelings observed sights aroused in Njegoš and what attitudes he expressed when observing various relics. Njegoš himself, who died a few months after parting with Nenadović in Florence, left only a couple of brief accounts of his visits to Italy: a short note from an earlier (1844) trip to Venice in a travel notebook found and published a century after his death, and two letters (from Venice in december 1850 and Naples in january 1851) sent to his friends during a trip on which he would later meet Nenadović.

In 1850s, the testimony of his vision of Italy was left by another important Serbian intellectual, writer and poet, this time from Austria, Jovan Subotić (Dobrinci, district of Ruma, Austrian Empire, now Vojvodina, Serbia, 1817 – Zemun, Austro-Hungary, now municipality in Belgrade, Serbia, 1886). During his life, he performed important duties in the cultural institutions of the Serbs in the Monarchy (editor of the leading Serbian literary magazine *Letopis Matice srpske*), as well as in its official educational system (censor of Slavic books

---

[4] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 11. (See also: Lj. Nenadović. Conversation with Njegoš, *Synaxa*, 2024, 14–15: 161–174)

[5] Petar II Petrović Njegoš, the last theocratic ruler of Montenegro, which was governed by the monks from his family since the end of the 17th century. The hereditary line was intermediary: each bishop was succeeded by one of his nephews, exclusively in male line (i.e., a son of one of his brothers). Njegoš's successor put an end to this tradition and installed himself as the first secular ruler, price Danilo I Petrović Njegoš.

in Pest), was an well respected lawyer and prominent figure in political life. In 1856 he and his wife undertook a trip on which they toured Trieste, Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Milan and Lake Como, seeing for the first time the karst and the sea, and then the rural landscapes in Lombardy. That journey, which initiated the "river of poetic stars" in the author's soul, is described in the third of five volumes of Subotić's autobiography, which he failed to complete. Published decades after his death (1902–1910), at the time when interest for Subotić's literary work waned, his belated autobiography did not receive a wider reception, so this emotionally uplifted image of Italy remained known only to a narrow circle of experts in literature of his time.

Such examples, however, do not mean that there were no travelogues that were published soon, or even immediately after the journey they are telling about, and which achieved cultural and public significance exactly because of their contemporaneity. The authors are no longer exclusively significant historical figures and well-known writers, but also "ordinary" people, who, often remaining anonymous, describe what they saw and convey the impressions from their business or exclusively tourist trips. Mid-century, within a few years period, we find two such reports on stay in Italy, different in idea and style.

The first of them, "A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year", by Jovan Gavrilović (Vukovar, Habsburg Monarchy, now Croatia, 1796 – Belgrade, Principality of Serbia, 1877), was published in 1848 in *Podunavka* (*The Danube Fairy*), a cultural supplement of the official gazette *Srbske novine* (*Serbian News Gazette*). Although he travelled as an official of the Ministry of Economy, with the intention to obtain information about Italian trade "with the eastern regions", infrastructure and specific branches of agriculture, his report in detail presents the history, urban characteristics and important sights of the cities he visited. In the "extension" of the description of churches, palaces, libraries, galleries and exhibits in them, he also gives an overview of trade and economic facilities, social institutions and schools. Although he points out the scenes that amazed him (the appearance of Venice on the horizon) or caused pleasure (cultivated fields around Milan), he tends not to explicitly link the narration of his journey to personal experiences and an individualised point of view. In this way, he turns his travel report into a reliable guide to the sights of Italy, but also a report on its current economic and social opportunities[6].

The second of these reports, the anonymous "A Journey from Vienna to Venice", in the form of a letter (significant for being the first one we know was written by a woman)[7], offers a different experience of travel. Apart from the obvious fact that she belonged to the Serbian community in Vienna and to the class

[6] This text can be considered the first representative example of the so-called *apodemic* travelogue, rooted back the 16th century (see: *Ars Apodemica* http://dho.ie/drapier/node/45). Although most of the writers do try to describe monuments and present valid information about sights, such a distinctive example of this type of travel writing will appear only thirty years later in the feuilleton of Aksentije Marodić.

[7] The article is signed only with initials L.A., but the author's gender can be recognised by the predicate, since a verb in the past tense has different suffix for masc. and fem. gender.

wealthy enough to travel exclusively for pleasure, we do not know anything about the author. Although she nowhere reveals her or her companions' identity, she describes in detail the arrival of a friend from another town, gathering of (apparently larger) mixed bevy of travellers, dizziness and seasickness that plagued them along the way, a first look at Trieste, a failed attempt to find two (unnamed) paintings that one of the ladies especially wanted to see in Venice, and conclluds with a return to Vienna and seeing off a friend to her house. On the other hand, information about sights and current events in the cities they visited are given quite scarcely. Thus, in these two texts we see prototypes of different travel discourse: one is realised as a tourist guide and/or geographical and economic report on a particular country, where the viewer's journey is mainly a factor of mechanical connecting of text segments, and the other, which narration is aimed at describing the journey as a colourful personal experience.

Reportage writing about travelling to Italy will continue in the 1860s and 1870s, and the authors are many and very different: from prominent writers and famous public figures to travellers who (willingly) remain anonymous.

Anonymous authors usually briefly indicate the travel/biographical framework of their writing (for example "I spent Easter in Rome") and thus emphasise that all they will write about is really seen and experienced, although their detailed and often pictorial descriptions remain in general and (according to impressions and attitudes) conventional frameworks. Examples of such travelogues are a series of articles in the *Beogradske ilustrovane novine* (*Belgrade Illustrated Newspaper*) from 1866. The first and last sequel describe Roman catacombs and the "great confession" in Roman churches during Holy Week, while the intermediate ones depict the city of Ancona, the streets of Naples and Milan's cathedral.

In contrast, among well-known authors, the image of the country can vary significantly depending on what attracts their attention, and the point of view becomes a basic factor in shaping travel texts. The most characteristic example of such an approach, in which the author's beliefs dictate what will become the subject of description, is a certain number of texts about Venice. In 1872, the activist in national education and utopian socialist Vasa Pelagić (Gornji Žabar, district of Brčko, Otoman Empire, now Pelagićevo, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1833 – Požarevac, Kingdom of Serbia, 1899) published a pamphlet in which he disputed the usual poetic image of Venice, pointing out that, in addition to the historical legacy of repression against its own citizens and conquests of the surrounding countries, this city-state was burdened by the backwardness and poverty of a large part of the population as the consequence of the rule of the aristocracy and neglect of the public interest. Three years later, comedy writer Kosta Trifković (Novi Sad, Austrian Empire, 1843 – Novi Sad, Austro-Hungary, now Vojvodina, Serbia, 1875) sent to *Javor* (*The Maple*), one of the most popular literary magazines in the second half of the century, an article about Venetian dungeons, as a bizarre landmark that he somewhat considers a metaphor for the political order of the Republic.

In various genres of Serbian literature we can find references to Venice as an imperial power and a cunning repressive autocracy, and this attitude,

derived from historical experience, is often built into the image that appears as a counterpoint to admiration for the "city on water" and its artistic richness.

The most comprehensive text about Rome comes from Aksentije Marodić (Subotica, Austrian Empire, now Vojvodina, Serbia, 1838 – Novi Sad, Austro-Hungary, now Vojvodina, Serbia, 1909), a painter on a study stay in the Eternal City, who wrote its tourist *Bedecker* in a series of unconventional newspaper reports. In detail and expertly he described historical and artistic sights, but also characteristic social customs, mostly with humorous distance and benevolent irony. A special curiosity is the form and manner of summarizing this text: in two series of texts entitled "Carnival in Rome" (newspaper *Zastava /The Flag/*, from April to August 1875) and "Two days in Rome" (magazine *Javor*, from May to November 1881) Marodić virtually guides his friend, an associate of the newspaper publishing these reports, through the city. These tours remain virtual because the friend isn't actually present, but "on the wings of imagination" comes every day to Rome and returns to Novi Sad to hand over the text to the press.

In the eighties, *Javor* published two more reports, again in the form of letters, from travellers in northern Italy. Characteristically, both emphasise that they travel exclusively driven by the desire to see the unknown lands and beauties of Italy, although for at least the one of them we can assume that he was in a relatively modest condition. Stevan Konjović (Sombor, Austrian Empire, 1857 – Sombor, Austro-Hungary, now Vojvodina, Serbia 1894), at the time of this journey a schoolteacher in his hometown, in the summer of 1881 took a circular tourist trip (Budapest–Ljubljana–Trieste and "upper Italy", then by boat to Montenegro, and via Dalmatia and Croatia back home). He left an interesting description of Trieste as a prosperous trading city, where he visits museums, but also praises communal facilities such as a modern hygienic fish market. As sights of special interest to his audience, he does not fail to describe the Greek and Serbian churches, and when leaving, he looks back at the state of the Serbian community in that city.

We don't know anything about the author of the other two reports ("Karara" ("Carrara") and "Crkva sv. Kroka" [sv. Roka ?!] ("The Church of the Holly Cross"), 1883), signed by the initial "Đ", but from certain remarks we can conclude that he was an intellectual, well informed about current (Serbian and foreign) literary and cultural affairs. He motivates his trip by saying that everyone would like to travel to a country "where poems and paintings created ideals that we admire", and demonstrates the peculiarity of his interests by choosing Carrara for the first destination, which he describes with poetic enthusiasm. On the contrary, the Church of the Holly Cross in Florence he depicts with admiration, but calmly and distantly, largely in accordance with the apodemic practice of earlier travel writers.

By the end of the century, Italian travelogues in which literary pretensions clearly exceed apodemic informing came from certain number of popular authors, whose overall work nowadays is greatly appreciated mainly on the basis of that genre. These are Milan Jovanović Morski (village Jarkovac, area of Banat, Austrian Empire, now Vojvodina, Serbia, 1834 – Belgrade, Kingdom

of Serbia, 1896), and Marko Car /Tsar/ (Herceg Novi, area of Kotor bay, Austrian Empire, now Montenegro, 1859 – Belgrade, Yugoslavia, now Serbia, 1953), who spent the most fruitful creative period (1879–1919) in Zadar (Austrian Empire, now Dalmatia, Croatia). Morski's travelogues were created thanks to his professional engagement: as a ship doctor (1879–1881), he sailed the East and left several extensive texts about India. His Neapolitan travelogue was written earlier, while he was staying in Italy in the capacity of the chaperon of the princess Milena and her son Danilo, at the time when he worked as a doctor at the Montenegrin ruling house (1876–1879). On the other hand, Marko Car – having acquired only an informal, but obviously broad education – after his first literary successes moved to Zadar, where he became an associate of the newspaper *Srpski list* (*Serbian Papers*) and then an official in the office of the Dalmatian Parliament. Although his travels weren't, strictly speaking, undertaken as part of a work engagement, they were certainly related to his position as a public figure and his work in journalism, including cooperation with Italian newspapers and magazines (*Fanfulla della Domenica* and *Rivista Contemporanea*).

COMPARISONS

Serbian travellers most often travel to northern Italy, primarily to Trieste, where, due to the developed trade with cities on the Adriatic coast and the eastern Mediterranean, was settled a strong Greek and Serbian community, with its churches, church municipalities and schools, and Venice, which (even after the disappearance of the Republic) in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland enjoyed the status of a metropolis and also was an important traffic hub for further travel. Over time, visits to other cities in Veneto, Lombardy and Tuscany have become more frequent, and the greatest attention has been paid to describing Milan and Florence. Departures to Rome and Naples are less numerous, but they are relatively more often undertaken for purely tourist purposes. This travel map reflects the structure of geopolitical and cultural ties: Serbs from Dalmatia and Kotor Bay were once part of the Venetian Republic, so they were necessarily oriented to communication with its capital, and at a time when Trieste was a free city, a large number of Serbian merchants and businessmen, not only from the coast, but also from its near and far hinterland, moved there and founded a community whose traces still exist today. When these areas fell under Habsburg rule, the upper class of Serbs from other parts of Austria visited them more and more often, certainly driven by pan-European interest in Italy, but also encouraged by the fact that these famous cities now are in the same country, which facilitated journeys to them. On the other hand, the renewed Principality of Serbia established the main political and cultural ties with the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, but in terms of tourist interest, travelers very quickly joined their compatriots from the powerful neighboring empire.

Writing about Italy implies occasional comparisons of various kind.

Yet in the Gerasim Zelić's *Life* some characteristic phenomena in the Italian way of life and attitude towards work are compared in contrast – and to

the detriment of the hosts – with the situation in other European countries. Returning from Milan in 1808 (where it was confirmed to him that Napoleon would issue a decree of establishing a Dalmatian episcopate) he wrote about the troubles with numerous servants at the post offices: to the each of the seven or eight people, for a job that could easily be done by two of them, one must give a copious tip, because otherwise they "throw money away, still swearing and embarrassing the man", especially if "some foreign passenger falls into their hands". Comparing them with postilions and coachmen in many European countries, through which he travelled, Zelić says that he has not seen "such rascals" anywhere, and yet they live in "such a rich country, which can be named an earth paradise"[8]. The wealth that Zelić talks about refers to the generous nature and agricultural abundance of Italy, but also the splendor of its cities, and thus outlines the controversial image of the paradise country and its problematic inhabitants, which often appears among European travellers.

The beauty and urban planning of certain Italian cities, or at least their representative parts, impresses many Serbian travellers. Hereby a description of Trieste in the time of his first visit in 1801, Joakim Vujić noted that this, even then a beautiful city, until his second arrival in 1832, was enlarged and arranged so spectacularly that it looked better "than Vienna itself", and that "in Vienna really can never be seen" what one can see in Trieste[9]. A few decades later, in the second series of reports on Rome, Aksentije Marodić will take his virtual visitor to see new city districts and point out how, following the famous predecessors, modern architects build far more modest, but harmonious and functional buildings. Marodić compares them with, according to him, far worse, stylistically impure and pretentious architecture of Viennese public and private buildings, emphasising that the great architectural tradition implicitly directs the work of Roman architects in the best possible way[10].

Zelić, Vujić and Marodić Austrian citizens, and for them these remarks to some extent represent comparisons with "their own" space and circumstances. When it comes to travellers from Serbia, the comparisons concern more general topics and usually are implicit. The text that offers the most of such insights into the peculiarities of the country and the people are certainly the *Letters from Italy* by Ljuba Nenadović.

A receptive observer, Nenadović notices certain bizarre aspects and indicative phenomena of life in Naples. Counting the hours, from zero to twenty-four, starts from the moment when it gets dark (which he associates with the cult of visiting the theater), while expressing time on a scale of one to twelve

---

[8] G. Zelić. *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића* (*The Life of Gerasim Zelić*), Buda 1823: 500–501.

[9] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Живоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія: во кратцѣ собственномъ руком нѣговомъ списана у общежителному монастыру Бездину, во Богохранимой Єпархіи темишварской* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian writer, written in brief by his own hand in the monastery of Bezdin, in the diocese of Temisoara*), Karlstadt 1833: 157; hereinafter: *The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*.

[10] A. Marodić. Два дана у Риму (Two days in Rome), *Јавор* [*Javor*], 1881, 36: 1041–1046.

is called "the French manners". Emphasising this detail, Nenadović points out not only how special life in Naples is, but also how highly the citizens are aware of that fact. At the same time, however, he notices the existence of scribes sitting on every square and every street corner and write letters, applications and everything else that customers ask them for ("Over here, being literate is an occupation", says Nenadović)[11]. However, the mass illiteracy he obviously does not compare with the level of literacy in Serbia, which was similar, but with the more favorable situation in better developed countries, which indicates that he observes the city and its population in different contexts.

One of the specific points of view is the contrast between the glorious ancient past and the current state of the Italian people and cities, which will lead to direct comparisons of social and political circumstances in Italy with those in other European countries. Visiting later on Rome, Nenadović noticed that at the place "from which the Roman legions marched ... to overrun Gaul and Britain, nowadays are practicing ... French soldiers", since „the barbarian Gauls came to guard Rome ... which conquered the world and ruled it at will"[12]. This remark (made as part of general reflections on the transience of power and glory) is meant to compare the current weakness of divided and dependent Italian states with the power that once barbarian nations have over them. Further on, an anecdote about a sketch staged in the Italian residence of a German nobleman expresses general view of economic and cultural situation of this country in comparison with more developed parts of Europe: visiting modern Italy, Cicero faces the fact that the country's representative figures are entertainers with trained monkeys, *lazzaroni* and barefoot monks, while the most significant inventions (print, watch, gunpowder) were invented by "savage Germans"[13].

But, unlike travellers from mayority of other countries, Serbian authors often point out examples of good organisation, active economy and advanced institutions, primarily in northern Italy. This primarily refers to the praise for the developed maritime trade, good ports and reliable steamship traffic, which are mentioned by many passengers, and the most complex approach of this kind is brought by "A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year" by Jovan Gavrilović.

In addition to detailed describing of historical and artistic sights of Venice, Gavrilović points out that the city has homes for the elderly and the poor, a town hospital, commercial institutions and trade courts[14]. He also describes a new bridge that connects Venice "with the mainland of Italy" and further leading to Milan. In this city, he also lists its various institutions, such as a school for the dumb, a craft school for the poor and "day care" for small children, but also pays attention to the economy of the city and the region, emphasising that there are two good silk factories, while fields of mulberries surround the city and silkworm

---

[11] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 52, 53.
[12] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 52, 53.
[13] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 136–137.
[14] J. Gavrilović. Путовање из Београда у Италију (Аустријску) прошлог 1847. лета (A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year), *Подунавка* (Podunavka), 1848, 7: 27.

breeding is the main occupation of local farmers[15]. Although it is not explicitly stated, this certainly implies referring to the situation in Serbia, which, freed from the Turkish rule, has to establish such institutions and improve its economy. Elements of direct comparison will be brought by the description of the town of Lodi, which he visits since was informed that it is the centre of the most advanced agricultural region. He describes the irrigation system, landscaped fields and closed cycle of production and trade in dairy products[16]. Unlike Serbia, the farmers in Lombardy do not own the land, but work for the big plantage owners, allthough (as it seems to him) their living conditions are better than those of the independent small landowners in his country[17].

A special kind of comparison is mediating the anothers' image of us, since it implies reverted imagological perspective: the knowledge of a relatively educated traveller about the country he travels through is compared to the local ignorance of him as a representative of the people and area from which he comes. This aspect is highlighted yet in *The Life of Gerasim Zelić*, who notes that (unlike Trieste and Venice, where there were many Greeks, Serbs and Armenians) in Milan he was constantly surrounded by crowds of curious people who had never seen an Orthodox monk, and so made the most incredible assumptions about who the strange traveller could be. But, while Zelić presents this as an innocent delusion of the common people, without incorporating any special value attitude into that story, in Nenadovic's *Letters from Italy* the matter is more complex. Since he stays in Italy in the company of a sovereign, he also enters high circles, and witnesses the romantic enthusiasm of the aristocracy and intellectuals for Njegoš's appearance and his stories about Montenegro, but he reveals that enthusiasm as superficial and sensationalist. Subjecting such episodes to all-encompassing irony, Nenadović implicitly compares his knowledge and interest in getting to know and understand the country he passes through with the opposite attitude of those he meets: their assumption is that their *ad hoc* made image of us is adequate and complete. Since he states this attitude as a striking feature of behavior[18], we can say that one of Nenadović's impressions of the upper classes in Italy is theirs (and western in general) superficial attitude towards "others".

CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC DIMENSION

The basic reason for travelling to Italy is to get acquainted with its cultural heritage as a common treasure of whole humanity. Even when their journey is not undertaken exclusively for tourism and/or educational purposes, Serbian travellers pay the greatest attention to describing the architecture of

---

[15] J. Gavrilović. Путовање из Београда у Италију (Аустријску) прошлог 1847. лета (A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year), *Подунавка* (Podunavka), 1848, 12: 51–52.

[16] J. Gavrilović. Путовање из Београда у Италију (Аустријску) прошлог 1847. лета (A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year), *Подунавка* (Podunavka), 1848, 13: 55.

[17] J. Gavrilović. Путовање из Београда у Италију (Аустријску) прошлог 1847. лета (A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year), *Подунавка* (Podunavka), 1848, 14: 59.

[18] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Ишалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 18–22, 134–135.

Italian cities and famous palaces, sculptures and paintings in galleries, frescoes and mosaics in churches.

This is evident yet in the travel pages from the earliest nineteenth-century sources, the autobiographies of Gerasim Zelić and Joakim Vujić, whose genre definition indicates that they were not primarily written with travelogue intention. Talking about his visit to Venice, and later to Milan, Zelić will authoritatively describe the square and the church of St. Mark, (still unfinished) Milan Cathedral, as well as St. Ambrosius Church[19]. His descriptions are impressionistic, without details that would indicate special knowledge about art, but with the specifics related to their history, including recent events that the author has witnessed. Listing the valuables that were brought to the main Venetian church from the Constantinople St. Sofia, Zelić states that the sculptures of horses above the main entrance were later taken by Napoleon to his palace in Paris – where the author saw them again when he came there as a member of the Dalmatian delegation to pay homage to the emperor – and mentions that after Napoleon's fall they were returned to the church of St. Mark. Also, when describes the cathedral of "unspeakable size" as the main landmark of Milan, this author points out that it was built in the 16th century, but still isn't completed, or at least wasn't in 1808, when he saw it for the first time, nor during the next two years, when (passing through Milan on the way to Paris and back) he observed how, on Napoleon's orders, works were being carried on.

With Joakim Vujić, a man of theater and a representative of Biedermeier's sensibility, the presentation does not focus on any particular aspect of the landmarks he observes: he lists and describes everything that is considered to be important in the cities he visits, but some details give the text a personal mark and reveal the author's peculiarity. In addition to noticing and describing details that other travellers overlook, such as the relief on the Rialto Bridge[20], Vujić in Venice is particularly impressed by handicrafts, such as mechanical figures on the city clock tower, which announce time with hammer blows[21]. His admiration grows if a skill is associated with bizarreness and extravagance, as it had been the case with the making a model of the Winter Palace in the Arsenal, in honor of Peter the Great during his stay in Venice[22]. Writing later about Rome, the final point of his journey, he will state how many towers, gates and churches there are, which are the most important family palaces, what is the size of the Vatican and which are the other papal residences (Monte Cavallo and Lateranum). He also gives basic information about the church and the

---

[19] G. Zelić. *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића* (*The Life of Gerasim Zelić*), Buda 1823: 60–61, 501–502.

[20] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Животоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian writer*), Karlstadt 1833: 91.

[21] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Животоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian writer*), Karlstadt 1833: 193–194.

[22] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Животоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian writer*), Karlstadt 1833: 195–196.

square of St. Peter, as well as the churches of St. John (with the Holy Staircase) and Maria Rotonda, with the remains of the "idolatrous" Pantheon. Of the other landmarks, he draws attention to the papal library, which "has no equal in the whole world", while he says nothing about ancient landmarks, except that he visited them with pleasure, along with a paid guide. The last "Roman" passages, in accordance with his unusual inclinations, he dedicates to the statue "Pasquino", i.e., to the legend about a witty shoemaker and satirical notes named after him "pasquiles"[23].

The tendency to turn a travelogue into an educational read, with a maximum of information and a minimum of impressions about artistic landmarks, is consistently realised in Jovan Gavrilović's "Journey to (Austrian) Italy". In it, the author depicts Venice and Milan by listing and describing public sights, appearance and interior layout of important architectural monuments, informing in detail about exibited paintings and sculptures, their authors and the art schools to which they belong. Despite the lack of personal impressions, this exhaustiveness gives the writing about these two cities the mark of an experienced voyage, and distinguishes it from the administrative listing of sights in other cities (Padua, Verona, Brescia, Cremona, Mantua) where he stayed for a short time, or just passed by.

In the next decade, Ljuba Nenadović and Jovan Subotić, whose works are marked by specific approaches and a certain literary self-awareness, will begin the era of modernisation of travelogues.

As it has already been said, Nenadović's *Letters from Italy* follow and reconstruct how Njegoš saw the sights of Italy, and only then the author himself. During the tour of Pompeii, the author's meditation on the theme of the transience of all achievements and insignificance of man in the universe gained credibility thanks to the fact that he is in the company of Njegoš, in whose mind the sight of a devastated city evokes the same feelings. (This is confirmed by the conclusion of this episode: according to the custom estabilished for the visits of important individuals, Njegoš witnessed the excavating of a room where was found "a beautiful picture of Hercules disarmed by love", and afterwards dedicated "one great poem" to the Pompeii experience.)

Describing their later stay in Rome, Nenadović talks about various landmarks, especially the sculptures of Bernini and Canova, which they both admire, but gives a dominant place to Njegoš's impression of Raphael's "Transfiguration" and interpretation based on his view of the painting, which emphasises his philosophical and value attitude towards the world[24]. Thanks to the bishop's character, Nenadović's travelogue includes two thematically unique episodes in the Serbian nineteenth-century travelogue: a visit to Virgil's tomb near Pompeii and Tasso's last residence in the church of St. Onuphrius in the vicinity of Rome,

---

[23] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго сїписаѣеля Живоѣоопїисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣїова ѣриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian writer*), Karlstadt 1833: 229–230.

[24] "In His face, which is goodness itself, all virtues are expressed. This ideal of goodness ... can no longer be seen on the canvas.", quoting Negoš's words, Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Иѣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 94.

from both of which Njegoš took a souvenir – a laurel branch from Virgil's tomb and a thread from Tasso's belt from the room in which he spent his last days.

A special place should be reserved for travel pages from the autobiography of Jovan Subotić, where the apodemic describing of artistic landmarks is completely rejected and replaced by presenting the feelings that their observation caused in the writer. Subotić consciously rejects every educational and instructive purpose of his text, and thus does not describe individual paintings and buildings, nor does he state their authors and years of creation. Such data are suppressed by the power of the immediate experience of the sights. After visiting the Venetian churches and the Doge's Palace, he points out that he left the city "with a head full of all kinds of treasures and a heart full of all kinds of life"[25]. Milan's cathedral "with its tower, as if made of sugar [...] with thousands of (by the first-class artists) carved figures on the roof" caused "uplifting" in his heart and "a ripple of movement" in his head, while its interior appeared as the likeness of a "magnificent cave", and its vault as a "true vault of the sky"[26].

Based on these pages, it can be said that the era of modern travelogue about Italy begins with Subotić, since the individual experience of the country and the contemplation over sights and landmarks cease to be an "addition" and turns into a basic feature of the text. In the second half of the century, travel writing of this kind will coexist with those which subordinate authors' impressions to various external functions, from educational to ideological.

This second approach is more noticeable in longer texts, especially when it comes to newspaper genres, and certainly the most impressive examples are the feuilletons of Aksentije Marodić "Carnival in Rome" (*Zastava*, 1875) and "Two Days in Rome" (*Javor*, 1881). Marodić appears as a connoisseur of the city and conceives his feuilleton as its multi-day virtual tourist sightseeing during the carnival. This concept allows narrator a colloquial tone and a humorous-ironic perspective and, at the same time, implies a detailed, knowledgeable description of the "observed" sights. Marodić usually starts with describing the atmosphere of the place where the monuments are located, so on the Spanish square he points out the vividness of the place and many shops, as well as the fact that this is an area inhabited mostly by foreigners, so there are many, but quite expensive inns around. Only then he draws attention to the fact that the square is decorated with a fountain and a "tall stone pillar", which leads to veristically accurate description of Bernini's famous Fontana della Barcaccia, as well as a pillar with a bronze statue of the Virgin on the top and figures of biblical prophets at the foot. He then informs his "companion" (i.e., the reader) that the monument was erected in 1854 by the efforts of the current Pope Pius the IX, in memory of the adoption of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception[27], Marodić considers information about the circumstances and

---

[25] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 24.

[26] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 30–31.

[27] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 52. (unpaginated)

reasons for erecting or "upgrading" certain monuments to be important and often gives them, especially if they are related to recent and politically intriguing events. Speaking of the pillar of Marcus Aurelius in Colonna Square, he describes the reliefs it is made of, as well as the statue of the Apostle Paul on top of it, but makes the point of the whole passage with a note about a metal structure with lanterns placed in 1870 on a fence around the figure to illuminate the anniversary of the Pope's return from Gaeta[28], In a similar way, as they approach the Pantheon, the author-guide first describes the fountain in front of it and the beggars and the poor who gather there, and only after that he draws attention to the "building behind". Its former majesty is suggested by the corridor formed by the Corinthian pillars, the round base and the impressively executed dome over the central part of the temple, but the history of later destruction and decay caused that the once marveles building "now looks like a man robbed to his naked body by the villains, who additionally wounded him with the blows, and without any ornament belonging to him, appears he as a poor and miserable man, because everything that deservly adorned him was stolen away, and only what could not be taken away is what he at the beginning received from his creator: construction and composition"[29]. A similar approach – implying the idea that the original magnificence of ancient art, despite later barbaric destroying, still speaks clearly from their remains – is stated in the talk about Trajan's Forum[30] and, in particular, the Colosseum, although the fascination with this other building is always poisoned by aversion to its purpose and the manifestations it had hosted[31].

Although most of his depictions of works of art are based on a monotonous and detailed external description, Marodić will occasionally express his artistic knowledge and sensibility by presenting his own attitudes. Perhaps the most characteristic detail is when, while visiting Tiberius' house on the Palatine, he draws his companion's attention to the fresco of Polyphemus and Galatee. It is set up "as a large window, through which a beautiful open field and mythological scenes can be seen", with the perspective so correctly performed that it serves as "a clear testimony to us that the knowledge of the perspective is not the merit of the new age"[32]. However, unlike most other authors, who (if they express any opinion) speak only admirably about well-known buildings and works of art, Marodić does not hesitate to make some very critical judgments. Thus, for the fountain at the foot the Spanish Stairs he says that, despite Bernini's authorship, it is "considered as one of the worse in Rome" and can only be admired until other and better ones are seen, which happened to him

---

[28] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 53. (unpaginated)

[29] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 55. (unpaginated)

[30] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 64. (unpaginated)

[31] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 72 and 73. (unpaginated)

[32] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 52. (unpaginated)

as well. No better is his opinion of the Renaissance church of Trinita dei monti above, whose two towers he considers superfluous and inconsistent, while for the bridge of St. Angelo without hesitation says that it is adorned with "ten very bad marble statues of angels".

A few years later, this feuilleton (interrupted due to the writer's unplanned departure from Rome) will be continued with the description of the square and the church of St. Peter. As in the previous series, he tries to describe these landmarks in such a way that the reader acquires a precise image of their appearance and dimensions, and the idea of magnificence should primarily come from that description, and not from the writer's impression. In several sequels, Marodić will present the history of the construction of the church, describe its interior and the artistic artifacts inside, especially insisting on the works and contribution of Michelangelo, who he considers to be a creator of magnificence and special spirit of this building. However, the tendency to mediate that qualities of the church does not entirely suppress Marodić's critical remarks focused on details. The enormous nave and the dome completed according to Michelangelo's idea create a feeling of being under the dome of the sky, but Marodić proceeds to point to particular objects, mostly praising artists' technique, but also states that baroque pillars on the main altar spoil the harmony and spirit of the whole space. Only when, together with a virtual visitor, he finds himself in front of Raphael's paintings in the Farnese palace, Marodić allows the description to turn into immersion in the work and unconditional admiration for its creator.

Like some other authors, especially from the second half of the century, Marodić will not allow his admiration for the ancient and renaissance heritage to completely suppress his interest in contemporary art. Yet in the first feuilleton, he pays equal attention to various monuments erected during the 19th century (although he seems to consider many of them to be more of cultural and historical significance and less of artistic value), but in the second series describing of "new Rome" becomes one of the thematic focuses. He praises the wide and straight streets of the new parts of the city, pointing out that the buildings in them, almost without exception, are functional and tasteful, which he attributes to relying on a great architectural tradition.

A decade later, another learned author – Đorđe Dera (Novi Sad, Austrian Empire, 1844 – Novi Sad, Austro-Hungary, now Vojvodina, Serbia, 1917) will convey a different view of newly built parts of the city, stating that Rome "does not leave a good impression" on an antiquity lover who comes to the city by train from the north, because he can only see the buildings erected in the latest style and hardly any ancient remains[33]. But, while Dera implies that modern city districts have diminished the appeal of Rome, Marodić was of a different opinion. The simplicity of those buildings, in terms of aesthetic effect, far surpasses the ambitious and pretentiously designed public buildings in other European cities, which the author "proves" with a critical review of the famous building of the Pest Opera, overly ornate and too eclectic. This remark also clarifies the

[33] Đ. Dera. *Успомене из Италије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part II, Novi Sad 1892: 47.

criterion of Marodić's earlier authoritative evaluations of paintings and sculptures, including some of the most famous ones: as a representative of academism in painting, he considers the concepts of this school of art to be the ultimate set of aesthetic norms, according to which every work of art should be judged.

A few years later, an extensive and certainly more monumental travelogue was dedicated to Venice by distinguished essayist, literary and art critic Marko Car. Upon entering the city, the author's gaze first passes over the famous palaces, whose beauty encourages him to think about their history or current circumstances that indicate changes in the social order and spirit of the city: in the "most beautiful of them", Vendramin-Kalergi, died Wagner; in 1797, from Balbi Napoleon watched a rowing competition organised in his honour, in Mocenigo Byron lived and wrote *Don Juan*, while Ca d'Oro, a building "of that beautiful Gothic-Arabic style, in which the Doge's Palace was also built", today is owned by opera diva Taglioni[34/35].

In a similar way – impressionistic, but knowledgeable and informative – the author presents the most important Venetian monuments: the Doge's Palace and the Church of St. Mark. Unlike most of the earlier authors, whose descriptions of these buildings and artistic artifacts in them were more like a catalog, Car depicts them from the point of view that implies the constantly present eye of the observer: the view of the gate, the Great Staircase, the courtyard with pillars and wells primarily reconstructs the writer's impression. Presenting the palace halls and paintings in them, he also avoids exhaustive enumerating and describing of the works, and gives inspired depictions only of those which caught his attention, whether it was caused by their artistic value or interest in their subject: Titian's "Paradise"[36] and Tintoretto's "Conquest of Zara/Zadar", as well as Paolo Veronese's "Apotheosis of Venice". Concluding the description of the Doge's Palace, Car once again renounces the description of "ten or fifteen ... halls, which are more or less all dedicated to the art and glorification of the Republic", but still has to draw readers' attention to Veronese's "Abduction of Europe", whose beauty he underlines by quoting the admiration of Hippolyte Taine and Theophile Gautier[37].

Such a discourse is even more consistently realised in the description of the church of St. Mark. It, in Car's words, "does not belong to any strictly defined style; Greek, Romanesque, Byzantine, Arabic and Gothic styles meet and intertwine harmoniously here: a wonderful mixture of all architecture, a charming reflex of all times and all cultures ... it is something *sui generis*, like

---

[34] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy*), Zadar 1888: 16–17.

[35] Marie Taglioni (23 April 1804 – 22 April 1884), by marriage Comtesse de Voisins, actually was the most celebrated ballet dancer of her time, who at the peak of her career performed in Paris Opera, which is probably why Car names her "an *opera* diva". After retiring from performing in 1847, she took residence in Ca'd'Oro and lived there until her death.

[36] It is not clear what painting Car refers to, since the one under the alternative names "La Gloria"/"Paradise" is kept in Prado. In the course of this research I couldn't find the information that it was in Venice at the time of Car's visit. Since he does not give accurate description, but the personal impression of details, it is neither possible to make conclusion based on his remarks.

[37] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy*), Zadar 1888: 22–28.

the town where it originated". In support of this impression, he quotes the words of Pope Paul the VI that a rich ruler could build something resembling the church of St. Peter in Rome, but never anything like the church of St. Mark in Venice[38]. Car's experience of the magnificence of the Venetian artistic heritage will be rounded off with a focused review of famous churches and their landmarks, some of which appeared to turn into valuable spiritual or artistic experience: Santa Maria gloriosa de 'Frari with the tombs of Titian and Canova, Santa Maria della Salute with Titian's "Fratricide of Cain", and the church of St. Sebastian as the "museum of Paolo Veronese", where his grave is[39].

CITIES

In addition to well-known monuments, in many Italian cities travellers have noticed features special for their atmosphere and character.

Trieste

This city was the seat of a large Serbian community whose core consisted of wealthy merchants, seamen and shipowners. In the middle of the 18th century, they were given the right to build a church, establish a church community and a school. Due to these institutions, as well as to the patronage of rich members of the community, Trieste was one of the Serbian cultural centres at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Among the travel writers presented here, Joakim Vujić and Pavle Solarić lived longer or shorter in Trieste, but this city is not their important topic. Vujić left a relatively short note about his impressions at the time of his first arrival and one re-visit many years later (see the section „Comparisons"), but he does not talk about getting to know the city during his life there. When it comes to Solarić, there are only two letters from other parts of Italy that remain.

However, this city, very often the first stop on the tour of Italy, leaves a significant impression on other Serbian travel writers. Approaching Trieste usually means the initial appearance of the sea in the observer's eye, which for travellers coming deeply from the continent (Vienna, Pest, Pannonian Plain, Principality of Serbia) often is the first encounter with the sea in life. Testimonies crucially marked by this experience date back to the 1850s. They can be laconic, with an emphasis on the elements of the seascape[40], or developed into a real treatise, as is the case with the passage in Jovan Subotić's autobiography. In addition to a strong impression of the rugged coastline that seems to be the only thing "to be able to hold that force of water", for Subotić Trieste also means the first contact with the exotic: street stalls with abundance of various

---

[38] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy*), Zadar 1888: 33–34.

[39] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 39–42.

[40] L. A. Путованѣ изъ Беча у Млѣтке (A Trip from Vienna to Venice"), *Сѣдмица* [*Sedmica*], II/1853, 42: 327–329.

tropic fruits, explosion of bright colours and a plenty of sounds, filthy fish market that causes mixed feelings of disgust and lure, caused his exclamation that in this city "the East appeared in front of my eyes for the first time"[41].

Of course, a visit to the Serbian church and school, and often to other Orthodox churches[42], is an important point in the itinerary of most Serbian travel writers. Long after J. Vujić, valuable records of these churches and communities gathered around them were left by Milan Milićević (village Ripanj, district of Belgrade, Principality of Serbia, 1831 – Belgrade, Kingdom of Serbia, 1908) and Stevan Konjović. They both came to Trieste soon after the new church of St. Spyridon had been built in 1868, instead of the old one which had to be demolished due to the instability of the foundations. They were impressed by the architecture of the church and the icon painting, although that came with certain regrets. Milićević wrote that he would prefer if, instead of marvelous church, there were more pupils in the Serbian school alongside it, and Konjović had to notice that at the Sunday liturgy there weren't many Serbs, but there were citizens of other nations, who came to listen to choir singing. The reason for that is peculiar: apart from very few members of the Serbian congregation, other participants in the choir are members of the local opera, and this curiosity enchanted the author, otherwise disheartened by the decline of Serbian population in the city[43].

When it comes to matters of population and spirit of the city, many authors emphasise its Italian character, despite the long Austrian rule. Milan Milićević writes that "according to geography, the town is Slavic, according to politics Austrian-German, according to ethnography Italian"[44], and some twenty years later Đ. Dera announces that almost only Italian is spoken in the streets, and even if you address in German someone who understands that language, he will answer your question in Italian[45].

Miramare Castle. The first note about Miramare castle was left by Vladan Đorđević (Belgrade, Principality of Serbia, 1844 – Baden, Austria, 1930) in 1864. The castle, whose name he translates as "sea view", is located on a rock a quarter of an hour away from Trieste by train or an hour by boat. As the boatman who drives them explains to the author and his companion, the view from that place is really magnificent, but still almost no one went there until "Prince

---

[41] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 18–21.

[42] Apart from the Serbian and Greek, there also was an Armenian church in Trieste. Joakim Vujić mentions that he visited it during his stay in Trieste 1801–1803, when there were a seminary and a printing house working alongside the church. When he returned to Trieste in 1832, he saw that it had been demolished and that on its place is set up Leipzig square (La piazza di Lipsia); **see:** J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго сйисателя Живоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣова йриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian writer*), Karlstad 1833: 156, 158.

[43] S. Konjović. Путничка писма. Писмо шесто. (Traveller's Letters.Letter no. Six."), *Јавор* [Javor], 1875, 42: 1333–1336.

[44] M. Milićević. *И живоӣ је школин йредмеӣ. Йуӣойисна црӣа од Беоīрада, йреко Заīреба и Трсӣа до Млеӣака* (*The Life Is a School Subject, too. The Travelogue Sketch from Belgrade, via Zagreb and Trieste to Venice*), Belgrade 1871: 4.

[45] Đ. Dera. *Усйомене из Иӣалије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part I, Novi Sad 1891: 11.

Maxim"[46] built a castle and made a road five years ago[47]. Given that he does not talk about Trieste itself, Đorđević obviously believes that the castle and its gardens have now become the main landmark of the city. The astonishment of the gardens stems from their architectural structuring and landscape design (artificially made hills that gradually rise from the sea level to the foot of the castle, so skillfully connected by stairs "that one does not even notice the rising"), but also from the abundance of various flowers with intoxicating scents, and antiques and sculptures exhibited at rest areas[48].

Many years later, Stevan Konjović left the record with similar impressions of the gardens, but he also was allowed to see the castle inside. He listed and described the interior of the official chambers and private rooms used by the prince and his wife, emphasising that there are many Egyptian and Greek antiques in the castle, and pointed to the Mexican medals exibited in one of the rooms as a curiosity connected with the prince's tragic fate[49].

Venice

"There appeared the bellfries of Venice, like giants walking on the top of the sea" – that's how bishop Njegoš described the appearance of Venice on the horizon in March 1844, during his first arrival into the city[50]. This is probably the strongest expression of admiration for the appearance of the "city on the water", which is shared by almost all travel writers. Somewhat later, a more developed account of such a magical experience will be given by Jovan Subotic: Venice is incomparable with any other known place, even Vienna is "just a beautiful and rich capital city", while Venice is "a wonderful, magical, precious dream ...so I fear that the wand which created, will also destroy it .... and everything will suddenly disappear ... ". From the tower of St. Mark's church, it seems to him that the Venetian islands form the silhouette of a fish, but in the moment he accepts this astonishing scene as normal, since "it would not be right for a child of the sea to have a look of towns and villages on the mainland"[51]. Some other authors support this kind of experience with the statements of famous individuals, as in the case of Milan Milićević, who expresses his admiration simple by quoting Montesquieu's phrase that "one can see all the cities in the world, and yet be amazed when sees Venice"[52].

---

[46] Maximilian I of Mexico, younger brother of the Emperor Franz Josef and vice-king of Veneto-Lombardy until 1859. At the invitation of Mexican royalists in 1864 he accepted the throne and was killed by republicans in 1867. Đorđević's visit to the castle happened just after Maximilian left for Mexico.

[47] V. Đorđević. Мирамаре (Miramare), in: *Путничке цртe* (*Travel sketches*) Београд 1865: 6–7.

[48] V. Đorđević. Мирамаре (Miramare), in: *Путничке цртe* (*Travel sketches*) Београд, 1865: 11–12.

[49] S. Konjović. Путничка писма. Писмо седмо. (Traveller's Letters. Letter № Seven.), *Јавор* [Javor], 1875, 43: 1365–1368.

[50] P. Petrović Njegoš. *Њeгошева биљежница* (*Njegoš's notebook*), Cetinje 1956: 187.

[51] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 22, 24.

[52] M. Milićević. *И живот је школин предмет. Путописна црта од Београда, преко Загреба и Трста до Млетака* (*The Life is a School Subject, too. The Travelogue Sketch from Belgrade, via Zagreb and Trieste to Venice.*), Belgrade 1871: 6.

Venetian dungeons. This, however, is one aspect of the experience. The second is caused by the attitude towards Venice as the seat of the former Republic, whose political order and historical role were perceived very negatively by Serbian travellers, who also were the witnesses of the city's current economic decline and in many ways gloomy present. The most drastic example of this kind of reasoning is the work of Vasa Pelagić, but since he puts all the elements of the depiction of Venice into the function of criticising its social structure, it looks more like a political treatise than a travelogue[53]. But other authors also bring macabre images of the urban landscape, contrasted to city's former strength and glory. In the mentioned note, Njegoš, after the excitement at first sight of Venice, points out abandoned houses which are "collapsing and falling", gondolas reminding him of "sable graves" and the whole atmosphere of the city that leaves the impression as if "the volcano's breath struck over it"[54].

Such a view of Venice also explains the interest of Serbian travellers in one special artifact of its history – the Venetian dungeons. Kosta Trifković's text "Venetian Dungeons" shows how the sight of them can completely suppress all other impressions. He realistically and impressively depicts the entrance and the narrow corridor through which the guide leads him, first to the dungeons for criminals, and then to, far worse, for political prisoners. How terrible they are is indicated by the term used for them – *pozzi* (wells), which they really look like. Those for political prisoners are buried to the sea level and paved only with bare stone, while those for prosecuted criminals are a bit more elevated and have wooden floors. The fact that political prisoners were treated worse than those accused of crime Trifković sees as an indicator what kind of society it was, so he completes the story with information on the manner of trial: it could have been held on the basis of an anonymous report, with no appearance of the accuser or witnesses, and with judges who usually had already made their verdict. The author's dream the next night, in which he found himself at a ball in the time of the Republic, was falsely accused by a spy and taken to the dungeon, confirms that the horror of this place overpowered all other impression of the city[55].

Doge Marino Falieri. Another strong and special impression of Serbian travellers, related to the dark side of Venice, is the empty, black curtain-covered place where should be the portrait of Marino Falieri, the 55th Venetian doge (1274–1355). This experience gained the most prominent place in Njegoš's and, four decades later, in Kosta Trifković's writing. In the note from 1844, Njegoš, writing down his first impression after visiting the gallery of Doges' portraits, notes the absence of one of the paintings: there is no portrait of Marino Falieri "whose head was cut off ... on the main stairs in front of the palace because he wanted to destroy the republican rule", while "others ... say that he was a victim of intrigue and lies". In the statement that "there is no portrait of him,

---

[53] V. Pelagić. *Писма из Млетака. Из отрцане средњовјечне републике.* (*Letters from Venice. From the Outworn Medieval Republic.*), Нови Сад 1872.

[54] P. Petrović Njegoš, *Његошева биљежница* (*Njegoš's notebook*), Cetinje 1956: 188.

[55] K. Trifković. Млетачке тамнице. Успомене из Венеције. (Venetian Dungeons. Recollections), *Јавор* [Javor], 1875, 3: 71–72; 4: 103–111.

but his place is covered by a black curtain", Njegoš summarises all the mystery and potential tragedy of Falieri's fate in such a concise note.

Unlike him, Trifković, inspired by the clumsily painted coat of arms at the entrance of the Falieri's cell, develops the information about his execution to a "story within a story". In it, the intrigue starts from a private plan (the doge's young wife is slandered by a rejected suitor, a nobleman from a powerful family), and the doge, after the institutions of the Republic turned a deaf ear to his request to punish the slanderer, conspires to overthrow the aristocratic system and bring the people into the power. Revealed at the last moment, he will soon be executed and his portrait covered with a black curtain, which Trifković takes out as another example of the unworthy actions of the Republic[56].

In connection with this, it should be mentioned that such a literary plot, apart from the specific attitude towards Venice, could have been inspired by the thematisation of this event in certain relatively well known works: Byron's play *Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice* and the story "Doge and Dogaresse" by E.T. A. Hofman.

Rome

The oldest nineteenth-century source with an inspired review of Rome comes from a short letter from Pavle Solarić to Gerasim Zelić[57], in which he says that "this city has no equal around the world, even if there are bigger than it". The reason for that, of course, are the antiquities from Egypt, monuments of Greek art and especially the remains of Roman buildings, "wonderful works lasting to these days", because of which there are always several thousand of "wisdom loving travellers" and hardworking students of fine skills, "from all refined, and from some wild countries as well".

Rome will be presented in more details in the *Letters* of Ljuba Nenadović (first published in 1869 on the basis of concepts/memories written down in1851) and feuilletons by Aksentije Marodić from 1875 and 1881. In addition to describing the monuments, these authors implicitly or explicitly speak about the city's atmosphere.

Arriving in Rome, Nenadović at first sees it as an "old acquaintance", a city whose history is so extensively taught that everyone who comes there feels "like going through a town where he spent his childhood"[58]. But the ingrained image of power and glory is constantly colliding with reality. "I found Rome, but I did not find the Romans", writes Nenadović. "Instead of triumphal parades through the streets pass processions; instead of rich Crassus, Lucullus, Vitelius, one bumps up against beggars at the moment when steps out from the house; instead of Cato, Cincinnati, Brutus, only barefoot monks can be seen".[59] This

---

[56] K. Trifković. Млетачке тамнице. Успомене из Венеције. (Venetian Dungeons. Recollections), *Јавор* [Javor], 1875, 3: 73–74.

[57] P. Solarić. A Letter to Gerasim Zelić dated February 5, 1818; in: P. Solarić, *Сабрана дјела* (*Collected works*), Belgrade 2019: 598–560. J. Vujić did visit Rome earlier, but his autobiography wasn't published until 1833.

[58] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 84.

[59] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 83.

experience is complemented by data that point to special aspects of the decline of the former centre of the known world: ”the Roman Forum ... where the fate of the world used to be decided, now lies in ruins under the name of ‘cow market’”; “The Colosseum, when it was built, was in the middle of Rome, and now it is completely outside the city, in the field; Rome has shrunk so much since then”[60]; “There were many public baths in ancient Rome ... nowadays Romans have none, they bathe in the Tiber, wherever they manage to; or rather, they do not bathe at all”.[61] The whole picture is supplemented by pointing to political repression and social and intellectual reticence (see the section “Politics, state affairs and events”), and Nenadović’s image of Rome remains very gloomy, regardless of his impression of artistic monuments, which he constantly talks about.

Twenty-five/thirty years later, Marodić will point out the more cheerful side of Rome and at the same time present its current everyday life in a more concrete way. Rome, which in the meantime had become the capital of the united Italy, had to change since Nenadović’s time. Along with describing the sights, Marodić praises the urban planning of new parts of the city (see the section ‘Cultural and artistic dimension’), but also points to some of its controversies. This primarily refers to the part on the left side of the Tiber, below the walls of the Vatican, which is dilapidated, with narrow and crooked streets in which there are shops with mostly poor goods, as a contrast to a nicely cobbled, yellow-spectrum painted part of the city on the opposite side of the river[62]. Although he also talks about beggars and poverty in general, the story about them is situated in the atmosphere of a carnival and the context of sightseeing, introducing a certain note of optimism in the text, i.e. the belief that this unpleasant legacy is expected to change in modern Italy (see the sections ‘Religion’ and ‘Politics, State Affairs and Events’).

St. Peter’s Church. The church is described by all travellers who passed through Rome (see the section ‘Cultural and artistic dimension’), but in the *Letters from Italy* Nenadović also touches on the characteristic theme of expectations that visitors usually have from encountering such a famous monument. A prominent place in this passage is given to his confusion caused by the lack of admiration at the first sight of this church, which he heard to be “the greatest monument of the Christian world”. In the first moment it “seemed insignificant” to him compared to the churches of St. Paul in London, St. Stephen in Vienna, Notre Dame in Paris or the Cathedral in Strasbourg. According to him, their “Gothic style... [and] ... black stones ... arouse in the viewer, when one sees them for the first time, such feelings, which are not repeated when looking at the white, flat and unadorned walls of St. Peter’s church”. It was only after several examinations, outside and inside, that he was convinced not only that the church was “very big”, but also that “it is not smaller than its fame, which is spreading around the world”. Njegoš, as well

---

[60] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 97.

[61] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 101.

[62] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 95 and 97. (unpaginated)

as numerous other foreign travellers, confirmed to him that they had a similar experience, which Nenadović explains by saying that "at first glance, a person cannot place its whole into own soul"[63].

The Pope. In the letter to Zelić, Solarić mentions that he saw the pope "in all his glory" in the church of the apostles Peter and Paul[64], and that he later had the opportunity to listen to one of his speaches to the congregation and watch them kissing the gold-embroidered cross on his velvet red shoe. The only impression that can be recognised in Solarić's note is the astonishment with the pomp of this scene, without any condemnation or jealousy, though, as the Orthodox Christian himself, addresses the high priest of his church.

Later travellers, however, are critical of the institution of the papacy, i.e. papal authority and/or the current pope personally. Negative attitude towards the current pope Pius IX, i.e. towards his political role, has Ljuba Nenadović (see the section "Politics, state affairs and events"), who even claims that Njegoš avoided visiting him during his stay in Rome, and that didn't (as it was customary practice) leave his chariot and stood in reverence in the moment when they came across the Pope and his retinue on the streets of Rome[65]. Aksentije Marodić speaks far more positively about the same pope, praising his engagement in preserving the artistic heritage[66], although he has a sarcastic attitude towards the institution of papal authority and church dogmas.

Naples

In addition to the cultural and historical heritage, population and atmosphere of the city (see the relevant sections), in writing about Naples significant attention is paid to the beauty of the surrounding nature. This is especially true for the travelogue of Ljuba Nenadović, in which the nature of Naples is considered to be a unique feature of this city and a framework that gives a special quality to all its monuments.

> "It's been a few days since I've been here, and it could have been a few months, and again it could have happened that I didn't write to you. The beauty of the Bay of Naples takes up all the time a traveller has to spend here. [...] In Naples, it is a detriment to a traveller to read or write. In Naples, a poet should sing, a virtuoso should play, a painter should paint, and the rest of us should just watch." (p. 1–2)
>
> "In the few days since I've been here, I've seen many sights of Naples, but I can't write about it now [...] I was not amazed by the tunnel under the Thames, I was not amazed by the height of the tower in Strasbourg, but

---

[63] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије*, (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 91–92

[64] Obviously, the church Solarić is talking about is St. Paul's Cathedral at the place of his execution. In the next sentence, he says that this church is the burial place for the bodies of (both) saints, while their heads are buried elsewhere. It is not clear how Solarić made this mistake, since he must have known that the tomb of St. Peter is inside his basilica on the eponymous, most famous Roman square.

[65] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 112–114.

[66] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 55. (unpaginated)

> the beauty of Naples amazed me. You cannot say whether it is more beautiful in the evening, when the sun leaves it, or in the morning, while the first rays of the sun are breaking through the smoke of Mount Vesuvius, or at night, when the moon shines on it." (p. 3)
>
> "What exactly makes this beauty still did not grasp any traveller, nor a single painter did paint or any poet did write. In other places I saw the blue sea and around it green shores, in other places I saw this same sun, and in other places there are islands scattered along the sea and beautiful palaces along the shores, but other places are not what Naples is. [...] Naples with its position, with its Vesuvius, with its islets, with its unusual blue of the sky and the sea, remains the most beautiful corner of the world forever. Demolish these palaces, churches and museums, remove everything that the human hand has created – passengers will again be bustling from all sides, they will again sit and watch on the empty shores. Turn off Mount Vesuvius, submerge the beautiful islands into the sea, leave only the sea and the shores, leave it mornings and evenings, and again this bay will attract travellers like a magnet. When Omir, in his poems, mentioned the charms that enchant travellers here, and keep them here forever, then there were no palaces on this shores, nor there was a fire in Mount Vesuvius. But there was this sun, which, born here, rejoices to come out as soon as possible in order to observe these landscapes. " (p. 35–36)

Vesuvius. The first description of Vesuvius comes from the Solarić's letter dated 20th of February 1818. Informing a friend that he had visited Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia (Castelmare di Stabia), whose ruins and tragedy "I can never describe to anyone", he pays the strongest attention to "the ferocious hill of Vesuvius, which ruined that towns". The special quality of this short description is in the fact that Solarić combines informativeness and personal impressions. He describes that Vesuvius is at a certain distance from Naples, in the plain, isolated, fringed at the top, tall, dark and dug by furrows that extend from the top to the bottom. From the constantly smoking top, during current days sometimes protrudes "the tongue of flame, which is easier to notice at night". Solarić did not climb to the top, i.e. the rim of the volcano, which he knows to be "'covered with sulfur and burnt sand", but he explored its base from all sides. It is "one in the root", but up above divides into three parts: the two lower peaks are not fiery, but the third, "real" Vesuvius is and has "smoky gaps" even on the slopes, which obviously causes additional fear and discomfort to the observer. Regretting that he will not have the opportunity to climb Mount Vesuvius and watch "this miracle and infernal horror", he announces he will tell his friend much more, and in more vivid way, when they meet[67].

The experience of Vesuvius does not change even with later travellers, although it is supplemented by various details, especially for those who climbed it. This primarily refers to Ljuba Nenadović, who describes the volcano through narration about climbing to its top. Unlike Solarić, who describes only what

---

[67] P. Solarić. A Letter to Teodor Zaharić dated February 20, 1818; in: P. Solarić, *Сабрана дјела* (*Collected works*), Belgrade 2019: 496–497.

he sees, Nenadović often conveys what he knows about the volcano, certainly with the intention to inform the reader, but that knowledge is mediated by emotionally coloured images, even of those phenomena that the author did not witness. Explaining what lava looks like, he says that "it melts, flows like a river down a hill, and rolls like dough", but still is "so hot that fifty paces in front of it trees catch fire and burn like a torch". In the description of his ascent to Mount Vesuvius he introduces details seen from the perspective of immediate experience: following the route of the bevy of his companions, we learn that from Rezina begins a "true desert" of petrified lava, that on the slope of the volcano one comes across a lookout with the church of San Salvatore and a hermit monk who serves travellers the wine called *Lacrima Christi*, and a bit further on there is another resting place with a (recently built) observatory. Before these points one can still see a bush or a fig tree, but after that faces only black stone and "perfect deadnes of the whole nature", while the road becomes steeper and harder. Below the very top, the slope is so steep that people crawl along it more than they walk, and the rocks are so sharp that in half of an hour of walking climbers' boots are "blossomed and torn". On the top, i.e. the rim of the crater from which white steam gushes, one finally stands on a fairly flat, but dilapidated and hot earth, while a cold mountain wind blows. For all these difficulties, the satisfaction is that unusual experience, and especially the view of the landscape whose "beauty cannot be described"[68].

Contrary to Nenadović's aspiration to describe Vesuvius in detail, Milan Jovanović Morski will resort to poetisation. Arriving in Naples at night, under the moonlight he saw "that strange chimney, through which smoke blows out from the womb of the mother Earth". The silver smoke condensing on the edges of its crater looked like a "gigantic, beautifully arranged bouquet of flowers", while the whole of Vesuvius "lay embraced by peace, while the quiet sea, with the surface like a mirror, bathed its base", and all that imposes disbelief "that it is the same hill, which has already spread around so many horrors". This meditative approach focuses on two volcanic eruptions: the cataclysmic one, eighteen centuries earlier, and the most recent, six years ago, when a new crater broke under the feet of people gathered on a sheltered field in order to "watch magnificent Vesuvius fireworks". In both cases "everyone who couldn't save himself by escape was swallowed by the abyss or fire". So unpredictable, the volcano "by some mysterious force" dominates our souls, and Morski sees the whole Naples only as "the ornate frame of the gigantic magician Vesuvius"[69].

But probably the most impressive text about the "magician Vesuvius" was published a little earlier, in a local calendar. It is an anonymous article "Under Vesuvius"[70], which presents Naples and the landscape around the volcano at the very moment of the eruption mentioned in Morski's feuilleton. The travel-

---

[68] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 28–33.

[69] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Српска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 3: 52–54.

[70] Anon. Испод Везува (Under Vesuvius), *Панчевац* (Pančevac), 1875, 52–61. The text describes the eruption from 1872, which the author eyewitnessed.

ler eyewitnessed it accidently, since he found himself on a tourist visit to Naples at the end of April 1872, when the eruption happened. This event changes the focus of his account: at first, he talks about the beauty of Naples, mentions the "beautiful road" that leads to Mount Vesuvius from the east side of the town, whose description initially resembles that of Ljuba Nenadovic. But the picture changes radically on April 24: in Sorrento, where he found himself, he observes the first "majestic salvo of lava" that roared towards the town of Torre del Greco, and whose reflection he saw in the sea water, having the impression that it was directly in front of him. After that, the story of the eruption of Vesuvius moves between two counterpoints – the desire to see as much as possible of that unique event and the fear of it, along with compassion for the people who are endangered. Story of the movement of tourists back to Naples, in the desire to watch the eruption from a closer distance, and the joy of innkeepers hoping to make money, soon turns into the image of ashes covering houses and streets in the neighbouring town of Vietra and horror at the sight of "the gigantic hill, in the flames that overshadow the eyes", together with the sound of "sobbing, squeaking and banging in the air" back in Rezina.

This is followed by the flight of the population to Portici and Naples, where they are provided with accommodation, while rumors are spreading about the even harder extent of suffering and the church is organizing processions to save the town from disaster[71]. Dedicating the last pages to reviews of Luigi Palmieri's[72] research and his statements regarding this eruption, the author implicitly states that not even science can protect us from Vesuvius, and leaves Naples with relief, since he goes to safety. This makes him the only Serbian nineteenth-century tourist who directly experienced "the rage of Vesuvius", and whose experience of the volcano, instead of mysticism and majesty, remained marked by fear.

Other cities

Serbian travellers do pay attention to other cities, but observations of them are usually conventional and similar to each other. The city of *Milan*, cited as an example of a prosperous city with a strong economy (see J. Gavrilović in the section "Comparisons"), otherwise does not leave a strong impression on them. Since J. Vujić, as its peculiarity is mentioned the fact that it was built without city walls (which caused that in the past it used to be easily taken over by invaders), and that, unlike other Italian cities, there are hardly any squares (*piazza*), although there are nice and wide promenades[73] Apart from the admiration for the Cathedral, very few sights caught travellers' attention, and J. Subotić even

---

[71] Anon. Испод Везува (Under Vesuvius), *Панчевац* (Pančevac), 1875, 57–60.

[72] Luigi Palmieri (1807–1896), Italian physicist and meteorologist, famous for his scientific studies of the eruptions of Vesuvius and researches on earthquakes. According to this author, he was in Naples at the time and promptly react with the analyses of the situation (see p. 60–61).

[73] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 206–212.

mentions that it is the city "of the new taste", the likes of which he has already seen[74]. On the other hand, *Florence* was only poorly described, becouse it seemed to be breathtaking, almost beyond description. As early as in the one of Solarić's letters from 1818[75], it is suggested that its name can be derived from lat. *flora*, and that in deed it is the city of flowers. The same is suggested by Lj. Nenadović, who claims that "Italy is a paradise of Europe, and Florence is a paradise of Italy" and points at charming and cheerful girls who sell flowers, as to the "brand" of the city's spirit[76]. Later on, this impression will be shared by Đ. Dera, who also adds that, unlike other Italian cities, in Florence people behave politely and mannerly, policemen are helpful, and even beggars act in such moderation that it seems "as if they are not there at all"[77]. He also underlines that, opposite to Venice, Florence was the place of constant social instability and strive for power, but in the same time the birthplace of Renaissance[78].

When it comes to *Verona* and *Pisa*, modern readers' attention is captured by the fact that the sights of greatest interest are not the same as today's ones. In Verona, the landmark of the greatest interest is the amphitheatre, while there are very few mentions that it is the city of Romeo and Juliet. This is for the first time mentioned by J. Subotić, who took a *cicerone*'s offer to be taken to Romeo's grave[79], and much later by Đ. Dera, who visited the place where Juliet's house used to be, and there he find "three ordinary buildings, with a metal board indicating what was once there"[80].

Passing through Pisa, travellers pay attention to churches, the University, the botanical garden and the Campo Santo cemetery, but very rarely to the Leaning Tower (while many, since J. Vujić, notice such a tower in Bologna). The first to take a notice of it was Lj. Nenadović, who also mentioned that the slope of the tower was what made famous its creator Bonnano Pisano, whom he called "Bopino": "if he made it straight, he would have been long forgoten", said Njegoš, according to Nenadović[81]. Nenadović also underlined that Galileo Galilei had used the tower for his experiments, and the same thing was later mentioned by Đ. Dera, who dedicated (just) one passage of his extensive travelogue to the bell tower in Pisa, "also called leaning tower"[82]. In the same time, he is the only author who has noticed the characteristic spirit of Pisa, claiming that the city is unusually quiet, that many seriously ill patients come to stay in its mild climate, and that the whole city is "a place of silence and death"[83].

---

[74] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 30.

[75] P. Solarić. A Letter to Teodor Zaharić dated February 20, 1818; in: P. Solarić. *Сабрана дјела* (*Collected works*), Belgrade 2019: 497.

[76] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 142.

[77] Đ. Dera. *Успомене из Италије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part II, Novi Sad 1892: 6–7.

[78] Đ. Dera. *Успомене из Италије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part II, Novi Sad 1892: 9–12.

[79] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 28–29.

[80] Đ. Dera. *Успомене из Италије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part II, Novi Sad 1892: 67–68.

[81] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 133–134.

[82] Đ. Dera. *Успомене из Италије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part I, Novi Sad 1891: 134.

[83] Đ. Dera. *Успомене из Италије* (*Recollections from Italy*), part I, Novi Sad 1891: 131–132.

SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL DIMENSION AND NATIONAL CHARACTER

In the first half of the century, Serbian travel writers paid less attention to the people of Italy than to the description of its sights, but already in Gerasim Zelić's autobiography there are remarks that he noticed some characteristic features of Italians and took a clear position towards some of them. As it was mentioned, he notices the vividness of life of ordinary Italians, but also the fact that they perceived him as unusual and exotic. Later he clearly determines the poor work ethic of the population, which he does not talk about until he is directly affected by it (see the section „Comparisons. General characteristics"). Zelić's contemporary Joakim Vujić, however, dedicates a separate, although relatively short segment of his work to the characteristics of the Italians. He observes the character of the people in connection with the beauty of Italian nature, and wants the reader to see it as basically positive, despite the numerous flaws that he will point out later. According to him, the Italian people are above all "cheerful and mischievous", because "everyone sings, makes harlequinades and jokes around"; even when they work in fields, Italians sing, often in several voices and so beautifully that it must amaze the listener. This merriment is especially pronounced during the carnival and itself becomes a justification for its exaggeration: masking, rough jokes, all-night balls and comic performances appear as a direct expression of a childish nature, as well as church repentance they undertake afterwards[84]. Italy's agricultural wealth and special way of farming, which includes terraced fields and growing crops on several levels (sowing cereals under the "roof" of the vine)[85], will lead to the belief that Italians are good and hardworking farmers, except for the Neapolitans and the inhabitants of the Papal State. They are "a bit of much more lazy" and that is obvious at the look of their houses, gardens and vineyards[86]. According to Vujić, Italians are also cunning and prone to theft, sloppy and careless about hygiene, and greedy eaters who consider "all sorts of creep and crawling creatures" as a delicacy[87] (which must have been especially shocking to someone who came from the tradition of Central European cuisine). On the other hand, they are freedom-loving, hospitable, persistent in remembering the good deeds done to them and in striving to repay for them, but even more vigorously vindictive and unscrupulous in their intention to carry out revenge[88]. This contradictory characteristics of Italians obviously

---

[84] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 249–253.

[85] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 244–245.

[86] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 253–254.

[87] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 254.

[88] "So if he can't get his head on his own, he secretly hires a bandit or a *lazzarone*, for two or three gold ducats, who secretly pierces the man's heart with a stiletto.", quotation in: *Іоакіма*

hinder Vujić's aspiration to present their character as "heavenly" as the features of their country, but he still clearly stands for all what is said.

By the half of the century, the attitude that "in the earth paradise of Italy" shoud be found the same kind of people gradually gives way to the image of "paradise inhabited by devils", although among Serbian travel writers it has never been as radical as the one in the West. Although in the *Letters from Italy* he pays less attention to the characteristics of the population than to the view of landmarks, Ljuba Nenadović also touches on such topics. The basic tone of his reasoning about Italian society is negative: "I like Italy, but not the Italians"[89], he says resolutely at the end of his travelogue, basing this attitude on the assessment that they do not progress like the French, English or Germans, that science and education are neglected, while the church is ubiquitous and repressive. There are few writers and patriot intellectuals, and they are persecuted and imprisoned everywhere except in Piedmont, while censorship bans and police control of the population sometimes become grotesque[90]. Despite this situation, the Italian aristocracy is characterised by a specific arrogance towards foreigners, especially Germans, and they are ready to demonstrate it in a very inhospitable way. In support of this, Nenadović cites an anecdote about a German nobleman who lived in a vicinity of Rome and was by his Italian acquaintances invited to watch a sketch that mocks the Germans as clumsy, dullish and timid (in the war they shout at enemies not to shoot, because "there are people here")[91].

Although, in this synthetic review, Nenadović's critique of Italian circumstances primarily concerns general and political aspects, certain parts of his travelogue are concentrated on everyday life. In Naples, Nenadović describes the offensive courtesy of *ciceroni* and cites additional small benefits they make from such behaviour, like visiting taverns at the expense of tourists or commissions they receive from merchants to whom they guide travellers. He points to the general hustle and bustle on city streets, which he also treats as an expression of mentality, but mainly deals with *lazzaroni*. He mentions them several times in situations where their characteristic behaviour is expressed, such as aggressive begging ("they were chasing us as if we had stolen something from them") and excessive charging for services to tourists who climb Mount Vesuvius, including the attempt of fraud when one of them falsely presented himself as the brother of a boy-singer, trying to get a contribution from tourists in that way[92]. Nenadović also points to the potentially more dangerous role of *lazzaroni* by describing two of them observing silver-ornamented pieces of national costumes on Njegoš's companions during their trip to Sibila's cave[93]. and

---

Вуича Славено-Сербскаѣо сѣисашеля Живоѣоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѣова ѣриключенія (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 255.

[89] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Иѣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 134–136.

[90] "On the border of the papal state, censors confiscated some French book from a traveller just because it had a red cover.", quotation in: Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Иѣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 135.

[91] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Иѣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 136.

[92] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Иѣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 27, 29.

[93] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Иѣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 42–43.

a little later he gives a detailed description of this specific Neapolitan population. According to what Nenadović heard, there are about sixty thousand such idlers in Naples, who do nothing but bustle in the streets or sunbathe by the sea; they are all dirty, characteristically dressed (only in a shirt and linen trousers with shortened legs), with a long red cap folded so that its top hangs down to one's shoulder and an icon of the Virgin on the ribbon around the neck. Despite the poverty to which it condemns them, in their view idleness is a synonym for enjoying life, and when they do not beg or steal, they passionately pray to God. It is easy to excite them for a rebellion of any kind, but "as they go to the battle singing, with singing they flee from it when the first rifle bursts"[94].

Almost three decades after, more attention to the population of Naples was paid by Milan Jovanović Morski, who conceived his travelogue as a virtual dialogue with Ljuba Nenadović. However, he shows a much greater affection for the population of Naples, despite the many unpleasant habits he will point out. In analysing the mentality of the Neapolitans, he goes back to the ancient past, when Naples (then Parthenope, or "lazy Parthenope", as Ovid and Horace called it) was a colony of Greeks and various eastern peoples and "the most insignificant of all settlements of that time" in the area between Herculaneum and Pompeii on the one side, and Pozilip and Pucuoli on the other. This mixture of different peoples merged "little by little into the Romanesque race", but its "eastern character" is still reflected in a series of historical and current actions, as well as in a typical way of life: in the Middle Ages, rebellion and resistance prevented the establishment of the Inquisition and also tormented the French invaders in modern times, while the inhabitans of Naples still seem to enjoy characteristic bustle and noise in the streets "which can only be compared to the commotion of the eastern cities".[95] The description of the city itself – divided into the "new" and urban part, which the author only incidentally refers to, and the old one, built on the ruins of ancient Parthenope, whose vividness fascinates him – essentially serves as a platform for a story about the nature and way of life of "full-blooded" Neapolitans. Merchants in small shops aggressively praise their goods, not allowing the visitor to leave until he buys something ("to the city you go whenever you want, from the city when you pay", says Morski), house doors stay open since the residents mostly live on the street; in the morning women ventilate the bedding on the balconies, where afterwards they comb their hair, dry laundry and pluck poultry for lunch, and in the evening they stand there and talk to each other and to passers-by below, filling the street with laughter – all this is not a description of old Naples, but of the vitality, liveliness and harmless simplicity of its inhabitants. Although the traveller notices dirt and irritating noise and commotion on those streets, he considers it an expression of a healthy and strong nature, and of the general spontaneity of the Neapolitans. That is why the irony in his descriptions is benevolent, and the population is viewed with sympathy, in the belief that the general progress of Italy will change their living circumstances to some extent.

---

[94] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 52–53.

[95] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Српска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 1878, 4: 72–73.

In the same context we should look at Morski's attitude towards specific phenomena in Neapolitan life: *briganti* and *lazzaroni*. Unusually, he pays more attention to the first ones, and observes them in the historical context: they grew out of the resistance movement against the French invaders, and when it was broken, some of them retreated to the mountains as guerrilla fighters, to whom their name was given by the French themselves. Jovanović praises their courage and claims that it was only later that some of them "turned into the true outlaws" and "gained an evil reputation" which they still enjoy. At the same time, he praises the measures of the Italian government, which is reducing their number more and more, both with "energetic measures" and "humane treatment of those who retreat to a peaceful farming life"[96].

He also talks about *lazzaroni* in a specific way. Describing the economy of the area around Naples, he says that, in addition to cattle breeding, it is dominated by three types of crafts – manufacturing things out of lava, coral and turtle shell – but a few decades earlier, *lazzaronisimo* would have to be added to the characteristic "occupations" of the region. But that "merry company of sluggards and idlers [...] a special breed [...] of privileged thieves and swindlers, who ate someone else's bread and drank red Vesuvius wine, yet occasionally the red human blood", disappeared from the streets of Naples and in the present time about them can be written "only in the form of an obituary". Since in the obituary the author must show certain affection, or at least understanding for the deceased, Morski presents the phenomenon of *lazzaronismo* by pointing out the circumstances (such as social unrest, inequality, corruption, and legal uncertainty) that caused it back in ancient times. But from brutal robberies and murders (for which they were often engaged by individuals from other walks of life) over the time *lazzaroni* turned to more innocuous crimes, until they disappeared in the united Italy. Jovanović expressed satisfaction that this (as he ironically says) "idyll' of idlers who, when they do not commit robberies, do exhilarate tourists with singing, is now only an object of memory[97].

Residents of other regions did not attract the equal attention of travel writers, although there can be found remarks that elevate certain characteristic aspects of their character. Probably the most striking example of this kind is the impression Marko Car obtained in Venice: although at the end of the century there appears a certain decline in cultural self-awareness among broad sections of the people – which is why gondoliers no longer recite Tasso, but sing French operettas spiced with fat jokes – still "every chimney sweeper [...] reveller [...] beggar [...] bears some artistic feature", which comes "from the centre in which they originated, and under whose influence they grew up"[98].

The bond between Italians and art is what makes most travel writers feel affection for them, despite various other circumstances. In one important pas-

---

[96] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Српска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 4: 72–73.

[97] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Српска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 10: 196–197.

[98] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 19.

sage, even the strong critic Nenadović, being overwhelmed by piety in front of Raphael's tomb in the Pantheon, says that a larger and more monumental building of the same name was erected in Paris, though it cannot have even a similar significance. "The French have surpassed the Italians in everything, but they don't have Rafael", admits Nenadović[99].

WOMEN

Among Serbian travel writers, there are few records thematically focused on women and the issue of their status in Italy, and incidental reviews can be of a very different nature.

Starting with Vujić, who without further description claims that women in Italy are "really one of the most beautiful female kinds in the world" (and in some places, like Ancona, even prettier than in others)[100], travel writers describe their physical appearance incidentally and conventionally. Nenadović, in the passage about *lazzaroni*, says that women are "with no distinction black-haired and with a dark complexion", that some of them are beautiful in their youth, but when they grow older they all are "very ugly"[101]. Somewhat later, within the description of the carnival atmosphere, Marodić several times mentiones shiny black hairs, mischievous glances and ringing laughter of girls, obviously indulging the cliché about the charm of southern beauties[102]. Other authors speak even less about that topic, but always in the same tone.

The characteristic restriction of women's freedom and obsessive control of male family members, which is the dominant observation of Western authors, is also mentioned relatively rarely, incidentally and/or implicitly. At the beginning of the century, Joakim Vujić, passing through Siena, says that "here women live more freely than in other places"[103], which means that he must have noticed their restraint elsewhere. When he later talks about the vindictiveness of Italians, he notices that murders most often occur because of women, because when a man finds someone with his wife (or even a mistress), blood must be shed "as if they were not Christians, but Turks"[104]. Much later, and in a far more relaxed, humorous tone, Aksentije Marodić will point out that even during carnivals, and despite the developed rituals of courtship by exchanging flowers and greetings, girls on the balconies are always under the watchful eye of parents. He also mocks Prussian tourists who think that it is as easy to get

---

[99] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 96.

[100] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 255–256, 239.

[101] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 53.

[102] A. Marodić, Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Заставa* (Zastava), 1875, 54 and 56. (unpaginated)

[103] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 224.

[104] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаѓо сїисаѓеля Живоѓоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣѓова ѓриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 253.

acquainted with an Italian girl as it is with a German one[105]. Some other episodes, provided they are true, say that these experiences may be different: during his tour of Italy, Vujić talks about two spontaneous acquaintances with young girls. The first one is in Florence, when the young lady sitting next to him in the opera starts a conversation, soon to be joined by other members of her family, and the second one is in Rome, when, the day before his departure, he invites a young neighbor and her mother, daughter and wife of a local painter, to the opera in order to thank them for pleasant company during the few days of his stay in the city[106].

Some authors, also in the context of a more general insight, present data that indicate institutional forms of protection for certain categories of women. Apart from listing girls' schools in all the cities he visits, especially those that provide free education to some students, Jovan Gavrilović also notes the existence of homes for poor widows, and (not so often) for accepting illegitimate children[107]. Joakim Vujić notes that in Rome (where, due to numerous donations from pilgrims and other visitors, exist more charities than elsewhere) there are not only institutions for poor widows and girls without families, but also for "badly married women"[108]. Vujić and Gavrilović were born in the provincial towns of the Austrian Empire, where such institutions are rare, and spent most of their lives in Serbia, where most of them did not yet exist, so this can be considered as an example of reputation.

Observations on other, general aspects of women's lives are also diverse. For example, Vujić points out that peasant women in Italy are hard-working farmers and good milkmaids, and Nenadović notices that in the population of *lazzaroni* women "keep themselves cleaner", work and earn more than men[109], but many others resort to different kinds of idealisation and stereotypes. Jovan Subotić, to whom women working in the fields of Lombardy "dressed in clean and festive robes" look "more like nymphs"[110], obviously resort to poetic mystifications. On the other hand, Marko Car, referring to Byron's Venetian loves, both romantic and boulevard, actually depicts the types of women from different strata of Venetian society: the utterly devoted daughter of a local baker, whose love in the same time delights and suffocates the poet, and the self-conscious but frivolous countess, who resolutely defends her right to take a lover, as the usual compensation for a (probably arranged) marriage with a much older husband[111].

---

[105] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 56. (unpaginated)

[106] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго сйисашеля Живошоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣїова йриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 230–233.

[107] J. Gavrilović. Путовање из Београда у Италију (Аустријску) прошлог 1847. лета (A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the past 1847 year), *Подунавка* (Podunavka), 1848, 12: 51.

[108] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго сйисашеля Живошоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣїова йриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 229.

[109] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго сйисашеля Живошоойисаніе и чрезвичайна нѣїова йриключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 253–254. and Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 53.

[110] J. Subotić, *Живоѿ др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 30.

[111] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с йуша йо Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 52–55.

It is obvious that, although some travel writers notice specific aspects of their status, the image of Italian women largely remains within the limits of the internationally established pattern, but also that the "women's issue" interests Serbian travellers much less than historical and geopolitical ones.

RELIGION

When it comes to the treatment of religion and issues of church influence on society and politics, the views of Serbian travel writers are crucially influenced by two types of beliefs: they all belong to Orthodox Christianity, and most of them, especially in the second half of the century, favour political options of liberal nationalism, anti-clericalism and civic equality. On these two different grounds, they had to be suspicious of the dogmas and actions of the Catholic Church, which is often shown, but mostly without perspicuous hostility and repulsion.

In terms of attitudes towards these issues, the writings of authors who were themselves church dignitaries are particularly interesting. Among his impressions from Italy, Gerasim Zelić does not talk about any meeting with a Catholic prelate, and especially not about any theological discussions and disagreements, which is understandable considering that the goal of his trip was of another kind – to get the new secular authorities' permission to form a special ecclesiastical diocese. But in his concise descriptions of churches, not only his own religiosity is recognised, but also a certain reverence for the religious feeling of those who built them. The external magnificence of the church of St. Mark ("five doors decorated with pillars of multifarious marble") and the impressiveness of its mosaics are obviously seen as the fruit of the desire to erect a worthy monument over the relics of this evangelist[112], and it is similar with the Milan Cathedral, in whose description the central place is dedicated to the coffin with the relics of St. Carlo Borromeo and silver reliefs depicting the miracles he performed during his lifetime[113]. However, it should be mentioned that Zelić does not fail to emphasise that the main door of St. Mark's church, with sculpted lion heads, together with the composition of horse figures above and the icon of theVirgin "painted by the hand of St. Evangelist Luke" were brought from the Constantinople St. Sofia, when the Crusaders, after forty years of rule, "plundered the city"[114]. By doing so, he obviously wants to emphasise how much Western art owes to Byzantium. He also notes the existence of Orthodox churches in Italy and his visit to the worship in the

---

[112] G. Zelić. *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића* (*The Life of Gerasim Zelić*), Buda 1823: 60–61.

[113] G. Zelić. *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића* (*The Life of Gerasim Zelić*), Buda 1823: 501–502.

[114] G. Zelić. *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића* (*The Life of Gerasim Zelić*), Buda 1823: 60–61.

church of St. Ana in Ancona, where he prayed for a happy ending of his second trip to Milan[115].

In terms of the attitude towards the common heritage of Christianity, there is a distinctive record of Joakim Vujić about the church of St. Ambrosius in Milan. This small church, and especially the saint from the 4th century to whom it is dedicated, are given as much attention as the famous cathedral. Vujić especially emphasises that St. Ambrosius, to whom several famous Milanese institutions (*collegium,* painting academy, precious manuscript library) have been dedicated throughout history, is a saint of both the Eastern and the Western church, since "at that time (before the Great Schism – comm. T. J.) we, i.e. Greeks and Romans were of one religion"[116].

The issue of certain characteristic practices of the Catholic Church are in several places observed by Ljuba Nenadović. Although there are not many of them, these reviews are consistently critical, which is especially interesting in the view of his special position during a tour of Italy. Finding himself in the company of a church dignitary and theocratic ruler, he has the opportunity to see many places and relics that would otherwise be inaccessible to him, but he remains consistent in the criticism which, however, is not grounded in a different religious orientation, but in an attitude inherited from the Enlightenment critique of church dogmas. If Nenadović is to be believed, Bishop Njegoš shared his views.

The most complete expression of this attitude is the episode with the visit to the church of St. John and the Holy Stairs, on which Jesus walked while being taken to Pontius Pilate. When Njegoš asked the monk-custodian why people were climbing those steps on their knees, he got the astonishing answer: for every step taken and the *paternoster* said on it, the pilgrim's soul will be forgiven ten thousand years of torment in hell. In the bishop's comment that, in such a case, Pilate himself would be in hell for the shortest time, since he must have climbed the steps in his own palace more frequently than anybody else, the confused monk recognises sarcasm. Although he managed to answer, in a somewhat jocular way, that Pilate certainly did not climb on his knees, so can't count on the reward/forgiveness in heaven[117], that did not alleviate Nenadović's irony.

When they talk about religious issues, Serbian travel writers mostly talk about the position of the church and its influence on society. Nenadović himself later says that in Italy "only the church is blooming, but its flourishing does not bear fruit", and it seems that "for their prayers, the church and the clerics are the only ones whom God helps"[118]. Much later (1875, 1881), Aksentije Marodić will have remarks of a similar character in several places in his feuilleton. Apart from the ironic explanation that Tiber "separates Rome from the Vatican,

---

[115] G. Zelić. *Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића* (*The Life of Gerasim Zelić*), Buda 1823: 520.

[116] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Живоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 209–210.

[117] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 108.

[118] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 134–135.

sin from sinlessness"[119], Marodić in another place regrets that he did not manage to show a friend the statue of Aristotle in the Capo di Ferro. Mentioning that the palace is named after the cardinal who ordered its erection, he emphasises that "if nothing else" his friend would have had the opportunity to face the fact that "everything famous, beautiful and important ... was the property of the Roman presbyters"[120].

A far smaller number of authors pay attention to the immanent issues of faith and the character of Italian religiosity, but these insights can be very inspiring. Certainly the most impressive one comes from Marko Car, who points out that Catholicism, which in other places "beats the chest", in the Venetian church of St. Mark "sings the passionate *Te Deum*". In his view, even the Gothic style of the church of St. John and Paul is a special sort of Gothic, "from which the Italians took away all the northern gloom", so there is no "that grave silence, nor that dark mystery, with which Catholicism so eagerly surrounds itself elsewhere". Together with Castelar[121], whom he often quotes, Car interprets this phenomenon by pointing out the Venetian encounter with Constantinople and Alexandria, when Venice "dived into the sea of the East and got inebriated with its bright lights"[122]. Even when they turn to immanent religious issues, Serbian authors mainly interpret them in the context of cultural and historical circumstances, which always are (geo)political as well.

POLITICS, STATE AFFAIRS AND EVENTS

The interest of Serbian travellers in political events and state affairs in Italy was recognisable at the beginning of the century, and over time it became more and more pronounced.

Of course, until the 1870s, most of the comments concerned state fragmentation, dynastic strifes and the issue of the Papal State that is obstructing the process of unification and state emancipation of Italy. The first, incidental remarks of this kind can be found in Joakim Vujić's autobiography, where he notes that in Bologna the papal legate lives "like a little king" with courtiers in a palace, while the atmosphere of Ferrara is characterised by the fact that the locals suffer repression of the Holy See representative[123].

From the incidental observations of travellers whose basic interests are fundamentally different, this issue will become one of the privileged ones in Ljuba Nenadović's travelogue. For him, who travelled through Italy soon after

---

[119] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 95. (unpaginated)

[120] A. Marodić. Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875, 90. (unpaginated)

[121] Emilio Castelar y Ripoll (1832–1899), Spanish republican politician and President of the First Spanish Republic (during 1873). Apart from political writings, he left a number of literary works. Car does not name the book he refers to, but it is most likely that it is the *Recollections of Italy*.

[122] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 36, 39.

[123] J. Vujić. *Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Живоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія* (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić*), Karlstadt 1833: 240–241.

the collapse of the revolution of 1848, these topics certainly have additional relevance. At the very beginning, conveying Njegoš's views regarding various political issues of contemporary Europe, Nenadović opened the topic of the unification of Italy. According to his testimony, the "party that strives to unite all of Italy into one state" is vividly present in Naples, and Njegoš largely shares their ideas about national unification and state organisation[124].

Nenadović associates these aspirations with the issues of freedom of the press and constitutionality, which he obviously considers to be preconditions for moving towards the set national goal, as well as for general progress. He points out that in Naples, as well as in most of Italy, "except for fine arts", all other knowledge and science are progressing poorly, except in Turin, where the rule of constitutionality and the freedom of press have been introduced. In all countries except Piedmont, border censors carefully examine each book, because the introduction of libertarian ideas is "dangerous for the petty Italian thrones, as well as for the great throne of the Pope", but "censorship and quarantine" actually do little to stop the movement for freedom, constitutionality and republic. Not realising that only accepting of these principles could help them to preserve their thrones, at least for a while, the small princes throughout Italy, and especially the Bourbons in Naples, categorically reject them[125].

The latter "educate their princes the way they were educated two hundred years ago", believing that they would disgrace the name of their ancestors if they deviated from the old order and "gave the people some privileges". As an illustration of that is given the meeting with the current king of the Two Sicilies, where Nenadović found himself as one of Njegoš's companions. Njegoš's protocol visit to the king before departure from Naples took them to Caserta, where Nenadović saw white lilies, a symbol of the Bourbon dynasty "which has already withered in France", on a royal chariot and various objects in the court. Precisely in view of this bizarre fact, he largely shows the audience at the king. Ferdinand the II, at the time on the throne for some twenty years, at the beginning of his reign was in favour of reforms, but later "perverted this course", and the Constitution, which he had to agree to in 1848, was repealed at the first opportunity[126].

Betrayed expectations also characterise the pontificate of the current Pope Pius the IX, elected in 1846, who was liberal and aspired to the unification of Italy, but completely changed and betrayed the expectations of the Italians as soon as he "found St. Peter's keys". Therefore, all the Italian intelligentsia now wants to end papal rule, and there are about three thousand political prisoners in Rome[127]. In a city under such repression, "only travellers are free", as Nenadovic describes the atmosphere in Rome[128].

The state relations on the Apennine Peninsula inspire Nenadović to compare them with those among, also not yet united, German countries. He no-

---

[124] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 18.
[125] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 53–54.
[126] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 74–75.
[127] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 89.
[128] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 115.

tices with astonishment how strict the borders between the Italian states are, while in the German states a traveller does not even notice when he passes from one to another. He does not explain the reasons for that (although it can be assumed that he sees them in a more developed economy and better administration), but he emphasises that there is a pronounced hatred towards Germans among Italians, for which there is no reciprocity. It is interesting that Nenadović, who expresses so much sympathy for the liberation aspirations of the Italians, does not realise that their displeasure with the Germans is based on the Habsburg occupation of parts of Veneto and other areas in the north. He was not led to that conclusion even by the unpleasant meeting with the Austrian guards in the port of Livorno, who, as he ironically says, "after riots in recent years, were called to protect the duke from his people"[129]. The only explanation of this can be found in the assumption that, unlike the Italian public, Nenadović clearly separates Habsburg Austria from the fragmented German lands. Despite the same ethnicity, for him they represent separate political entities and examples of differently organised societies, while the Italians obviously viewed them as one.

It is characteristic that Jovan Subotić also left a short note about the Habsburg presence in Italy in those years, though his travel pages are otherwise turned to completely different interests and experiences. Passing through Verona, he notices that the German administration "pressed this old city with an iron hand", so hard that "Italian life ... was extinct"[130]. Unlike Nenadović, Subotić calls the Habsburg presence "German", so it seems that he, an Austrian citizen, was in this case more inclined to adhere to the definition of language and ethnicity than of state identity. (Given that Subotic's autobiography was published almost five decades after these notes were made (when Austrian/Austro-Hungarian Empire still existed, but its occupation of Italy was put to the end a long time ago), we can wonder whether Viennese censorship would approve a document with such a remark if he had tried to publish it earlier.)

After the unification of Italy, political and social circumstances are discussed from a different point of view and in a different value context. The first example is the newspaper feuilletons of Aksentije Marodić. As early as 1875, in "Carnival in Rome", he in several places pointed out the formation of modern state institutions and the new, secular structure of government, often mentioning the tensions it creates in relations with the Church. To his virtually present friend he points out the institutions of the newborn Kingdom of Italy with equal attention as if he was describing famous cultural and historical monuments. It certainly proves what importance he attaches to them and how (despite occasional humorous distancing) he positively values Italian "new reality". When "passing" next to the monumental Montecitorio Palace, he – rather than, as usual, engaging in a detailed and monotonous sequence of data about its appearance and construction – stresses on a tricolour on the top of it and a soldier with the initials GN (*Gvardia nazionale*) on the uniform, which indicates the current purpose of that building, used as the House of Parlament.

---

[129] Lj. Nenadović. *Писма из Италије* (*Letters from Italy*), Belgrade 1907: 135, 130.

[130] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 28–29.

As well, he explains in detail that, although the Vatican opposes it, the Quirinale Palace is now owned by the Italian king and his heir to the throne, who were both able to accommodate there even "without the keys that still are with the pope, and without his blessing"[131]. The new relationship between the state and the church is also indicated by the fact that the Palazzo Cancellaria is the only building left to the church for official work, but Marodić also points to the fact that certain churches had a central role in expressing political protests. Apart from its architectural beauty and curiosity that it for a long time had belonged to French clergy, Marodić points to the church of St. Luigi di Francese because of the unusual situation that made it a "demonstrative church": a few years earlier (as was reported by the newspapers) the church closed its doors in front of the funeral procession of a dignitary associated with the Court, thus expressing protest against Crown Prince Umberto.

Although the question of the position of the church in "new Italy" inevitably arises as one of the central political themes, in his second feuilleton (from 1881) Marodić will draw attention to some other phenomena, from social issues to cultural policy. Describing the enthusiasm of the people seeing fireworks in the colours of the flag, which marked the end of the carnival, he points out that this manifestation now has a certain social function as well, because the profits from all lottery games held during the carnival are intended to help the Roman poor. This makes the author believe that such a "rearranged" carnival would be approved by Goethe, who once was one of its most consistent modern critics.

On the other hand, Marodić's profession states that he also points out some issues related to specific legal areas. He praises the new law, which orders that art objects can't be sold to foreign buyers until previously offered to domestic ones, primarily state institutions, with an official report on the negotiations. Although this restricts the freedom to dispose of property, he considers the law correct because it contributes both to the public good (preserving the art fund because of which tourists visit Italy) and to developing identity awareness and pride in cultural heritage.

In the seventies, in a far shorter travelogue about Naples, Milan Jovanović Morski points out the social changes that in the last two decades have marked life in this, still more "exotic" than all other Italian cities. Toledo Street still divides Naples into the old and "indigenous" town and a new one, dominated by the legacy of Spanish and French rule[132]. The opposites between the greatest luxury and the most terrible poverty are exposed here more obviously than anywhere else, as it has always been, but the unification of Italy has brought some changes. The first and most striking is the disappearance of *lazzaroni*. With the assumption that, as a tourist, he might feel somewhat deprived of an extravagant experience, the author, from the humanistic and civilisational aspect, expresses satisfaction that he can no longer include the "occupation" of *lazzaronismo* in his review of typical Neapolitan crafts; that "past idyll from

---

[131] J. Subotić. *Живот др-а Јована Суботића* (*The Life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 28–29.

[132] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Српска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 5: 94–95.

Naples life" he gladly burns out for the benefit of people who now "sit on their doorstep and work for their house"[133]. The population of "old" Naples Morski views with a mixture of ironic distance towards filth and general disorder within their community and, on the other hand, with sympathy for their vitality and a kind of respect for freedom-love and combativeness they have shown throughout history – so he explains the phenomenon of *lazzaronismo* by historical and social circumstances, some of which appears as mitigating. According to him, it dates back to the late Roman times, when people from the margins of society were often engaged in confrontations between the powerful, and later they began to commit robberies and murders by themselves and for their own profit. Circumstances eventually led them to turn, for the most part, to relatively more innocuous crimes, such as fraud and theft, but they remained a source of fear until the "craft' of that merry company ... ceased with the last act of dynastic foreign intrigue in Sicily"[134]. After Garibaldi's entry into the city and the beginning of the creation of the new state, not only that *lazzaronismo* gradually eradicated, but there also were indications of wider social changes. However, some of them will reveal fundamental contradictions in all strata of society: the only thing that united the "old" and "new" Naples – loyalty to the church and the clergy, which makes up about ten percent of the population – the new authorities put in a kind of temptation. A significant proportion of the monks and nuns were expelled from the city by Garibaldi, and their estates were turned into schools and hospitals, so he thought he had got rid of the persistent opponents of national unification. However, it turned out that the home of the local clergy "was not in the monasteries, but in the lap of their fellow citizens", although at the same time they were enthusiastic supporters of a united Italy. Thus, the exiled clergy returned to the city for the most part and continued to exert their influence, and Morski concludes that only in the future it will be demonstrated "whether it was for the good of the people"[135].

A decade later, in an extensive travelogue about Venice, Marko Car will talk about new and different political turmoil, which he obviously considers characteristic for the entire country. As part of a united Italy, Venice no longer has the negative geopolitical mark of an imperial power against which Serbs/Southern Slavs from the eastern Adriatic cultivated hostility, so Car emphasises that unpleasant historical memories now remain in the past and should not obscure the view of the beauty and significance of this city. He implicitly expresses his support for this new geopolitical reality with the attitude that the current economic decline of Venice should not be blamed on the "current people's government of Italy", but on the fact that the routes of maritime trade have changed[136].

---

[133] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Срūска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 10: 196–197.

[134] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Срūска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 10: 196.

[135] M. Jovanović Morski. Горе-доле по Напуљу, (Up and down Naples. Travel sketches), *Срūска зора* [Srpska zora] , III/1878, 5: 95.

[136] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 30.

However, later experiences will lead him to controversial discoveries and feelings. The reason for the further talk about the current political situation is the unveiling of the monument to Garibaldi, about whom the author says that the ancient Greeks "would have included him in the society of national gods"[137]. Car (with great pleasure) sees the enthusiasm that follows this manifestation as a sign of the triumph of the ideas that the revolutionary advocated, but he is soon convinced that the reality of a united Italy is fraught with numerous disagreements and confrontations. Those he witnessed primarily concern the Triple Alliance (strategic alliance agreement with Austro-Hungary and Germany), which a large part of the public opposes, primarily due to the fact that Austro-Hungary still holds territories (Istria and Trento) that they consider belonging to Italy. Probably such questions were touched upon by the speech given at the occasion of the unveiling of the monument, which the author cannot convey due to "the current lack of press freedom in Austro-Hungary", though he says that the situation became grotesque when the ceremonial master tried to silence the speaker by ordering the orchestra to play the anthem and to perform very loudly[138]. This conflict between official state policy and public opinion is presented as a typical controversy of modern societies, but clearly associated with current Italian circumstances concerning territories on the Adriatic Sea, that later on will cause new conflicts.

CONCLUSION

The travel notes of Serbian authors about nineteenth-century Italy – about its society, nature and heritage, which also is the heritage of humanity – are themselves diverse and, at the same time, specific within the corpus of such texts in the European tradition. For example, apart from the main Western European narrative, Serbian authors, in general, do not extensively talk about Italian laziness, filthy and crowded streets or unreliable railways and cheating innkeepers. On the contrary: when visiting northern Italy, especially in the first half of the century, they report about a prosperous economy and well-run cities, and sometimes learning about them is the purpose of their journey (Jovan Gavrilović). However, the first set of features appears as well, primarily in more complex texts, like autobiographies, where it is given as an aspect of personal experience (Gerasim Zelić) or in the context of an integral view of the Italian way of life (Joakim Vujić, Jovan Subotić). The second half of the century is marked by the appearance of fully developed travelogue (Ljuba Nenadović) and later on of specific newspaper genres, such as feuilletons, in which authors use different discourses, from humour and irony to lyricism and poetisaton (Aksentije Marodić, Milan Jovanović Morski). At the end of the century, the return of travelogue as an emancipated literary genre brings in the characteristic sensibility of the epoch, together with a new attitude towards

[137] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 43.
[138] M. Car. *Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији.* (*Venice. Recollections from a Journey to Italy)*, Zadar 1888: 47.

traditional political issues concerning Italy: the imperial past of the Venetian Republic and the new character of the united Italy (Marko Car).

Admiration for the cultural and artistic heritage of Italy – often given in the context of the historical exaperience of relations to Venice, and occasionally in view of the role of the Catholic Church (G. Zelić, Lj. Nenadović) – in later decades of the century sometimes is upgraded with representations of works of modern art (A. Marodić) or with the depicting cultural life and atmosphere in modern Italy (M. Car.)

Writing about Italy represents the range of cultural and ideological attitudes of the nineteenth-century Serbian authors, and the image of the country is complex and multi-layered, as well as in many ways inspiring. Relaying on that, we can say that this corpus of literature of travel is to be recognised as an important discovery in the field of Serbian literature, as well as a valuable addition to the general tradition of European writing of Italy.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE 19TH CENTURY SERBIAN TRAVEL WRITING ON ITALY

Anon.

Катакомбе у Риму (Catacombs in Rome), *Београдске илустроване новине* (Beogradske ilustrovane novine), 1866, 11: 43.

Анкона (Ancona), *Београдске илустроване новине* (Beogradske ilustrovane novine), 1866, 14/15: 59.

Живот у Напуљу (Life in Naples), *Београдске илустроване новине* (Beogradske ilustrovane novine), 1866, 18: 71.

Осмо чудо света. Саборна црква у Милану. (The Eighth Wonder of the World. Cathedral of Milan), *Београдске илустроване новине* (Beogradske ilustrovane novine), 1866, 19: 73.

Велика исповест у Риму (The Great Confession in Rome), *Београдске илустроване новине* (Beogradske ilustrovane novine), 1866, 19: 75–76.

Испод Везува (Under Vesuvius), *Панчевац*. Календар за народ. (Pančevac. Kalendar za narod), 1875: 52–61.

Car, Marko (1860–1953)

Кроз Умбрију и Тоскану (*Through Umbria and Toskana*), Zadar 1888.

Венеција. Успомене с пута по Италији. (*Venice. Recollections from a Trip to Italy*), Zadar 1888.

У Латинима. Утисци с пута. (*Among the Latins. Impressions from a Journey*), Zadar 1894.

Dera, Đorđe (1844–1917)

Успомене из Италије (*Recollections from Italy*), part I, Novi Sad, 1891; part II, Novi Sad 1892.

Đorđević, Vladan (1840–1930)

Мирамаре (Miramare), in: *Путничке црте* (*Travel Sketches*), Belgrade 1865: 3–16,

Gavrilović, Jovan (1796–1877)

Путовање из Београда у Италију (Аустријску) прошлог 1847. лета (A Journey from Belgrade to (Austrian) Italy in the Past 1847 year), *Подунавка* (Podunavka), 1848: 2–14.

Jovanović, Milan Morski (1834–1896)

Горе доле по Напуљу. Путничке црте (Up and Down Naples. Travel Sketches), *Српска зора* (Srpska zora), 1878–1880.

Kovačić, Risto (1845–1909)
Поздрави из Италије (Greetings from Italy), *Срйски лисй* (Srpski list), 1883: 41–42, 44.

L. A.
Путованѣ изъ Беча у Млѣтке (Journey from Vienna to Venice), *Седмица* [Sedmica], (II)1853, 42, 327–329.

Marodić, Aksentije (1838 –1909)
Карневал у Риму (Carnival in Rome), *Застава* (Zastava), 1875: 47–97.
Два дана у Риму. Писма Аксентија Мародића. (Two Days in Rome. Letters from Aksentije Marodić), *Јавор* (Javor), 1881: 22–44.

Milićević, Milan Đ. (1831–1908)
И живоӣ је школин йредмеӣ. Пуӣойисна црӣа од Беоīрада, йреко Заīреба и Трсӣа до Млеӣака (*The Life is a School Subject, too. The Travelogue Sketch from Belgrade, via Zagreb and Trieste to Venice*), Belgrade 1871.

Nenadović, Ljubomir (1826–1895)
Владика црногорски у Италији (Bishop of Montenegro in Italy, *Србија* (Srbija), 1868–1869; ref. ed. *Писма из Иӣалије* (*Letters from Italy*), Београд 1907. (acc. to notes from 1851)

Pelagić, Vasa (1838–1899)
Писма из Млеӣака. Из оӣрцане средњовјечне реӣублике (*Letters from Venice. From the outworn medieval republic*) Novi Sad 1872.

Petrović Njegoš, Petar II (1813–1851)
(Појавише се звоници млетачки ...) (There rised the belfries of Venice...), March 14th 1844, handwritten note, first ed. in: *Њеīошева биљежница* (*Njegoš's Notebook*), Cetinje 1956: 187–189.
(Почитајеми г. Карацић,...), (Esteemed Mr. Karadžić, ...), letter to Vuk Karadžić from Venice, dec. 25, 1850, in: *Целокуӣна дела* (*Collected Works*), vol. 6, Belgrade 1967: 198–201.
(Поштени г. Владиславјевићу,...) (Honorable Mr. Vladislavjević, ...), letter to Dimitrije Vladisavljević about the time spent in y Roma and Naples, jan. 31, 1851, in: *Целокуӣна дела* (*Collected Works*), vol. 6, Belgrade 1967: 202–206.

Polit-Desančić, Mihailo (1833–1920)
Пуӣне усйомене (*Travel Recollections*), Novi Sad 1896.
Savić, Milan (1845–1936)
По разним крајевима. Слике с īуӣа. (*From Various Lands. Pictures from a Journey*), Novi Sad 1900. (writt. 1890)

Solarić, Pavle (1779–1821)
(Преподнобејши господине архимандрите, ...) (My Venerable Archimandrite, ...), letter to Gerasim Zelić from Naples, feb. 5, 1818, in: P. Solarić, *Сабрана дјела* (*Collected works*), Belgrade 2019: 598–560.
(Мили пријане Тошо Захарићу, ...) (My dear confidant Toša Zaharić, ...), letter to Teodor Zaharić from Naples, feb. 20, 1818, in: P. Solarić, *Сабрана дјела* (*Collected works*), Belgrade 2019: 496–499.

Subotić, Jovan (1817–1886)
Пут у години 1856 (The Tour in the Year 1856), in: *Живоӣ др-а Јована Суботића* (*The life of dr Jovan Subotić*), vol. 3, Novi Sad 1902: 16–36.

Trifković, Jelisaveta (1854 – 1921)
(Diary of a Tour of Italy, untitled, left in manuscript), published in: Ljiljana Banjanin, Италијански дневник Јелисавете Трифковић (Italian Diary of Jelisaveta Trifković), *Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор* (Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor), 2013, 79: 197–212.

Trifković, Kosta (1843–1875)
Мљетачке тамнице (Venetian Dungeons), *Јавор* (Javor), 1875, 3–4.

Vujić, Joakim (1772–1847)
Іоакіма Вуича Славено-Сербскаго списателя Живоописаніе и чрезвичайна нѣгова приключенія : во кратцѣ собственномъ руком нѣговомъ списана у общежителному монастыру Бездину, во Богохранимой Єпархіи темишварской (*The Story of Life and Extraordinary Experiences of Joakim Vujić, Slaveno-Serbian Writer, Written in Brief by Himself in the Monastery of Bezdin, in the Diocese of Temişoara*), Karlstadt 1833: 187–258.

Zelić, Gerasim (1752–1828)
Житіе сирѣчь Рожденіе, воспитаніе, странствованія и различна по свѣту и у отечеству приключенія и страданія Герасіма Зелића Архімандрита свето-успенске обители круне у Далмацціи бывшеґа (*The Life, Birth, Education, Travels and Various Experiences and Suffering through the World and in the Fatherland, of Gerasim Zelić, Former Archimandrite of the Fraternity of The Assumption of Holy Virgin Monastery in Krupa*, *Dalmatia; in that country and the Bay of Kotor, vicar above Christians of the Eastern Orthodoxy*), Buda 1823; chapt. III and IV: 498–522; 616–620.



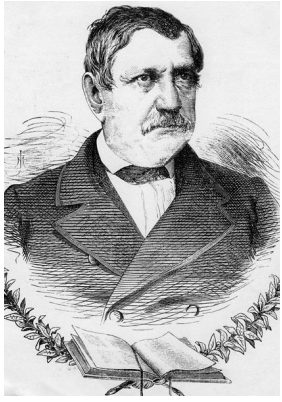
Marko Car



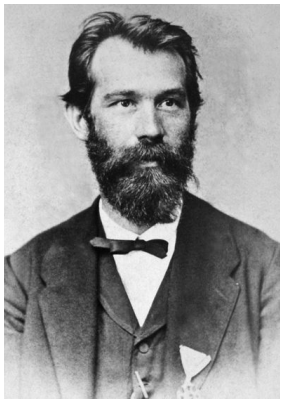
Đorđe Đera



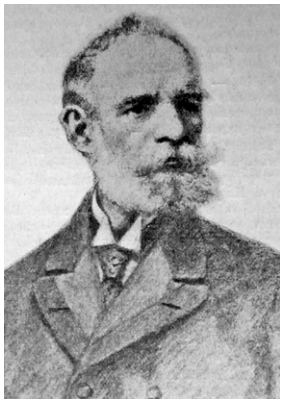
Vladan Đorđević



Jovan Gavrilović



Jovanović Milan Morski



Aksentije Marodić



Milan Milićević



Ljubomir Nenadović



Vasa Pelagić



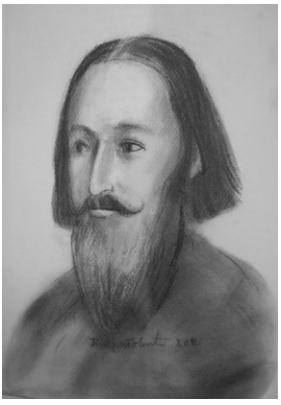
Petar II Petrović Njegoš



Mihailo Polit-Desančić



Milan Savić



Pavle Solarić



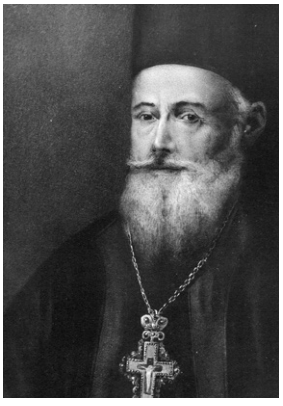
Jovan Subotić



Kosta Trifković



Joakim Vujić



Arhimandrit Gerasim (Zelić)

SHORT HISTORY OF MINING IN SERBIA

SLOBODAN VUJIĆ
Mining Institute Belgrade, Serbia
prof.vujic@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1579-1189

INTRODUCTION

As a social substructure, mining has risen or stagnated, brought prosperity or suffering and influenced historical trends. In the long history, there are two periods of the most dynamic development and rise of Serbian mining – the time of the heyday of the medieval Serbian state (Serbia was a mining superpower at that time) and the second half of the 20th century. In the medieval Serbian state, mining was the backbone of wealth, economic, political, military power, cultural and spiritual uplift. During the second half of the last century, it was a pillar in the post-war reconstruction of the devastated and devastated country, and then of economic and general development and progress, with an important demographic, social and regional development function. By relaxing the sensitivity and dependence on geopolitical turmoil and external influences, the contributions of the mineral and raw materials complex are immeasurable in preserving the country's sovereignty and balancing the foreign trade balance. It is impossible to enumerate all the contributions of mining, and they relate to road, railway, housing and water management infrastructure, to the development of propulsive industries, to investments in healthcare, education, culture, science, publishing, sports, tourism, archaeology, etc. To understand and evaluate the contributions of mining, it is therefore necessary to look at the trajectory of development in the correlation of the past and the present.

ROOTS

Stone Age

Numerous archaeological sites indicate that the roots of mining in Serbia are in prehistoric times: Krivo Polje near Ramaća, Rujnik near Niš, Rudna

Glava near Majdanpek, Šuplja Stena near Belgrade, Mali Šturac (Prlovi) in Rudnik, Ždrelo – Belovode near Petrovac na Mlava, Jarmovac near Priboj, Pločnik not far from Prokuplje, Stojnik on Kosmaj, Zlot near Bor, etc. are representative monuments of the history of mining that document this.

To understand and evaluate mining, it is necessary to examine the trajectory of development from the distant past to the present. This chapter presents the first link in this chain, which refers to the beginnings of mining in the territory of present-day Serbia.

From the appearance of humans in the Old Stone Age or Paleolithic, people using tools and weapons from nature, made of wood, bones and stone, to the surface collection of minerals, hundreds of thousands of years have passed. The assumption is stretchable, not only because of the very scarce archaeological evidence, but also because of the flexible interpretation of the time of human evolution.

The oldest artifacts from the Early Paleolithic on the use of stone as tools and weapons in the area of present-day Serbia were found at the following sites: Petrovaradin Fortress, near Niš, Kremenac near the village of Rujnik, Balanica and Pešturina near Sićevo, between Čačak and Kraljevo Smail – Vlaška glava, Viljuša, Ježevica, Kosovska kosa and Hadži Prodanova pećina.

The found stone artifacts do not mean that the tools and weapons were only made of stone. Organic materials were also used: wood, horns, bones, fibers, and leather. Due to their instability and poor resistance to climatic influences, few of them have been preserved, most often in fossil form.



Learning how to use stone took a long time.

Stone artifacts found far from the primary deposit indicate the mobility of prehistoric people and the existence of some kind of barter trade.

The collection of flint (quartz mineral), obsidian (volcanic glass) and pigments, the use of clay for making ceramic vessels, fishing and weaving tools, weights and vertebrae for heating, and jewelry represent the beginnings of mining.

It has been established that in Krivo Polje near Ramaća in the early Neolithic, the following were used: opal (semi-precious stone), chalcedony (a mineral formed by the intergrowth of quartz and moganite) and jasper (semi-precious stone). Eruptive stone was used for a long time for tools and blades, and after the discovery of metal, metal tools and weapons were made based on the most successful stone forms.

The Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age is characterized by small stone blades, arrowheads. Along the Danube in the Đerdap Gorge, there are several archaeological sites of Mesolithic culture. The Mesolithic inhabitants of the Danube's banks experienced the so-called "Neolithic Revolution" with the beginning of agriculture, domestication and breeding of animals. One of the largest and most significant archaeological sites from the Mesolithic is Lepenski vir, a fishing and hunting settlement, where numerous objects of various purposes made of stone, bones and horns, vessels and jewelry made of shells and pebbles have been found, and stone sculptures of fish-like creatures are symbols of this site.

The New Stone Age or Neolithic marks the abandonment of the nomadic and the beginning of a stationary way of life, the emergence of permanent settlements with huts made of twigs, reeds, mud and straw, animal husbandry and agriculture, stone processing by polishing, the production of objects from baked clay, the emergence of figurative sculpture and the production of objects of a cult character.

The archaeologically investigated settlement of Vinča – Belo Brdo is considered the highest achievement of Neolithic culture in Europe, the center of the first urban European civilization. The population lived in harmony with nature, and the organization of life, knowledge and tolerance were basic values.

The home area of the Vinča culture included the area of the central Balkans with its core in the area of present-day Serbia. The Danube with its tributaries Sava, Drava, Tisa, Tamis and Morava was of key importance for the development of the Vinča culture. Rivers made it easier to move along the banks, favoring the development of hunting, fishing, agriculture, and the beginnings of barter trade. Written traces on dishes and other objects found in Vinča – Belo Brdo are the earliest symbols for communication, known as Vinčanica or Srbica.

Stone-Copper Age

The Stone-Copper Age (Aeneolithic or Chalcolithic), a transitional period between the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, was named for the use of both stone and copper. Despite the few artifacts from the long-lasting period, archaeological research has led to one of the greatest discoveries in human history, that a piece of rock at high temperature (in fire) turns into metal. Man must have known about metal as a petrographic material well before this discovery, since he found it in its native form in nature.



Neolithic cultures of Europe, Late Neolithic
(D. Jacanović, M. Korac)
1 – Vinča, 2 – Cucuteni Tripoli, 3 – Dimini, 4 – Danilo, 5 – Butmir,
6 – Banded Ware Culture, 7 – Neolithic of Northern Europe, 8 – Neolithic of Western Europe

How did the discovery that rock turns into metal in fire come about? Archaeological research at Rudna glavi near Majdanpek offers a possible explanation for how this discovery came about. The coatings of the outcrop of the copper ore deposit (carbonate minerals, malachite, azurite and native copper) differ from the surrounding area in their greenish-blue and red colors. This attracted the attention and aroused the curiosity of people who moved and hunted there. By chance, the hunter stopped, lit a fire on the coating or put a piece of rock (ore) taken from the outcrop into the fire. In both cases, the result of exposing the rock to high temperatures was the same – it melted, turned into metal.

A spontaneous event and human curiosity lead to the observation of a consequential connection between fire and a green-blue and red rock. Attempts to repeat the same were very likely sometimes successful and sometimes unsuccessful, the clarification took a long time, probably more than hundreds of years, until experience and skill were acquired and until a unified knowledge of distinguishing rocks (minerals), finding, mining and smelting ore was mastered. The opinion that these are the roots of alchemy has logical support.

The wealth of the area of present-day Serbia in mineral raw materials provided the basis for the development of mining. Thanks to this, the exploitation of copper ore and other metals has been maintained in individual mining centers from the Metal Age to our time.





From discovery to the art of finding, digging, smelting ore and metalworking, reconstruction

At first, ore was found and mined on outcrops with native or high-metal content ores. For easier and shorter transportation, the ore was smelted closer to the place of mining, but this was not imperative; water (stream, river) for washing the ore and forests were also important for choosing the smelting site because of the wood needed as fuel for smelting. The ore was smelted on a hearth, in small simple furnaces, in pits or shafts. By lighting a fire against the wall of the shaft or pit, the ore is melted and the metal is poured into ceramic vessels placed below. In the Eneolithic, the first molds for casting metal, made of stone and ceramics, appear.

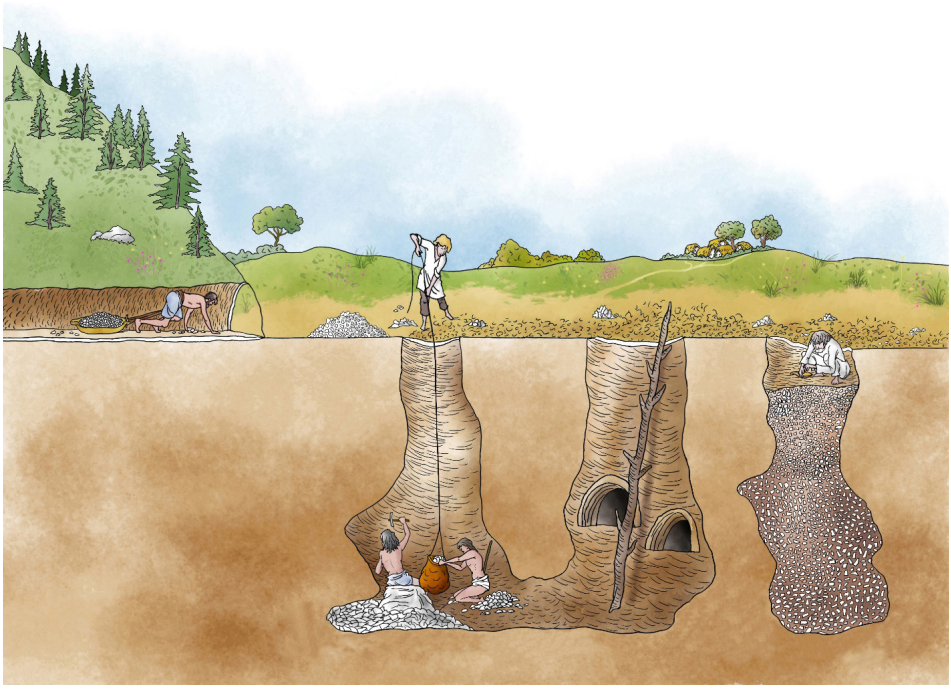
Due to the lack of ore on the surface, primary surface mining is gradually abandoned and people enter the interior of the country, where people discover a world of hidden mineral wealth. Depending on the location of the ore body and the configuration of the terrain, underground excavation was carried out using tunnels or shafts whose profile changed along the axis depending on the change in the thickness of the ore body.

Several factors influenced the limitation of the depth of the operation: the effort of physically extracting the excavated ore, the lighting (visibility) and ventilation of the excavation area, the infiltration of groundwater and the collapse of the rock mass. Water of atmospheric origin (rain and snow) hindered the excavation in the shaft, so the work in the shafts was carried out in dry periods.

Initially, tools offered by nature were used for excavation, over time they were improved, adapted and shaped. Stone mallets of various sizes and weights were used to break and grind the ore, picks made from the crown and frontal antlers of deer antlers, shovels made from the shoulder bones of animals, and

wedges made from deer antlers. Stone axes were used, and deer antlers with two prongs were used as rakes.

With the blows of stone mallets hung from leather belts, the ore was broken, collected and carried away in leather bags, later in peltices (hollowed-out wooden troughs). The ore was sorted and, after cleaning, smelted.



Mining of ore, reconstruction
(Dragan Stojanovic)

The greatest technological achievement of prehistoric mining is the use of fire and water to destroy rocks. By heating and then rapidly cooling (expanding and contracting), the rocks disintegrate. The application of this technology at Rudna glava is confirmed by large ceramic vessels found in shafts that were used to bring water to cool the hot rock.

One of the richest archaeological and mining areas in Europe is the territory of Serbia with prehistoric mining sites. In addition to Rudna glava near Majdanpek, the most significant sites are Belovode near Petrovac na Mlava, Pločnik near Prokuplje, Mali Šturac na Rudnik, Stojnik na Kosmaj, Jarmovac near Priboj, Rujnik near Niš, Zlot near Bor, Šuplja stena on Avala, Krivo polje, etc.

The **Rudna Glava** archaeological site was discovered after surface mining of magnetite unexpectedly uncovered remains of prehistoric mining operations. Although partially damaged during excavation, the profile of the central part of the prehistoric mining operation was revealed.



Mine head, prehistoric mine shafts and archaeological research
(Borislav Jovanović, right in the picture)

Archaeological work (1968–1989, Borislav Jovanović, Archaeological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Ilija Janković, Museum of Mining and Metallurgy, Bor) explored eight ore outcrops with about 40 shafts of variable profiles, 1.5–2 m in diameter, which follow the change in depth of the thickness of the ore bodies (veins and strings). The average depth of the excavation is 8 m, and the maximum is 15 m.



Rudna glava (1, 2, 3 – altar, vessels, tools)
Zlot (4, 5 – bone and iron tools)
Eastern Serbia (6, 7, 8 – copper axes)



Pločnik
figures and a vessel from
the Copper Age

https://muzejtoplice.org.rs/

In the shafts on Rudna glava, ceramic vessels, amphorae, an altar with a deer head, primitive tools, stone mallets, deer antler rakes, bone awls and piercers, and four storage rooms with stone mallets (today we would call tool sheds). The ceramics and tools were made from local materials, which indicates the indigenous knowledge, work, experience and craftsmanship of the inhab-

itants of Rudna glava. In addition to the remains of prehistoric mining, traces of ore extraction from a later, presumably ancient, period were found at the site.

Rudna glava belongs to the Vinča culture, the end of the Vinča – Tordoš II phase and the beginning of the Vinča – Pločnik I phase. The exploitation of copper ore at Rudna glava was intensive and lasted almost the entire period.

There are many locations on the territory of Serbia with indications but not reliable evidence of prehistoric mining. Gold appeared relatively soon after copper, in the middle of the fifth millennium BC. In eastern Serbia, gold could easily be obtained from rich alluvial deposits by leaching, but there is no evidence for this.

Archaeological sites that emerged from the distant past at Rudna glava, Pločnik and Belovode, as the places where copper ore mining began, along with other archaeological sites in the central and eastern Balkans, have fundamentally changed the previous understanding of the beginnings of mining, pushing the boundary back half a millennium and proving that the beginnings are much older than previously thought. They have also refuted the idea that the original mining knowledge spread from the Middle East, across the Greek coasts, along the Vardar and Morava valleys to the upper reaches of the Danube. Thus, they have changed the chronology of the emergence of mining in prehistoric times.

Since the beginning of mining and smelting of copper ore, the problem of slag disposal has arisen. Archaeology reveals that prehistoric miners solved this problem in a way that is still recommended today: they used mining facilities where the ore was extracted to dispose of slag. The rationality of prehistoric ancestors was expressed in the remelting of damaged metal objects – they were not discarded, but were used as raw materials for smelting and making new weapons and tools.

Viewed through the prism of mining, certain similarities are noticeable from the beginning to modern mining. These are the constant need for ores and metals, the accumulation of experience and knowledge, the striving for new knowledge and improving the efficiency of work tools, today we would say – towards improving the technique and technology of exploitation.

With the development of mining, the emergence of the division of labor and the growth of production, the impetus for trade arose through the exchange of goods such as flint, obsidian, cinnabar, and later copper and bronze. The terms of exchange are not known, how they were determined, but based on the artifacts found, it is possible to identify the location from which the material was brought. We do not know who the participants in the exchange were, it is assumed that hunters were interested in trading materials for making weapons, and all members of the tribe were interested in materials for making tools. After the emergence of permanent settlements in the Neolithic, in addition to peaceful trade through exchange, the first raids for robbery appear.

According to the rule of a lot of history – few preserved traces, a more detailed and reliable reconstruction of prehistoric mining is not possible. In addition to deliberate destruction, robbery, wars, carelessness and the like,

time is also to blame for the scarcity of artifacts. It is said that "time destroys the ravages of time", the longer the duration, the less likely it is that material evidence will be preserved, especially if it is of organic origin, made of wood, leather, bones and horns, unstable to climate change, atmospheric influences, the effects of moisture, etc.

A weak, almost unnoticed achievement of this process is that decision-making in mining from the very beginning is based on the principle of integration: recognition, reasoning, knowledge of natural (geological) indicators, laws, rules of skill and conditions. To date, the contributions to progress that mining has given to humanity throughout history have not been understood or seen.

Changes in prehistory were very slow, they were initiated and adapted to the efforts of human survival in an often unfavorable environment, and the actors could not have known about the significance of their contributions to laying the foundations of mining and the progress of humanity. But that primitive prehistoric mining technology set the wheel of progress unstoppably in motion.

ROMAN EPOCH

There are no archaeological findings about the mining of the Celts, Illyrians, Thracians and Dardanians, from the pre-Roman and Roman periods, in the area of present-day Serbia. Silver and copper coins are the only traces of those times and it is indicative that after returning from Asia Minor, the Celtic tribes mostly settled in areas where there was iron ore, in the vicinity of Kučevo, Sokobanja, Bor and Zaječar.



Tetradrachm of Scordiscus, coin of the Celtic tribe that founded Singidunum, 3rd/2nd century BC

Romanization, or the adoption of the Latin language, Roman customs, and culture in the Balkans, began with the arrival of the Romans. The Roman Empire's mainstay was the army, and its main economic branch was agriculture, with the vast majority of the population being farmers.

Apart from some progress in construction, military equipment, agriculture and crafts, the Roman era is characterized by a low level of development of productive forces as a whole.

Mining inherited from the ancient Greeks and relying on manual labor gained momentum in areas of mining activities known from the Neolithic.

Thanks to the understanding of the importance of mineral raw materials, a powerful Roman Empire was built. Wars were fought over mineral wealth, an example of which is the Punic Wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians over deposits of non-ferrous and precious metal ores.

The defense complex on the Sava, Danube and in eastern Serbia, on the line Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) – Singidunum (Belgrade) – Viminacium (Kostolac) – Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad) – Naissus et Mediana (Niš) – Justiniana Prima (Leskovac) – Ulpiana (Gračanica), was in function of protecting the border and numerous mines in that area. The importance attached to mining is also indicated by the fact that the routes of the roads necessarily passed through areas of mining activities.

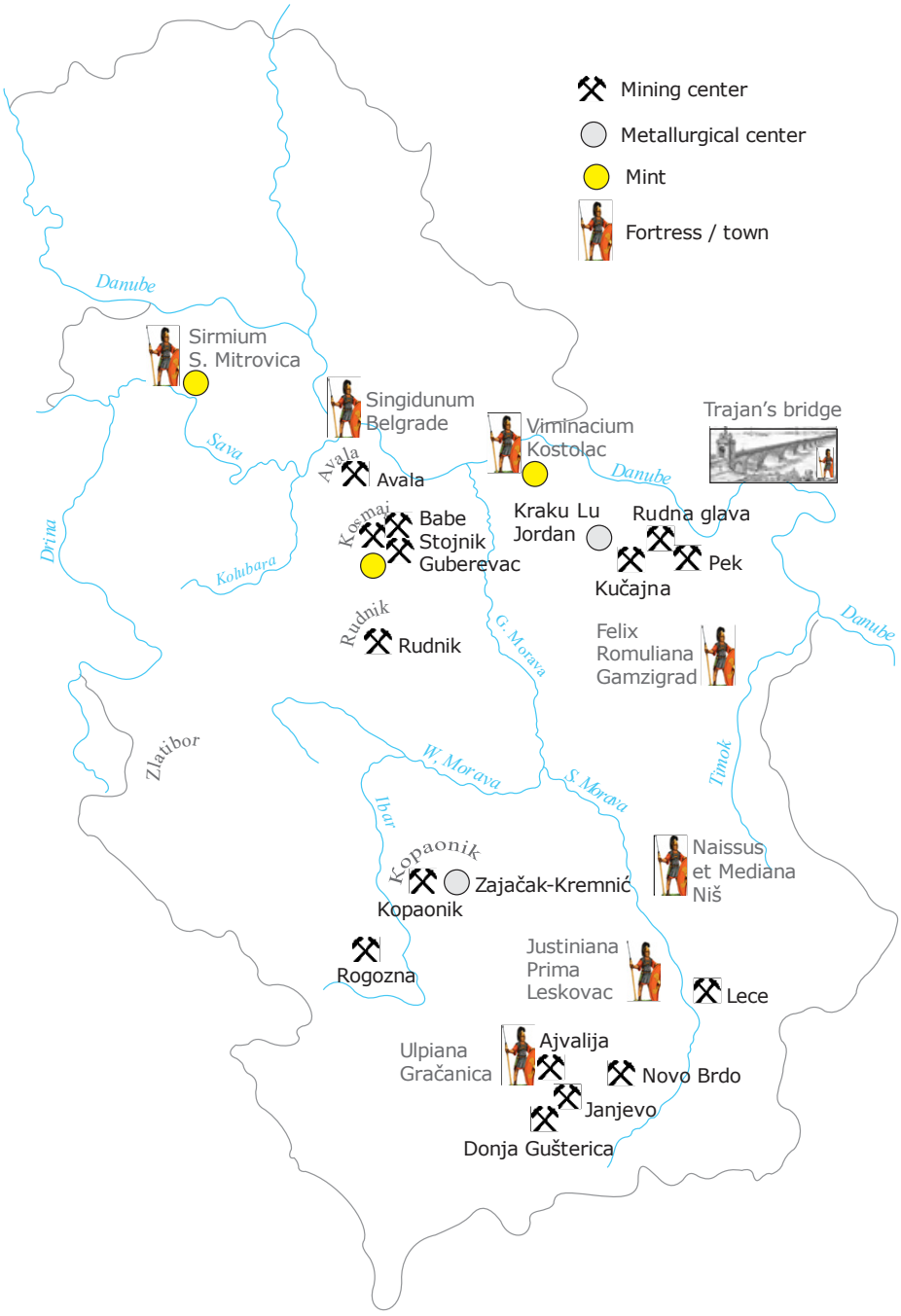
Slaves and the local population worked in the imperial mines as free people. Supervision of the work and guarding the imperial possessions was carried out by the army. Diodorus writes about the cruelty towards slaves: These people who work in the mines and who bring their masters incredible income, languish day and night in the underground mines, many of them die from overwork. They have no right to be released, they have no breaks in their work. The overseers beat them and force them to endure the horror of their misery, until death. That is why Roman mining is not significantly improved compared to the inherited one, the slave labor force discouraged technical and technological progress.

They used iron tools to break and load the ore, and leather bags to manually extract the ore from the excavation. For lighting in the mines, flames from the hearth, pine shavings, resin torches, oil lamps, tallow or wax candles were used.

Mining production was strictly supervised. In addition to internal control, at the intersections of roads near the mines, the stations of the consular beneficiaries controlled the distribution of mining products.

Mining and metallurgical activities on Serbian soil began at the end of the 2nd century, and from 272 and the abandonment of the province of Dacia, mining activities intensified and lasted until the first half of the 5th century AD. With the invasion of the Huns and the fall of the border on the Danube in 441, mining activities were suspended until the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century, when fortifications, cities, mining and metallurgy were restored. With the invasion of the Avars at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, mining completely died out.

Mining was under a special regime and enjoyed imperial extraterritoriality. Every significant mine belonged to the state, i.e. to the emperor and the imperial treasury. The state monopolized the foundries, and leased out the exploitation of ore. As a civilizational substructure, mining in the Roman Empire was in the shadow of a social superstructure with characteristics of oppression. Thus positioned and organized, mining shared the fate of the empire. It was at its peak during the state's greatest power, declined during the time of the military emperors, and experienced a revival under Diocletian in the 4th century.



The Roman epoch, the archaeological sites of mining and metallurgical centers at to the space of Serbia



https://fineartamerica.com/featured/1-roman-slavery-coal-mine-granger.html



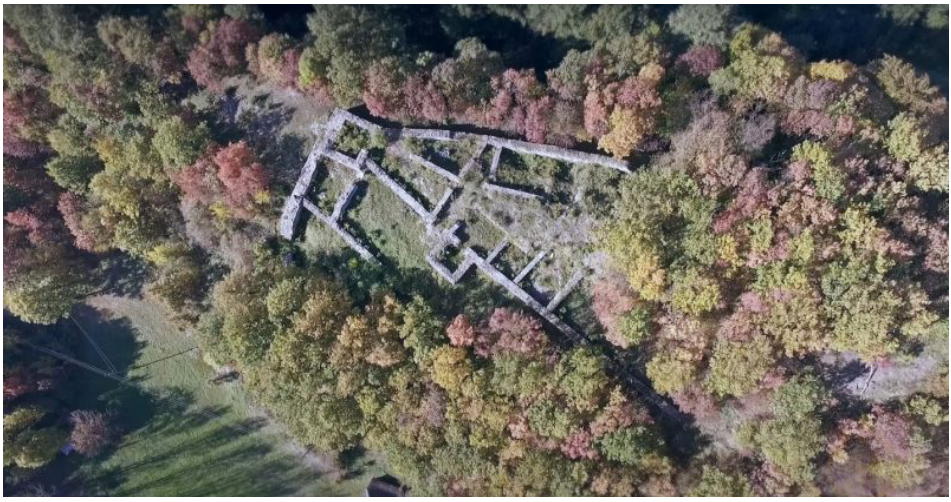
https://saltassociation.co.uk/education/salt-history/early-history/

Work in the mine, smelter and forge, reconstruction

There are numerous remains of the Roman era in Serbia, and mining was carried out in several locations. According to archaeological findings, the most significant mining and metallurgical centers were: Kosmaj (Babe, Stojnik, Guberevac and other sites), Avala, Kučajna, Rudnik, Rudna glava, Pek, Kopaonik, Rogozna, Lece, Novo Brdo, Ajvalija, Janjevo, Donja Gušterica,

Kraku Lu Jordan and Zajacak – Kremnić. In addition to copper, lead, zinc and iron, the extraction of silver and gold was of the highest importance. A significant Roman lead and zinc mine was at Rudnik.

Kraku Lu Jordan near Kučevo, at the confluence of the Brodica River and the Pek River, is one of the most significant Roman metallurgical centers, the metallurgy of copper, iron, silver and gold. It was built at the end of the 3rd century and destroyed by fire at the end of the 4th century. Kraku Lu Jordan is a cultural and historical site of exceptional importance, one of the rare archaeological sites of this type in Europe.



Kraku Lu Jordan, remains of a metallurgical center
(Archaeological Institute Belgrade)

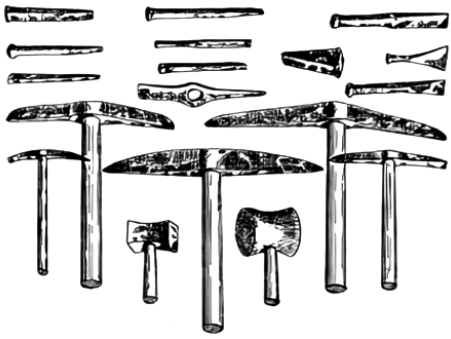
In the area of Kosmaj, a specific bronze imperial coin was found with the names of the mines: Aurelijanis, Aelianis, Panonici, Dardanici, Ulpiani, Ulpiani Delmatici, Ulpiani Panonici and Aelianis Pietenza. It is assumed that all the mines were on the territory of present-day Serbia. The coin was minted from the same alloy as in the time of Trajan, Hadrian and very likely Marcus Aurelius. It is assumed that the coin was minted in a military camp near Stojnik.

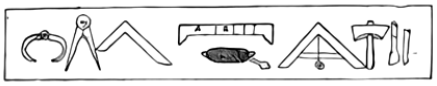
Clay was used as a raw material for the production of: bricks, roof tiles, wall and floor coverings, water and sewage pipes, construction elements and ceramic products for other purposes. The importance of brick production is indicated by the fact that brick workshops were military, imperial, city, and in a small number private. All major military camps had brick-making workshops.

Stone was used for the construction of buildings, fortifications, viaducts, arenas, roads, bridges, public areas, infrastructure, in the creation of sculptures, inscriptions, etc. For the sake of easier transport, quarries were usually opened near navigable rivers or the sea.

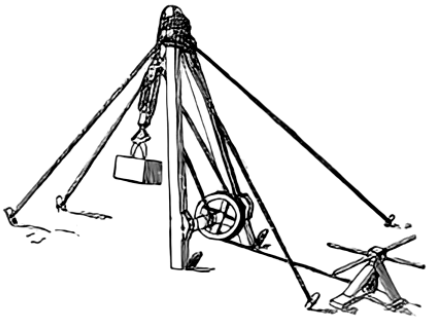
Similar to mines, the largest quarries of marble, granite, porphyry, travertine and other stones belonged to the state, that is, the emperor. Marble was

used in the construction of imperial residences and villas, the most important public and religious buildings, but also the villas of the richest. Travertine was considered a symbol of ancient Roman architecture.





Tools for exploitation and processing of stone, measuring instruments and trispast



Reconstruction after Vitruvius

In the exploitation and processing of stone, they used similar tools as in the mines: chisels, picks, chisels, hammers, wedges, and for measurement, a spirit level, plumb line, compass, square, etc. At the quarry, the blocks were separated by evenly driving wooden wedges into pre-drilled holes on the separation line filled with water. Until the rock cracked along the separation line, i.e. the block separated, the wedges were soaked in water. The blocks were cut in a similar way or with a saw, depending on the hardness of the stone. For lifting and moving heavier stone blocks, they used a triplast (triple pulley) with pliers or a hook and pulleys.

MIDDLE AGES

In the early Middle Ages, Serbs were engaged in agriculture, livestock breeding, beekeeping, hunting and fishing. Archaeological findings confirm that they used metal extensively to make weapons and tools (hoes, spades, plows, scythes, sickles), simple furnaces for smelting and slag have been found, but there is no answer to the question of how they supplied themselves with metal. It is certain that they had certain mining and metallurgical experience and knowledge. Indicators of mining are terms from that period, such as: grno, okno, ruda, rupa. Some of these words were taken over by neighboring peoples, e.g. Hungarians, whose language contains elements of this terminology.

The rise and achievements of medieval Serbian mining

With the rise of the state, mining in medieval Serbia intensified. In the mid-13th century, the restoration and opening of new mines in mineral-bearing areas known from prehistoric and ancient times began.

During the reign of the first Nemanjićs, metallurgy of iron, lead, copper, silver, gold, as well as coinage, was developed. The oldest mention of Serbian money dates back to the reign of King Stefan the First-Crowned (1196–1227). Silver and copper money was also minted by King Stefan Radoslav (1227–1233), his son and successor. Found examples of coins confirm that the metal came from Serbian mines.

Saxon miners were also involved in the efforts to start mining, and many authors attribute the beginning of Serbian medieval mining to their involvement. This is only true to the extent that the Saxons, as skilled miners and metallurgists, brought more advanced methods of exploitation and processing of ore. However, the power and glory of Serbian medieval mining was based on mineral wealth, the wisdom of the rulers, and the mercantile spirit of Dubrovnik and Kotor.

There are two assumptions about the arrival of the Saxons in Serbia. One is that they fled from Transylvania during the Tatar invasion (1241–1242), and the other is that they came at the invitation of King Uroš I (1223–1277), in whose charter their engagement in Brskovo is first mentioned.

In medieval Serbia, ores of copper, lead, zinc, silver, gold and iron were exploited. Mining was the backbone of the wealth, economic, political and military power of medieval Serbia, based on which it can be concluded that mining was very developed and that production was abundant.



Dečani monastery

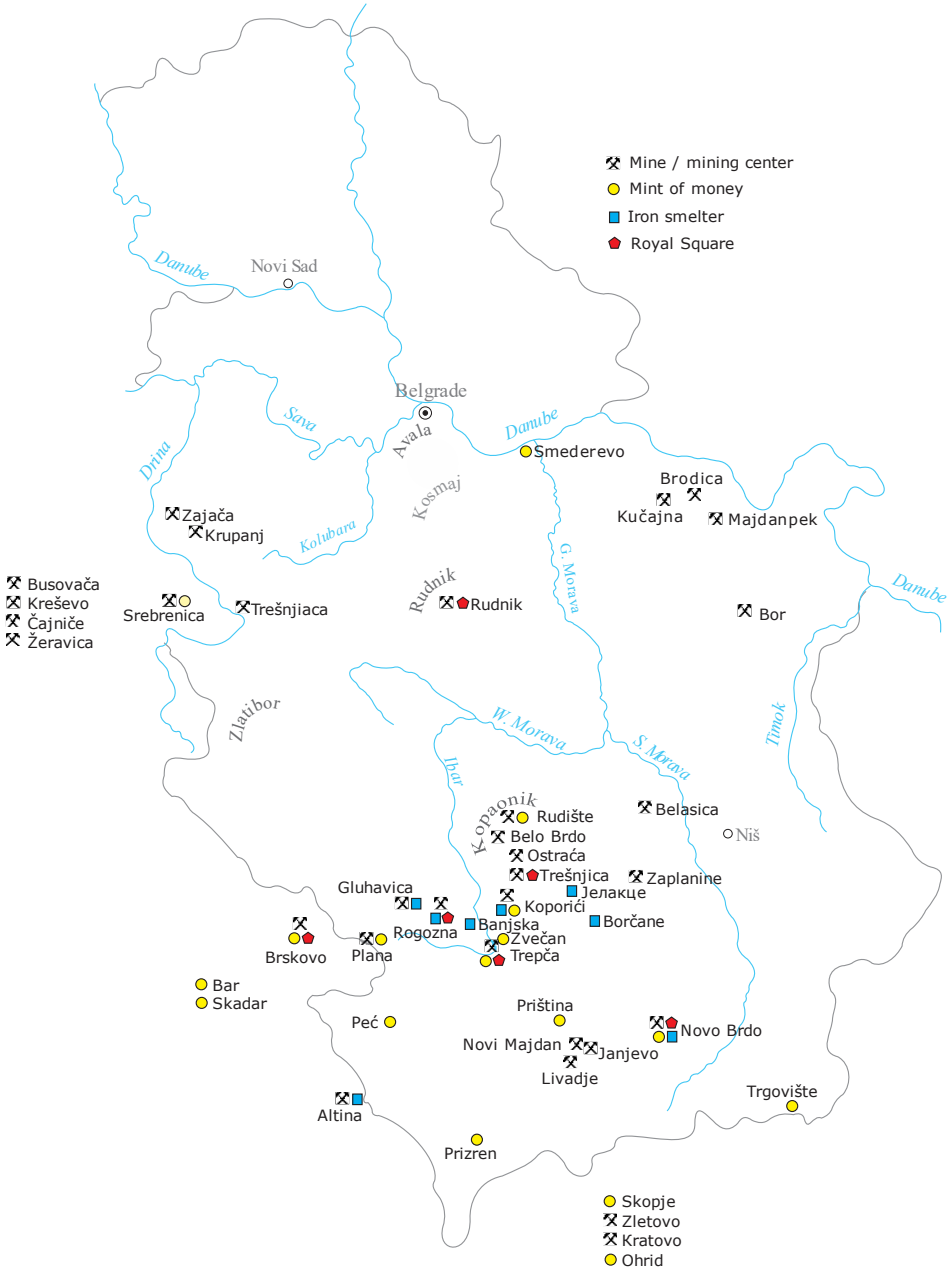


Sopoćani monastery



Nemanjić family tree, King Stefan Uroš I Nemanja IV (1223–1277) with his son Dragutin and map of the Serbian state during his reign

Travel writers of the time recorded legends about the wealth of Serbian mines. The Frenchman Bukar wrote in 1332: At present, there are one hundred gold mines in Serbia and the same number of silver mines. In addition, there are silver deposits that are just being discovered. Kratovil wrote in 1454–1455: But what is most important in Serbia is that gold and silver can be found there



Mines, smelters, mints and royal squares of medieval Serbia

just as water is found in springs, that along the river you can find gravel in which there is as much gold as in India, and which is much more beautiful.

From the 13th to the 16th century, numerous mines were opened: Brskovo, Novo Brdo, Belo Brdo, Koporić, Janjevo, Livadje, Kučajna, Majdanpek, Žuta prla, Belasica, Trepča, Rogozna, Rudnik, Srebrenica, Samokovo, Altina, Gluha vas, Zajača, Krupanj, Rudište, Trešnjica, Ostraća, Busovača, Plana, Kreševo, Zaplanine, Zletovo, Kratovo, Čajniče, Žeravica, Gluhavica, etc.

The mints belonged to the ruler and were located in: Novo Brdo, Zvečan, Trepča, Prizren, Peć, Priština, Brskovo, Koporić, Rudište, Srebrenica, Smederevo, Plana, Trgovište, Ras, Skopje, Ohrid, Shkodra and Bar.

Gold was obtained by washing on the Pek, Bukovačka River, Lisičje Stream, Komča and Recica. In the Mlava Valley, next to Novakov Stream, old shafts and galleries were discovered, and on Veliki Bubnje and in Jokin Stream traces of pyrite and gold-bearing quartz mining were discovered.

With the development of mining and metallurgy, trade and crafts strengthened, new and wider existing settlements and centers of medieval mining were built with developed urban life and colonies of Dubrovnik and Kotor merchants. Due to supervision, trade was allowed on royal squares, where taxes belonging to the ruler were collected. The most important royal squares in the 13th century were: Novo Brdo, Rogozna, Trepča, Brskovo, Rudnik and Trešnjica.

Compared to ancient mining, although manual labor was still dominant, mining techniques and technology were significantly improved. For the sake of protection and safety of work, the underground rooms were supported by wooden supports, and piston pumps made of hollowed-out trees were used for mine drainage. For the export of ore from the pit, export machines with a winch were used, which were driven by water, domestic animals, humans, or a combination of both.

By using fire and water to destroy the rock and lowering the mining operation to lower horizons (greater depth), ventilation of the pit rooms became imperative. To blow fresh air into the pit, wooden fans are used, operating on the principle of bellows or a mill wheel, and are driven manually or by water. In pit transport, the ore is lowered by gravity into hoppers and from there transported by carts to the landing of the export shaft. For transport to the separation and smelting plant, reinforced carts with horse or ox traction are used. In preparing the ore for smelting, crushing devices with water-powered hammers, mechanical and hydro separators are used.

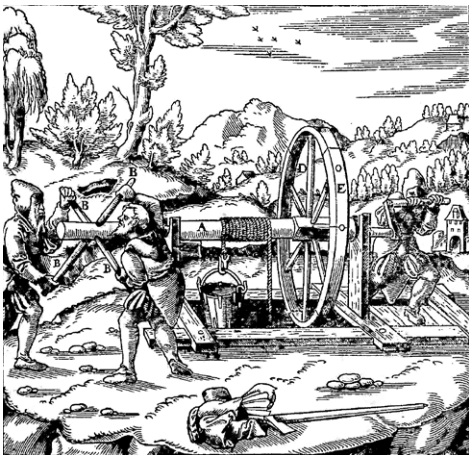


King Stefan Radoslav (1227–1233) | King Milutin (1282–1321) | Brskovo | Emperor Dušan (1331–1355) | Despot Stefan Lazarević (1402–1427)

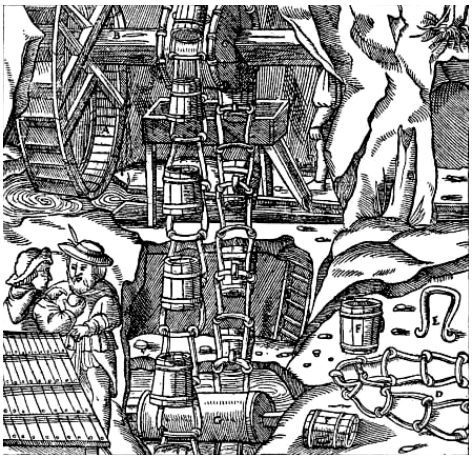
Coins of medieval Serbian money

New constructions, innovative improvements and equipment construction are the work of creativity of medieval mining experts. These are the beginnings

of the emergence of schools of technical education, i.e. mining academies and new technical disciplines, mechanics, mechanical engineering, metrology, etc. that will be included in the educational programs of mining academies. On these foundations, in the 19th century, schools of new engineering disciplines will grow.



Export shaft with manually operated winch



Machine with buckets for exporting ore powered by

Medieval mining techniques for export and drainage
(Georgius Agricola: On the Nature of Metals in Book XII, 1556)

A comparison of modern and medieval mining machines and equipment shows that there are no significant functional differences. The differences are in the materials used for construction (construction) and in the sources of propulsion. In the Middle Ages, the use of wood dominated, iron was also used, but mainly for binding and strengthening parts of wooden structures. Today, the choice of available materials is much greater, metals, alloys, rubber, synthetics, sintered and other materials are available. Medieval mining machines were powered by domestic animals, water or humans, while modern ones are powered by internal combustion engines and electric motors.

Mines were obliged to cede a portion of the mined ore to the ruler in the form of a tax (urban tax, collected by urban tax collectors). Mining production took place freely, and the acquisition of ownership over the mine, the so-called inheritance, was permitted. Along with mines and mining centers, or squares, customs were set up that the ruler leased. Mines could have multiple owners with a share of 2, 4, 8 or 16 parts (deo, pars, par, pai). In proportion to the number of parts they owned, the owners, as members of the mining association, had the right to profit, but also the obligation to bear a proportional share of the costs.

Slavery was prohibited, miners were paid in one of three ways: 1) according to the time of engagement; 2) according to the volume of work performed – e.g. the length of the tunnel dug or the amount of ore excavated; and 3) lemshat,

permanent employment and payment by part of the excavated ore. In addition to miners, there are also shafars, experienced and professional people who managed the work in the mines.

Support for spiritual and cultural development

Thanks to the mineral wealth, the rulers invested in spiritual and cultural development, in the construction of monasteries and churches, their decoration and equipment. Thanks to medieval mining, today we have numerous beautiful churches and monasteries from that time.



Charters of King Milutin to the monasteries of Gračanica and Banjska and of Emperor Dušan to Hilandar and the monastery of St. Archangels Michael and Gabriel
https://www.google.com/search?q=Призренска+повеља+цара+Душана+из+1348.

Novo Brdo was the leader in donating monasteries, where the ore was mined rich in Glam silver, more valuable and expensive due to its gold content. Vojislav Jovanović writes: Since the 1470s, Serbian sources about Novo Brdo have been numerous and informative. Prince Lazar granted (from Novo Brdo, author's note) the Ravanica monastery 150 liters of glama silver annually (one liter or libra is 327.9 grams, author's note), and the Dreča monastery 50 liters, which together amounts to about 1,600 ducats.

Emperor Dušan generously donated to monasteries in Serbia and on Mount Athos. He donated 375 liters of Novo Brdo silver annually to Hilandar. It is mentioned that the monastery of St. Archangel Michael and Gabriel near Prizren, an endowment of Emperor Dušan, had an iron mine in Toplica. It is most likely that this was the Samokov mine, opened while Nemanja was ruling in Toplica.

The Hilandar monastery enjoyed the Novo Brdo income of 100 liters of glama silver annually, as a gift from Despot Stefan Lazarević. The despot also donated Novobrdo silver to the monasteries of Athos, Vatopedi with 60 liters, the Lavra of St. Athanasius with 20 liters per year. Despot Đurđe added 60 liters to the Lavra, and gifted the monastery in Svimeno with 50 liters of silver per year.





Despot Stefan Lazarević Nemanja VII (1389–1427) and the Mines Law
Foundation fresco, Manasija Monastery, and the Mines Law or Novo Brdo Code, a set of laws published by Despot Stefan Lazarević on January 29, 1412 (preserved in several copies, the most significant illustrated copy from the 16th century is kept in the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)



Medieval Novo Brdo, reconstruction
(Dragan Stojanović, 2024)

According to the records of Broquier and Capistrant, the annual income of the Novo Brdo mine amounted to 120,000–200,000 ducats. The above facts convincingly identify mining as a source of economic strength and material support for the spiritual and cultural rise of medieval Serbia.

The inhabitants of Novo Brdo, the most developed mining center at the time, asked Despot Stefan Lazarević to "make a law on holes" for them. The Despot responded positively to the request and formed a council with 24 "good men" and the task of drafting a law. In order to avoid what we would call a conflict of interest today, the Despot formed a council of experts who were not from Novo Brdo.

The Mining Law, or Novo Brdo Code, a set of laws promulgated by Despot Stefan Lazarević on January 29, 1412, is a unique monument of medieval Serbian jurisprudence that transcends national boundaries. In addition to the Mining Law, the text contains provisions relating to the organization and life in Novo Brdo. The law precisely defines ownership of the mine, working conditions in the mine, the obligation to maintain it, the duration of work interruptions, protective measures, regulates mining tools and equipment (isn't that associated with standards today?), etc. The Mining Law testifies to the economic power and organization of the Serbian state at that time.

PERIODS OF ROBBERS

Turkish conquest

At the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, medieval Serbia was on the verge of collapse, the consumption of iron was growing due to the forging of weapons for the mutual struggle of the Serbian nobility and the preparation for defense against the Turks. With the fall of Serbia into Turkish slavery, the production of iron and other metals stagnated and declined. The Turks gave priority to the production of iron over silver and other metals, and in 1527, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha informed Jeronim Laski, the envoy of John Zápolya (1487–1540, Duke and Prince of Transylvania, later King of the so-called Ottoman Hungary), that the world was not ruled by gold and jewels, but by iron.

The first Turkish mining law of Sultan Suleiman from 1536 states that the mines of the Novo Brdo and Kratovo regions produced a lot of iron and silver in the past. This shows that the Turks needed iron the most due to frequent conquests and plundering campaigns, and that mining stagnated and production declined.

In accordance with the state system, the Turks included the mining centers in the Sultan's has – a set of goods whose income served the Sultan for state needs, financing the permanent and mercenary army, as well as military campaigns. Has were also owned by state officials, and even meritorious individuals and warriors.

The Turkish conquest did not cover all the mining areas at once, but lasted almost an entire century. In the confrontation and battles with the Turks, the strength of Novo Brdo was fully expressed. The siege of Novo Brdo began

in 1412, the first fall occurred in 1441, and the agony lasted until 1444 when Novo Brdo was plundered and burned. This was not the only great misfortune of Novo Brdo, the plague that raged in parts of the Balkans struck the devastated city the following year.

It took the Turks 32 years to conquer Novo Brdo. This undoubtedly speaks of the excellent fortification, organization, well-thought-out and skillfully led defense, knowledge, courage, rational management of available resources and the great material potential of Novo Brdo. Thanks to Novo Brdo as a famous mining center in Europe for Glam silver, news of Turkish plunder and oppression quickly spread throughout Europe, drawing attention to the events.

In the face of violence, tyranny, banditry, robbery and oppression, the people retreated and retreated, and the mines were left without a workforce, which, together with the proverbial lack of interest in work and production by the Ottomans, led to the cessation of mining. The interruption would last until the First Serbian Uprising in 1804.

Austrian occupation

Eugene of Savoy defeated the Ottomans at Petrovaradin in 1717 and conquered Banat. In the summer of the same year, he besieged and conquered Belgrade, after which the defeated Turkish army of Numan Pasha Ćuprilić fled before Serbian volunteers.

With the Peace of Požarevac in 1718, the Ottoman Empire lost Banat and the rest of Srem, as well as Bosnian Posavina, part of central Serbia up to Krupanj and Čačak in the west, Prokuplje in the south, Soko Banja and Zaječar in the east. In Austrian documents of that time, this territory is called the Kingdom of Serbia, and the title of king is taken by the Austrian emperor. The administration of the region was the Military Command of the Kingdom of Serbia.

Serbia was almost devastated by the Austrian occupation, and the situation did not improve later. At that time, there were more deserted than inhabited places in Serbia, for example, in the Kragujevac district there were 38 inhabited and 164 deserted places. The Austrian administration functioned poorly, was cruel and predatory. The situation was so bad that the people began to move to the areas under the Ottomans. To replace the labor force, German workers were brought and settled.

The mineral wealth of Serbia was well known, and the Austrians first became acquainted with it during the so-called first Austrian conquest, when after the defeat at Vienna in 1683, the remnants of the army of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa were chased to Macedonia. During the offensive, the Austrians plundered and destroyed the remains of the rich medieval Serbian mines at Kosmaj, Rudnik, Kučajna, Trepča, Novo Brdo, Janjevo, etc.

The knowledge that Serbia was rich in metal ores influenced the War Council of the Austrian court to order the Military Command to begin preparations for mining activities immediately after the end of hostilities in 1718. The first step was to send mining engineer Karl Kropf from Vienna to Serbia to conduct a prospecting and provide an expert opinion on the mining potential

of Mount Rudnik. Kropf stated in his report that there were several occurrences of ore at the Mine with a little silver and a lot of copper and that there was rock crystal nearby for glass production.

After it was confirmed that the polymetallic ore at the Mine contained lead, copper, iron and silver, 1,692 forints were approved for further exploration. 13 miners were hired with a mining engineer as the work manager. In 1724, they excavated 3,000 Vienna cents of ore (1 Vienna cent = 57.6 kg) from which 1,500 cents of metal (iron and silver) were obtained, thus proving the profitability of ore exploitation at the Mine.

The sale of the metal provided funds for the further continuation of the work in 1725, i.e. for the purchase of the necessary equipment and the construction of a smelter. The mining of ore in several shafts (Elizabeth, Joseph, Caroline, Leopold, St. Trinity, etc.) was carried out by miners brought from Transylvania and Banat, and a mining colony was built for their accommodation.

The encouraging results of the exploitation of ore at the Mine prompted the establishment of the Joint Stock Company in Vienna in 1726, which, after an additional inspection on the ground by two mining experts and their negative opinion, nevertheless decided to submit a request for a privilege (concession) to the Court Chancellery, with the following conditions: [...] that the workshops, tools, extracted ore, and everything found would be ceded for six years; that they could sell lead, silver, iron, and gold at the highest price for six years, and after that period, according to agreements such as those in Semnica and Kremnica; that they could export iron and lead wherever they wanted with a 3% excise tax; that they could also exploit other ores in other places (if they found them) under the same agreements; that taverns, inns, breweries and all food supplies in the vicinity of the Mine would be free from any taxes and contributions. The Court Office accepted the conditions set, while reserving the right to control the work of the Society.

The Joint Stock Company for the Exploitation of Ore on Avala was formed in 1735. The Society's report shows that lead and silver ore was mined in eight places and that the income was initially satisfactory, but that problems quickly arose due to the lack of labor and the price of wages. Modern research on Avala has not identified works from this period, since the ore was mined in the same places where it was mined in all other periods.

Due to the growing need for iron and copper, production began in Majdanpek, and a smelter, mining infrastructure, and supporting facilities were built. Iron ore was mined surface, and copper ore was mined underground.

Documentation in the Vienna Archives confirms that lead ore was mined and smelted on Kosmaj during the Austrian occupation. In addition, more significant work was carried out at the locations of Parcani and Babe.

There is no detailed information about the exploitation of gold, but it is known that gold was washed for the state's account at Pek and that attempts to wash gold in the Morava were unsuccessful.

The period of Habsburg occupation is characterized by the exploitation of deposits and cruel despotism, which influenced the emigration of the population and led to a shortage of labor in the mines.

19TH CENTURY

Attempt to start mining

After the First Serbian Uprising in 1804, there was a need for iron for the production of weapons, lead for the casting of gunpowder (tanned), copper, silver and gold for minting their own money, as well as gunpowder.

The leaders of the uprising, led by Karađorđe, aware of the importance of mining for the production of necessary metals, made efforts to restore mining in Serbia. However, the restoration of the complex activity of obtaining and processing ore required specific professional knowledge and experience, and there were no experts of such profiles and a skilled workforce. In such circumstances, they recognized the solution in bringing in mining engineers and a skilled workforce (miners). "Friendly" Austria knew this, and zealously obstructed and prevented these efforts. It took a comprehensive interest in the situation in Serbia, and therefore networked the border areas with Serbia and Serbia with spies. The rebels knew this, and tried to protect their intentions and activities with secrecy. This is probably the key reason for the lack of records and written documents about mining activities of that time.

Proto Mateja Nenadović writes in his Memoirs about the rebels' needs for gunpowder, but he rarely mentions lead. From this it can be concluded that the supply of lead was ensured by the exploitation of their own deposits.



The First and Second Serbian Uprisings were not only the beginning of the restoration of Serbian statehood, but also the resurgence of Serbian mining as the basis of Serbia's industrialization.

Since the lack of expertise and experience was the main problem, the Government decided in 1806 to bring in 35 professional Saxon miners and one engineer. It is not known how many arrived, but mining work began on Avala in 1806. Two years later, iron and copper ore was exploited at the Mine, reportedly for the casting and forging of war material. The production of silver,

probably obtained with lead, is also mentioned, but there are no more detailed records. Two shafts were activated at the Mine, in Krasojevci (today's Bezdan) and at the Pećina location. The smelter and mint were located in the Majdanska River. In addition to Avala and the Mine, the rebels exploited lead ore in Podrinje and Kučajna.

The problem of the lack of mining engineers is also evident from the fact that the first manager of the rebel mines, probably the most educated, was Petar Novaković Čardaklija, a hajji, a member of a volunteer unit and a diplomat. Mining work at the Mine was managed by Stefan Živković Telemak, who, as a medical student in Vienna, voluntarily joined the rebels. He was the Secretary of the Government.

Having failed to even seriously begin its infancy, mining was stopped by the collapse of the uprising in 1813. In addition to the lack of expertise and knowledge in the exploitation and processing of ore, the revival of mining was complicated by the polymetallic composition of ore, lead, zinc, copper, silver, arsenic and iron. Separating the useful components in the ore was an almost insoluble problem not only for the rebels but also for experienced mining experts, even many years later.

The leading people of Serbia at that time deserve great respect and admiration for their efforts to revive the devastated and destroyed mining industry, especially for their understanding that without knowledge and expertise the goal cannot be achieved. The First Serbian Uprising was the beginning of the restoration of Serbian statehood and the beginning of a long, complex and demanding process of reviving mining as the foundation of Serbia's industrialization.

Hints of mining renovation

After the Second Serbian Uprising in 1815, the first economic steps of Prince Miloš Obrenović were directed towards reviving and reviving mining.

Before making any concrete decisions, in 1834 the prince turned to the distinguished mining expert Baron Herder, the royal director of mining in Freiberg, for his opinion and professional assistance. Herder responded and in October 1834 sent the prince a reply. Satisfied with the answer, Prince Miloš invited Herder to come to Serbia and personally see for himself the potential of the mineral wealth. Herder arrived in 1835 and from August 24 to October 31, he toured Serbia, studying the geological structure, exploring abandoned ore deposits and thermal water sources.

Upon his return to Kragujevac, he submitted a report to Jevrem Obrenović. The report was published in a shortened form in Serbian in 1845 under the title Rudarski put po Srbija (Mining Route through Serbia), and in its entirety in German in 1846 in Pest. It was the first and for a long time the only professional publication on the deposits and mines of Serbia. On Mount Željin, near Aleksandrovac, Herder discovered a mineral that he named milosin in honor of Prince Miloš.

As important as the prospecting of abandoned mines and the proposals in the Report were for the future of Serbian mining, Herder's proposal, which

Prince Miloš accepted, to train his own mining personnel was even more significant. In a letter dated April 26, 1837, Herder suggested to the prince that he send young Serbs to study mining at the Mining Academy as soon as possible, and he would take care of their education when they came to Freiberg.

The prince accepted Herder's proposal for the education of mining engineers without hesitation and sent the proposal to the Government in early June 1837. At the Assembly on Spasovdan in Kragujevac, a decree was passed to send several students to Saxony for education. However, the young men's departure for education in Freiberg was postponed by the illness and death of Baron Herder and the abdication of Prince Miloš.

The first trace of the education of young Serbs in mining in the 19th century leads to Vuk Karadžić, who in 1834 sent his son Sava to the Institute of the Corps of Mining Engineers in Petrovgrad to study mining. Sava died after three years as one of the best students.

The regency of the minor prince Mihailo with Vlad nevertheless decided to send several young men to study. The number depended on the cost of education, and the criterion for selecting scholarships was that they were the best and poorest students. The following were chosen: Ivan Matić (1817–?) from Jadar, Đorđe Branković (1819–1869) from Belgrade, Stevan Pavlović (1820–1862) from Šabac and Vasilije Božić (1820–?) from the village of Čumić near Stragar.

On October 13, 1839, they went to study at the Mining Academy in Šemnica (today's Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia) instead of Freiberg due to the lower cost of education. Despite poor previous school preparation, poor initial knowledge of the German language and more than modest scholarships, the young men made up for everything with work, diligence and perseverance. Đorđe Branković, Stevan Pavlović and Vasilije Božić completed their studies. They returned to the country in December 1844 and January 1845. They were immediately involved in the work of the Department of Trade of the Ministry of Finance. Đorđe Branković spent another year in training at the State Geological Survey in Vienna in 1849 and earned the title of geologist.

A Lyceum was established in Kragujevac in 1838, and on September 24, 1863, it was transformed into a Great School, which was built by teachers educated at leading European academies, institutes and universities. A special place belongs to Ljubomir Klerić (Subotica, 1844 – Belgrade, 1910), a mining engineer, scientist, university professor, founder of the School of Mechanics and Mechanical Engineering at the university, inventor and constructor, one of the founders of the Serbian Royal Academy (today the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts). The magnitude and significance of Klerić's work and contributions to mining, geology, mechanics, mathematics, mechanical engineering, military-technical science, higher education, economy, state administration and patriotism are of unavoidable and binding respect.

By the end of the 19th century, 18 Serbian engineers had completed their mining studies at prestigious European mining academies and universities in Freiberg, Petrograd, Příbram, Leoben, Clausthal, Berlin, Paris, Yekaterinoslav, Zurich, Liège and Mons. The return to the country of young, educated mining



Ljubomir Klerić

experts, although numerically insufficient, was reflected in the renewal of mining, planning and directing the exploration of mineral resources to the application of geoengineering approaches in the construction of facilities (railways, roads, bridges and other facilities), in the modernization of mining legal and normative regulations, in the modernization and establishment of a functional organization of the state mining administration, especially significant – in laying the foundations for the academic and scientific development of mining, geological and overall Serbian engineering, the formation of the Serbian Learned Society, then the Serbian Royal Academy.

Opening mines

Coal as an energy source becomes significant with the invention of the steam engine and its applications for propulsion. Assessing that the coal trade on the Danube could be profitable, Prince Miloš requested the Government to send engineer Franz Janke to the coal-bearing sites recommended by Baron Herder to open mines. Without waiting for Janke's report, Prince Miloš ordered on February 3, 1837, to begin preparations for coal mining in Miliva near Despotovac and Kazanski potok near Donji Milanovac, with instructions in the order "that thieves who are discovered be arrested and sent to mine coal." In addition to those punished, locals who were paid to do so worked on mining coal. The coal was mined in the outcrop zone from the surface, which did not

require special preparations, and transported by ox-drawn carts to the Požarevac Pier on the Morava River, where the main storage was located. Since the quality of the coal was not satisfactory for burning in the boilers of steamboats on the Danube, sales did not go as expected, so on July 14, 1837, the Government ordered the suspension of coal mining in Miliva.

In order to create favorable and clearly defined legal conditions for the development of mining, Prince Mihailo signed the Mining Law on April 15, 1866, which regulated the operation and management of the Principality's mines.


РУДАРСКО ОДЕЉЕЊЕ МИНИСТАРСТВА НАР. ПРИВРЕДЕ

РУДАРСКИ ЗАКОНИК

ЗА

КРАЉЕВИНУ СРБИЈУ

ОД 15. АПРИЛА 1866. ГОДИНЕ

С ИЗМЕНАМА И ДОПУНАМА ОД 21. ЈУЛА 1877., 6. ФЕБРУАРА 1896. и 27. ЈАНУАРА 1900 ГОДИНЕ.

БЕОГРАД

ШТАМПАНО У ДРЖАВНОЈ ШТАМПАРИЈИ КРАЉЕВИНЕ СРБИЈЕ

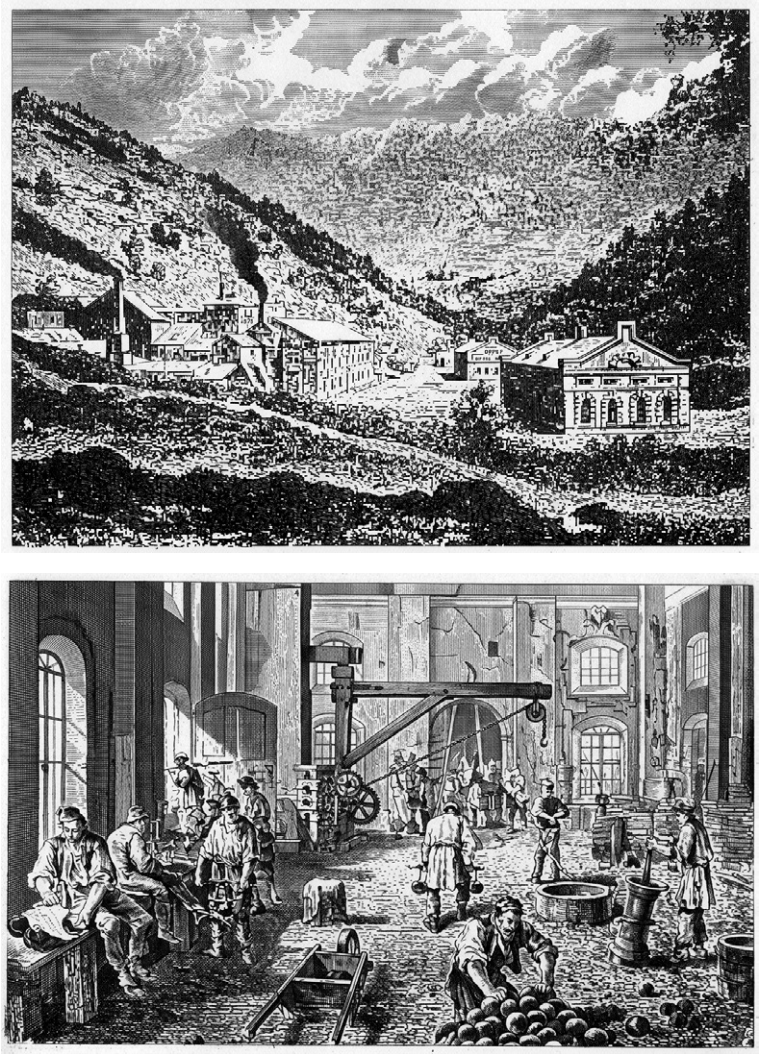
1913.

Title page of the Mining Code for the Kingdom of Serbia of April 15, 1866, 1913 edition
(Library of the Mining Institute Belgrade)

The first concession for the exploration and exploitation of mineral resources in the Principality was issued in 1846 to Josef Steinlechner for 20 years for the mining of coal in Dobra on the Danube, with a 6% rent. There is no preserved data on the performance of mining works and production.

Due to the war circumstances, the Principality of Serbia had a need for iron, and in 1847 it hired the Czech mining engineer Karl Hejrovsky for an advisory opinion on the opening of iron mines. After visiting the terrain, he suggested that the cheapest option would be to open mines at Rudna glava, Majdanpek and Crnajka.

A year later, a mine opening administration was established in Donji Milanovac, and engineer Božić began work on Rudna glava on December 8, 1848, and in January 1849 with eight workers in Crnajka. Due to the high sulfur content in the ore, the results were not satisfactory, so work at both locations was suspended and attention was focused on Majdanpek. The plan was to build a center for the iron and copper industry modeled after European metallurgical centers. Copper was not neglected, but the focus was on iron due to the needs of military production (cannons, cannonballs, personal weapons, etc.) and the creation of a starting point for the industrialization of Serbia.



The Majdanpek foundry
(Felix Kanitz, 1861)

The work in Majdanpek began in May 1849. The unskilled workers from Banat and the inability to find trained miners posed a major problem for the execution of the work. By coincidence, the crisis in the mines of Smolnik (Slovakia) led to the dismissal of several hundred workers. Thanks to the attractive conditions offered, about 100 miners with their families from Smolnik and Aradnjika were brought to Majdanpek in May 1850 by Stevan Pavlović, a mining engineer. Since there were no houses for accommodation, they were temporarily housed in two large sheds. By October, 23 family houses – log cabins for accommodation – had been built. The descendants of the Smolnik miners are today scattered throughout Serbia.

With the development of the mine and the increase in the number of workers, the settlement expanded and new settlements were built in the surrounding area: Rajkova Reka, Grabovo, Čekić and Debeli Lug.

The ore was mined manually using: pickaxes, picks, hoe, crowbars, drills, chisels, rammers, hammers, shovels, etc. Black powder was used for blasting. The ore was transported within the mine by carts, and from the mine to the smelter by horse-drawn carts.

The smelting of iron ore (limonite) mined from the surface was initially carried out in low furnaces (small smelter), and from 1856 in a blast furnace, together with a 17 m high chimney. A samokov with bellows driven by a water wheel from Mali Pek was also built in the small smelter. In the spring of 1852, work began on the reconstruction of the low furnaces with the aim of increasing capacity and modernizing them by replacing the box bellows with steam-powered bellows, which was a major technological breakthrough. The large furnace was designed and built based on furnaces from Germany and the Czech Republic with bellows driven by steam engines.

With the development of the mine and the increase in the number of workers, the settlement expanded and new settlements were built in the surrounding area: Rajkova Reka, Grabovo, Čekić and Debeli Lug.

The ore was mined manually using: pickaxes, picks, hoe, crowbars, drills, chisels, rammers, hammers, shovels, etc. Black powder was used for blasting. The ore was transported within the mine by carts, and from the mine to the smelter by horse-drawn carts.

The smelting of iron ore (limonite) mined from the surface was initially carried out in low furnaces (small smelter), and from 1856 in a blast furnace, together with a 17 m high chimney. A samokov with bellows driven by a water wheel from Mali Pek was also built in the small smelter. In the spring of 1852, work began on the reconstruction of the low furnaces with the aim of increasing capacity and modernizing them by replacing the box bellows with steam-powered bellows, which was a major technological breakthrough. The large furnace was designed and built based on furnaces from Germany and the Czech Republic with bellows driven by steam engines.

The Majdanpeč Foundry produced mainly artillery ammunition, castings needed for the mine and smelter, and goods for the market: stove tops, fireboxes, furnaces, wheels, anvils, hammers, hooks, pots, pans, etc. Iron was cast directly from the furnace until 1855, when the cupola furnace was put into

operation. The operation of the foundry was accompanied by problems: a lack of experienced and good foundries, a high percentage of scrap, and a lack of high-quality foundry sand and coal.



Steam locomotive “Milan” designed and built in Majdanpek, 1882
(Narrow Gauge Railway Museum Požega)

Copper ore mining began in 1849 with the reconstruction and renewal of old underground mining works. In the following years, copper ore mining works intensified, being most intense during the period when Majdanpek entered the process of suspending operations and when the copper smelter was not operating, so the excavated ore remained unsmelted.

The copper smelter began operating in 1854. It operated until 1857, when it was ordered to cease operations. Based on available data, the copper content in the flat ore ranged between 1 and 7.35%.

During the ten years of construction and operation of the mine with the smelter in Majdanpek, 1,293,000 thalers (old name for money), approximately 532,700 ducats, were invested. In a short time, Majdanpek became a mining town with a population of mixed national structure (Austrians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, etc.). During the decade of Majdanpek’s operation, the goal was not achieved. The country suffered a heavy material blow, and it took a long time to recover. The state commission formed to investigate the causes of Majdanpek’s failure found several shortcomings, including: the undertaking was not accompanied by adequate legal regulations, the hiring of foreign experts was costly, the management of the mine and smelter was not professional and efficient, and the state also contributed to this through the complacency and discord of government members. The commission proposed that the mine be sold or leased.

Production costs had grown so much higher than revenues that there was no other choice but to cease operations. Majdanpek was closed on November 25, 1858. All employees were dismissed except for six essential workers and clerks, 22 guards, two policemen, and two laborers with four pairs of oxen.

The Austrians and the French showed interest in the lease. Thanks in large part to the favor of Prince Miloš, the French were granted the right to lease, whose interest in Majdanpek was incidental, the key being the concessions for navigation on the Danube and Sava. Majdanpek was leased again in 1868, this time to the English. Due to the exploitation of the deposit, the devastation of the forests and the cruel treatment of the workers and the locals, they were expelled from the devastated Majdanpek in 1881. The following year, in 1882, a three-year contract was signed with John Holway, an English mining expert, on the introduction of a new and more efficient method for extracting copper. After the tests were carried out, Holway was given the mine for 50 years, with the obligation not to exploit the deposit and to immediately begin the restoration of the destroyed forests. The state plan was to build a railway from Majdanpek to the Danube near Donji Milanovac. Unfortunately, expectations were not met, Holway got into debt difficulties and became dependent on the Austrian company "Chaudor & Cie", and with the consent of the government, Majdanpek was taken over by this company. By a contract dated June 26, 1885, Majdanpek and Rudna glava were leased to this company. This company did not make any progress either, it stopped exploiting iron ore, and ruthlessly continued to cut down forests and destroy equipment. The concessions of the company "Chaudor & Cie" were revoked in 1900, and the staff was expelled.



Entrance to the Kučajna mine shaft, second half of the 19th century

The Kučajna lead mine near Majdanpek was opened in 1849. The results were reportedly unsatisfactory, and after two years, exploitation work was suspended. This conflicts with the data that the lead content of an ore sample (galena) tested in Vienna was 38.25% with 43.75 grams of silver, and it was later determined that it also contained gold. There is no data on production, and it is assumed that the problems arose due to a lack of skilled labor and

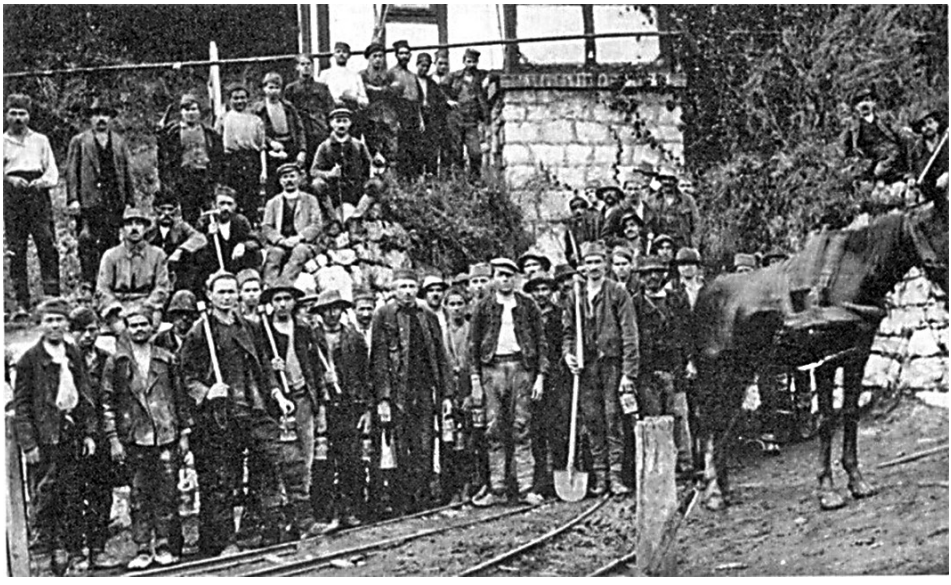
incompetent management of the works. A similar thing happened in 1854 with the mines on Avala and Kosmaj. After these experiences and the experience with Majdanpek, for half a century a shadow of pessimism and failure hung over every initiative for state investment in mining.

Holway left behind a work that entered the history of Serbian mechanical engineering, the steam locomotive "Milan", built in March 1882 in the workshops of the Majdanpek mine, put into operation two years before the opening of the Belgrade-Niš railway. The locomotive is today kept in the Narrow Gauge Railway Museum in Požega.

Coal as an energy source became even more important with the construction of the Topolivnica in Kragujevac (1851–1853), which was to be provided with high-quality high-calorie fuel. By decision of the Mining Department of the Ministry of Finance of the Principality of Serbia, the opening of the brown coal mine in Senj began in 1853, named Aleksandrovac after the ruler, Prince Alexander Karađorđević (reigned 1842–1858).

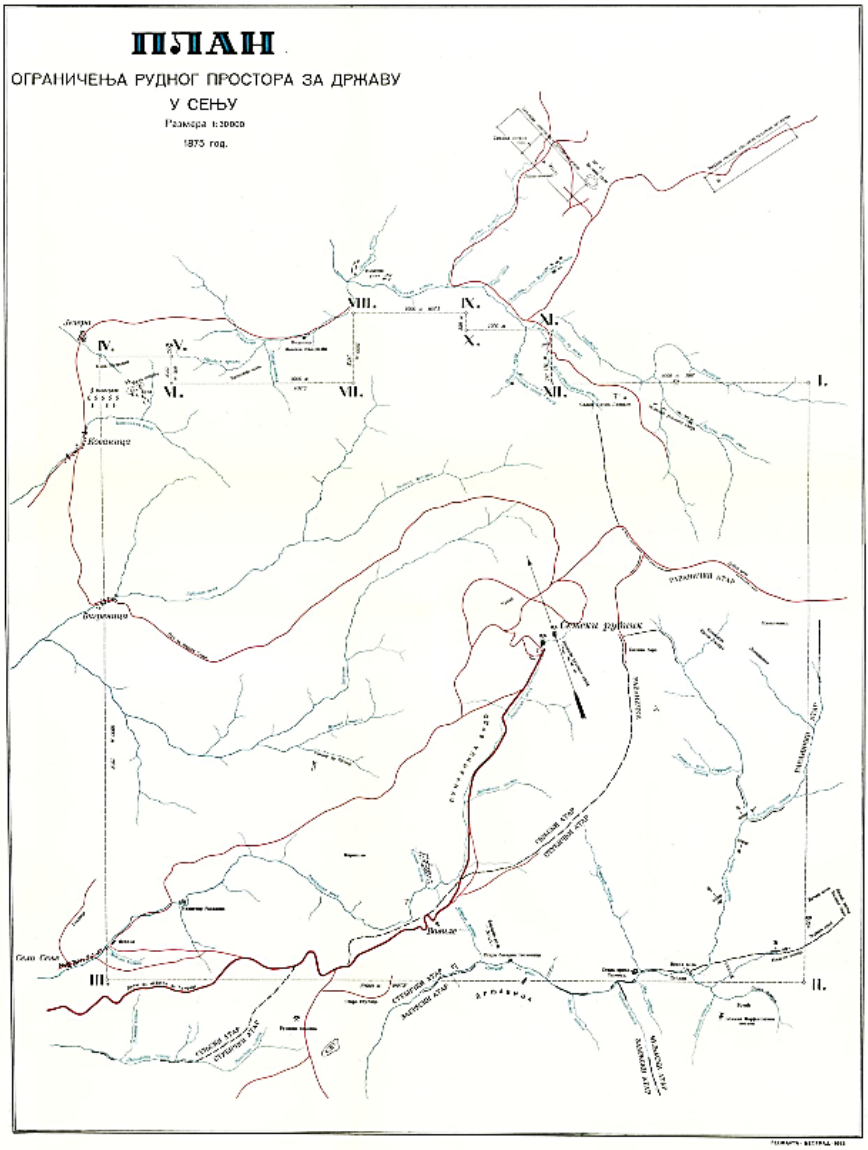
After preparatory work, clearing the forest and breaking the road, the first 26,320 oka (oka ≈ 1.28 kg) of coal were surface-mined in the coal seam and shipped to the Topolivnica in Kragujevac on May 12, 1854 in 98 ox carts. The transport took about a week and was extremely difficult due to the poor roads and the crossing over the Velika Morava River.

With the commissioning of the Belgrade–Niš steam-hauled railway in 1884, the need for brown coal increased significantly, so in order to facilitate the delivery of coal from the Senj mine, the narrow-gauge railway Senj mine – Ćuprija was built in 1892.



Senj Mine, shift in front of the entrance to the Aleksandar mine
(Senj Mine Coal Mining Museum)

According to unreliable data, in the first years, around 50 unskilled workers, locals from neighboring villages, and 2–3 skilled workers sent from Majdanpek, worked seasonally in the mine. Coal mining was based on manual labor, the workers did not have protective equipment, they used their own tools, lamps, clothes, a hat, a cap, sandals, etc. In the first years, production was seasonal, from spring to autumn.



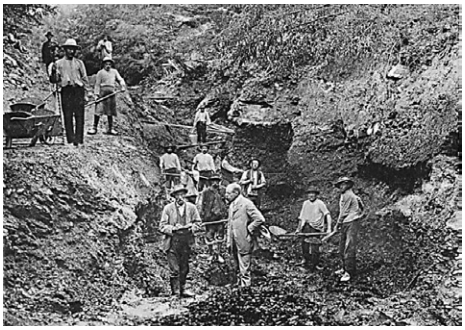
Plan of the Senj mining field limits, 1875
https://ribeograd.ac.rs/istorija-srpskog-rudarstva/

Surface mining, which began in the spring of 1853, was suspended in September, and resumed in May of 1854. Probably due to the narrowness and configurational unsuitability for further development of surface mining, in 1855 work began on the construction of two undercuts (Aleksandar and Vasa). 700,000 coal oka were dug, mainly for the needs of the Topolivnica. Fires in the pit occurred frequently. Coal exploitation was suspended due to a fire in 1858, and by the end of 1859 activities were reduced only to the maintenance of the pit.

At the initiative of the Main Military Administration, the Ministry of the Army sent a request to the Ministry of Finance to organize the production of coal for the needs of the Topolivnica in Kragujevac. Production was launched in 1860, 874,000 oka of coal were produced, and due to the change of rulers in Serbia, the name of the mine was changed – instead of Aleksandrovac, it was called Majdan kod Senj. There is no data on the amount of coal produced in the next two years, but due to a fire and high transportation costs, production was suspended again in 1863 until 1871, when, after rehabilitation and preparatory work, it was restarted by the First Serbian Bank from Belgrade, which took over the mine from the state in 1869. However, due to incompetence and losses, the Bank abandoned its plans and returned the privileges to the state in 1874. Except for these five years, 1869–1874, the Senj mine was always owned by the state.



Senj mine, construction of a narrow gauge railway and railway composition on the Senj mine – Ćuprija railway
(Senj mine coal mining museum)



Surface work in the outcrop



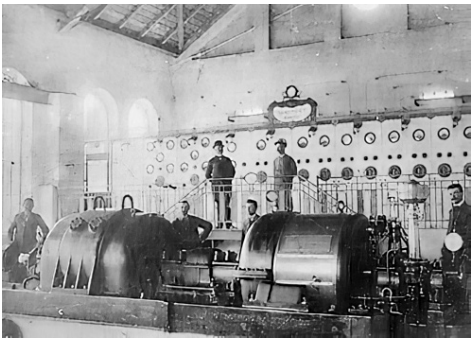
Underground pit work



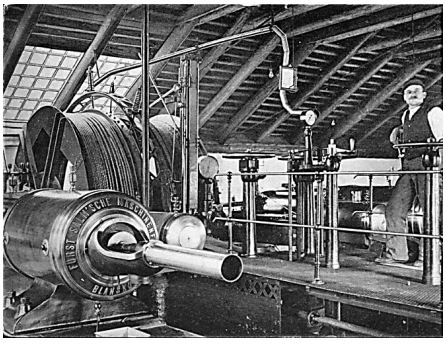
Entrance to the mine, horse-drawn rail transport



The tower of the export facility



Generator department of the thermal power plant



Export steam engine winch

Vrdnik Coal Mine

(https://www.banjavrdnikfruskagora.rs/istorijarudarstva)

Felix Hoffman's report on Majdan near Senj (printed in 1875 in an excerpt in Srpske novine, nos. 158, 159 and 160) is a comprehensive analysis from the geology of the deposit to the sale of coal. It is the first comprehensive study dedicated to a single mine in Serbia. There is no data on the operation of the Senj mine in the period 1878–1889. After the exhausting war with the Turks, production resumed in 1889.

The Senj–Ćuprija road was completed in 1891, and in order to make the transport of coal to the railway station in Ćuprija simpler and cheaper, the

construction of a narrow-gauge railway began. The first train with coal left the railway station in Senj on 1 December 1892. Coal could now be transported to consumers without difficulty. The first briquetting plant was built in 1897 in Ćuprija by the company "Popović and Dimitrijević". The same year, the plant and the mine were taken over by the State Railways, which operated the Senj mine until World War I.

On St. Procopius Day in 1893, one of the worst accidents in the mines of Serbia occurred, when an entire shift of miners remained underground. Since then, July 21 has been the day of remembrance for the fallen comrades.

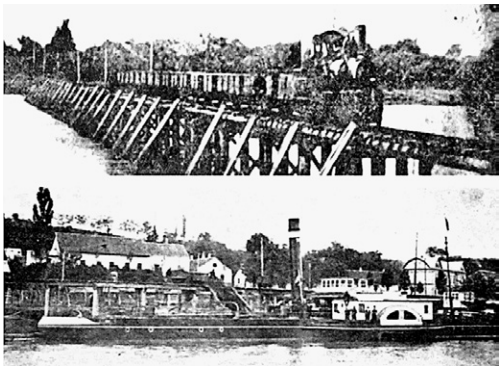
The first coal mining in the current territory of Serbia took place on the northern slopes of Fruška Gora. Coal was occasionally mined on the surface of the terrain in outcrops, near Sremski Karlovci and Čerević.

The mining of brown coal on the southern slope of Fruška Gora in Vrdnik began in 1804 thanks to the Veliki Potok stream, which, flowing through the monastery property, eroded the soil and discovered a coal deposit. The deposit with the mine belonged to the Ravanica Monastery in Vrdnik until 1849, when the mine was sold. The mine later changed owners several times.





In front of the entrance to the mine and the transport of coal in the pit



Transporting coal to the dock and loading it onto a ship on the Danube
Stari Kostolac

More serious exploration of the deposit and investment investments started in 1871 resulted in the expansion of the exploitation operation, more organized and mass production, the construction in 1874 of an export shaft with a steam-powered export plant and the construction of a mining colony for the accommodation of workers and their families (today's Stara Kolonija). The Vrdnik–Ruma railway, 19 km long, was built in 1899 for the transport of coal. In prosperous years, up to 450 workers worked in the mine.

During the works in the pit, thermal water with healing properties erupted. Thanks to this circumstance, Vrdnik received a spa resort. Works in the mine were suspended in 1968.

Coal mining in the Stari Kostolac pit began in 1873. In the same year, 15,050 centners of coal, or 301 tons, were produced. The following year, production tripled, and coal was exported to Vojvodina and Romania. This production trend continued. As the owner, Đorđe Vajfert quickly and successfully raised the mine to an exemplary level.

From the beginning of the mine's operation, the issue of selling fine coal was raised. Weifert solved the problem in 1885 by building a brickyard in Kostolac with a capacity of 500,000 bricks per year, which was used to build a mining colony. After the colony was built, he stopped the brickyard due to low profitability, but in 1890 he built a two-story steam-powered mill to consume fine coal. Kostolac was at the largest exhibition of technical achievements in Paris in 1900. Dr. Dimitrije Antula prepared a book for this exhibition, "A Review of the Ore Mines in the Kingdom of Serbia", translated into five languages. Kostolac is presented in the book as a representative coal mine.

The joint-stock company from Požarevac opened a new Klenovnik coal mine in Kostolac in 1883.

With steamboats on the Danube, the construction of a steam-powered railway, and industrialization with steam engines, Weifert, as a shrewd businessman, understood the growing importance and value of energy sources such as coal. This was the reason for his interest in coal and his investments in the Bogovina and Dobra sreća mines. The profitability of the coal business and the profits made allowed Weifert to invest in geological exploration for gold in eastern Serbia.

After four years of exploration, the results, as far as gold was concerned, were not satisfactory, the average content was 0.5–3.0 grams per ton of quartz. The duration of the exploration and the large investments Weifert made brought him to the brink of bankruptcy, but he did not give up, and the outcome resulted in the discovery in 1902 of a deposit of "red gold" – copper, the most valuable copper deposit in Serbia.

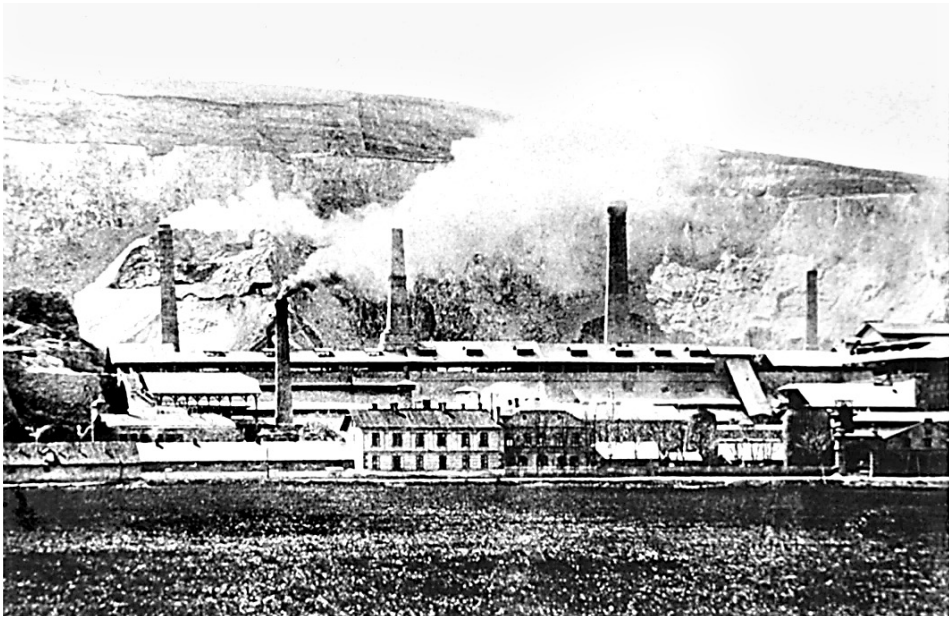
With the growing demand for coal in the second half of the 19th century, the following were opened: the Vrška čuka coal mine in 1884, the Vlaška brown-lignite coal mine near Mladenovac in the 1970s, and the Aliksir coal mine near Brza Palanka in 1888. Geological exploration of coal in the Aleksinac Basin began in the 1980s, and production began in the 1990s.

Antimony mines, ores of non-ferrous and precious metals were opened. Surface exploitation of the richer batches of antimony ore in the Bare and

Zajača deposits was carried out from 1895 to 1937, when it was suspended due to a large influx of water.

Silver-bearing lead was mined and smelted at the Babe site on Kosmaj in the Roman and medieval periods. The remains of slag resulting from the smelting of ore, especially at the confluence of the Pruten and Zminjak streams, were excavated from 1872 to 1889. About 270,000 tons of slag with a lead content of 4–5% and a high silver content were processed in a smelter built by the Austrians on the site.

As standards in building construction rose, the need for appropriate building materials arose. In 1855, Josif Čik received concessions for the exploitation of marl and began producing cement in Beočin. He ground the baked marl in a potocari mill. By modernizing production in 1869, Čik founded a factory called "The First Srem Portland Cement and Hydrated Lime Factory of Josif Čik in Beočin", with an annual production of about 40,000 tons of cement. The exploitation of marble in Venčac began in 1881.



Cement factory in Beočin, late 19th and early 20th century

20TH CENTURY

First half of the 20th century

At the beginning of the first half of the 20th century, the trends of the mining industry from the end of the 19th century continued. Serbia, exhausted by wars, poor, constantly hindered by its powerful neighbor Austria-Hungary, exposed to the insatiability of foreign and domestic capital, without a

sufficiently numerous and experienced mining engineering staff, did not have the strength to adequately protect and valorize its mineral and raw material wealth. The interest of greedy foreign capital in investing in mining was directed towards the mineral raw materials of copper, lead, zinc, antimony, gold and silver. The mines in which non-ferrous and precious metal ores were exploited were in the hands of foreigners, whose business was based on the ideology of greed, investing as little as possible and taking and taking away as much as possible, or, in other words, on the exploitation and plunder of mineral resources and the exploitation of workers. Thanks to the unscrupulousness, corruption and inertia of the state administration, foreign owners carelessly stole and freely exported large untaxed profits from Serbia. They achieved this by concealing the volume of production and the content of useful components in the ore and concentrate.

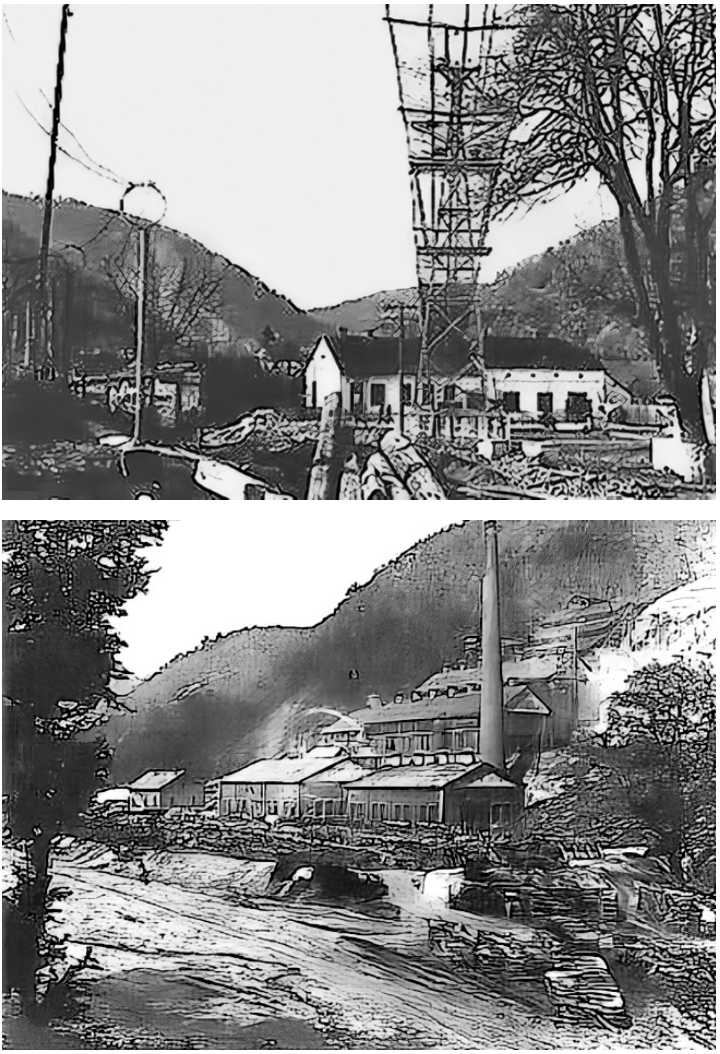
Exploitation of iron, non-ferrous and precious metals

*Majdanpek***.** A certain Dr. A. Chene, who had been convicted in France as a chemist for practicing medicine illegally, used this recommendation to establish a confidential business relationship with a large capital in Brussels, who sent him to Majdanpek to survey the situation. On September 5, 1902, Chene signed a 50-year lease agreement for Majdanpek. A year later, on September 12, 1903, he transferred the lease right to the Anonymous Company from Belgium without any administrative obstacles. They exploited the iron ore until 1946. In order to increase efficiency and reduce the costs of transporting the ore to the dock on the Danube, a very well-designed cable car was built in 1908. By adjusting the route to the configuration of the terrain, maximum energy efficiency was achieved by moving full baskets towards the Danube and empty ones towards Majdanpek.

On February 20, 1913, the Serbian Joint Stock Mining and Smelting Company (SARTID) was founded with mixed capital (Austro-Hungarian and domestic). Thanks to the advantages offered by the economic policy of the then government, SARTID built an iron smelter in Majdanpek in 1937, which operated with varying success until 1950, when it was demolished.

Working conditions were exploitative. From January to the end of March, workers worked from five in the morning to six thirty in the evening, with a one and a half hour break for rest. During the other months, they worked 15 and a half hours a day with a three-hour break. The miners themselves covered the costs of the materials they used during their work (gunpowder, caps, oil, etc.) and the clothes they wore. They were forced to obtain all materials and food from the mine canteen, where everything was more expensive. The canteen was run by privileged officials from the mine administration.

The first protest and resistance to these slave conditions was offered by the miners' general strike on July 4, 1907. The struggle for miners' rights and against cruelty, with varying success, would last throughout the entire period of Majdanpek's lease from the Nameless Society from Belgium.



Majdanpek, cable car and smelter, first half of the 20th century
https://www.paundurlic.com/s20vek2.htm

During the occupation, Majdanpek was headed by the Polish engineer Ufnalewski, whose attitude towards the miners and the people was correct. His deputies were mining engineers Gluščević and Torter. Sabotage and diversions by the People's Liberation Movement disrupted the work of the mine, especially the cable car, but to a limited extent. Majdanpek was liberated on September 12, 1944.

During the occupation, Majdanpek was headed by the Polish engineer Ufnalewski, whose attitude towards the miners and the people was correct. His deputies were mining engineers Gluščević and Torter. Sabotage and diver-

sions by the People's Liberation Movement disrupted the work of the mine, especially the cable cars, but to a limited extent. Majdanpek was liberated on September 12, 1944.

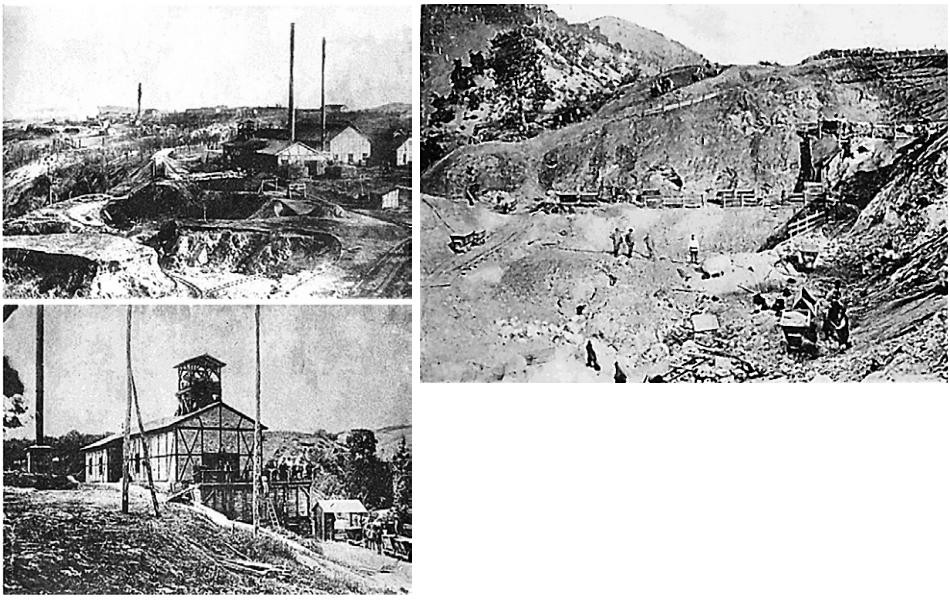
The most significant exploration and exploitation of gold from the Brodica deposit near Majdanpek was carried out with foreign capital, 1900–1903. The most intensive exploitation of gold in this deposit took place in 1933–1941. when more than 40 undercuts, three shafts were made and 585.6 kg of gold was obtained from the excavated 55,856 tons of ore. In 1902, Đorđe Vajfert received the Blagojev Kamen Neresnica concession for the exploitation of alluvial gold deposits from Veliki Pek. Good revenues enabled investments in further gold exploration in the surrounding area, which in 1933 resulted in the opening of the Sveta Varvara tungsten and gold mine with underground exploitation and a modern plant for gravitational and flotation concentration of gold-bearing minerals and gold amalgamation with a capacity of 100 t per hour. In the first years, rich ore veins with about 2,000 g of wolframite and gold per ton of ore were excavated, and ≈ 12 kg of gold was produced per month. So much revenue was generated that the funds invested in geological exploration, the opening of the mine and the construction of flotation were repaid in three years. With short interruptions, mining activities at this site lasted until 1966, when the Blagojev Kamen gold and tungsten mine was officially closed due to the decline in the content of useful components in the ore and the increase in the costs of mining and transporting the ore from the branched ore strings to flotation. However, mining operations were carried out later under the auspices of geological research.

Mechanized mining of gold-bearing deposits in Pek with a bucket excavator began in 1903, and 82 grams were obtained on the first day of work. That the work was very profitable is confirmed by the fact that three bucket excavators were hired near Neresnica in 1906. The exploitation of gold in the deposits of the Pek, Mlava, Timok, Porečka River and their tributaries was widespread. The entire gold-bearing region of Pek after World War I was controlled by the royal family with large foreign capital.

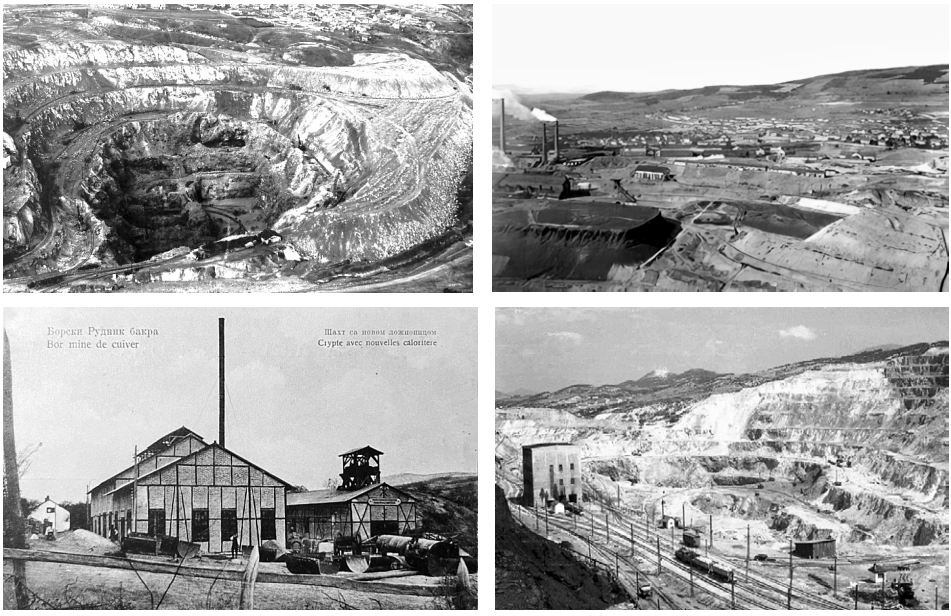
*Bor***.** In mid-1903, the proven reserves of copper ore in the Čoka Dulkan deposit amounted to 255,390 t, with an average copper content of > 8%. In the same year, Weifert was granted the Sveti Đorđe concession for 50 years, covering 240 ore fields. The following year, the joint-stock company "Compagnie Francoise des Mines de Bor" with its headquarters in Paris took over the concessions from Weifert. The company was founded by Weifert, the bank "Mirabo" from Paris, "Pierari & Comp." and the French Society for the Examination and Undertaking of Works from Paris.

Surface mining of ore in the Čoka Dulkan deposit began in 1904. Seventy-eight workers mined 5,500 t of ore with an average copper content of ≈ 9%. The ore was manually mined and transported by ox-drawn carts to Vražogrnac, from there by rail to Radujevac on the Danube, and then by waterway to customers.

The problem of transporting ore, delivering equipment, consumables, coal, and food supplies was resolved in 1911 when the Bor–Metovnica railway was put into operation. The following year, 180 workers mined 12,000 t.



https://www.zeleznice.in.rs/forum/viewtopic.php?p=15715



Bor, development of surface exploitation of copper ore, and the Šistek export shaft facility, first half of the 20th century

https://issuu.com/violetastojmenovic/docs/beleznica_41/s/12561895

The paucity of data from the first years of the mine's operation is explained by trial work. The real reason is hidden, and that is the interest of the mine owner to conceal data on the volume of production, the quality of the ore, or the amount of copper, gold and silver. Everything was taken out of Serbia, and the government was content with regular payments of taxes, duties and customs duties based on uncontrolled data provided by the owner.

A smelter was built in Bor in 1905. The metal content in the flat ore was so high by 1933 that enrichment was not necessary. With the increase in production, parts of the deposit with poorer ore began to be excavated, and in 1929 a trial flotation was built. The trials were successfully completed in 1933 and the first flotation in Bor was put into operation.

Exploration of the Tilva mica deposit significantly increased ore reserves in 1912. Tilva roš, as a deposit of gold-bearing pyrite with a relatively low copper content, was explored during World War II. From 1933 to 1940, Bor produced a million tons of high-quality ore annually, or 40,000 tons of blister copper.

During the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army in 1941, the mine installations, export plant, compressor station and hoppers in the Bor mine pit were destroyed. In the second year of the occupation, the Germans, with great difficulty, started production and concluded that it would be more convenient to switch to surface exploitation, and in 1942 the Tilva mica open-pit mine was opened. During the war, 1.37 million tons of ore were mined in Bor and 55 thousand tons of blister copper, 2.2 tons of gold and about ten tons of silver were produced. The Germans also used the Bor mine as a concentration camp. There were about ten thousand inmates (Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Hungarians) who worked in the mine.

The first exploration works were carried out in the Aljin dol deposit of bismuth, copper and gold in 1907. During the First and especially the Second World War, the Germans exploited this deposit underground. From 1956 to 1958, RTB Bor carried out geological research at this site. ≈ 1,000 m of tunnels and corridors were excavated. Exploitation was not initiated due to small reserves.

Trepča, Stari Trg. Under the pretext of providing expert assistance in assessing the damage and proposing measures for the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country, an English mission arrived in 1919 and submitted a report at the end of the year entitled Geology and Mineral Resources of the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The report provided an overview and assessment of the state of active mines until the First World War, including the Kopaonik area, although there were no active mines in that area at that time. The report focuses on the sites of Belo Brdo, Vojetin, especially Trepča and Stari Trg, concluding that the most important lead ores are there, but that there are also zinc, iron, copper and silver ores.

Not long after, English geologists arrived with the task of prospecting old ores in the Kopaonik area. In July 1925, the existence of a rich lead-zinc ore body at an elevation of +830 m in Trepča was confirmed.

The London-based company "Selection Trust Ltd" did not wait, and in 1926, it purchased the Trepča concession (an area of 529,742,261 m2 in the Trepča, Rogozna and Slatinska Sokolica areas) from Radomir Pašić, son of Nikola Pašić.





King Alexander and Prince Pavle Karađorđević at the opening ceremony of the Stari trg mine, 1930.

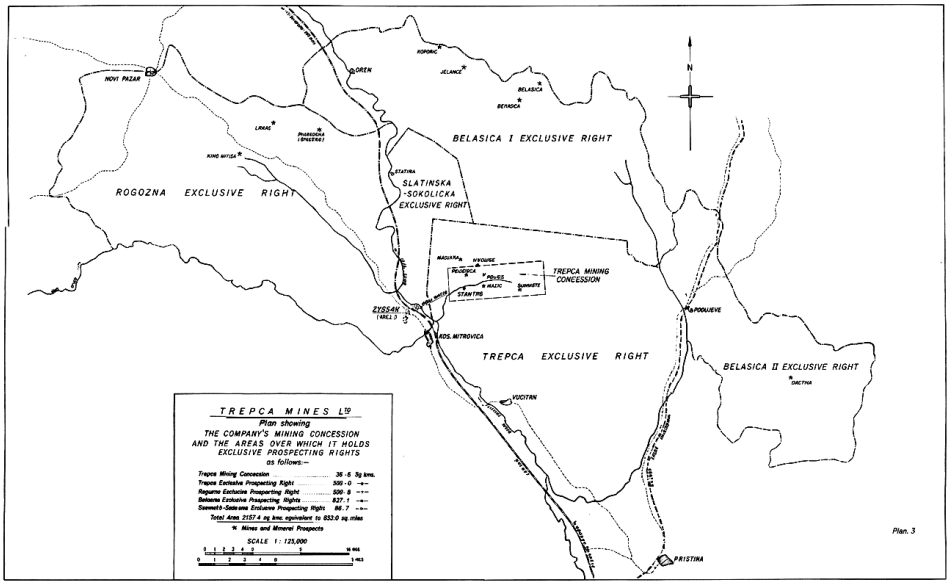
Trepča Stari trg, *construction of a shaft*

To find out the value of the Trepca concession, the younger Pašić hired a team of experts in 1925, who, based on geological prospecting, concluded that it was a grandiose deposit of silver- and gold-bearing lead-zinc and copper ores and that no sum invested in their exploitation was too large.

After encouraging results at the +830 m horizon, geological exploration continued at the +610 m and +485 m horizons, at sites in the area of the village of Meljenica, ≈ 1.5 km northeast of Stari Trg, and on Trepčanski Brdo, ≈ 2.5 km east of Stari Trg. Exploration work indicated that the mining potential of the Stari Trg deposit was enormous. This resulted in the establishment of the company "Trepča Mines Ltd" in December 1927, with headquarters in London and general management in Zvečan, with 2,400 workers, 55 engineers and an initial capital of ≈ 300,000 pounds. The company's management included 20 Englishmen and one American.

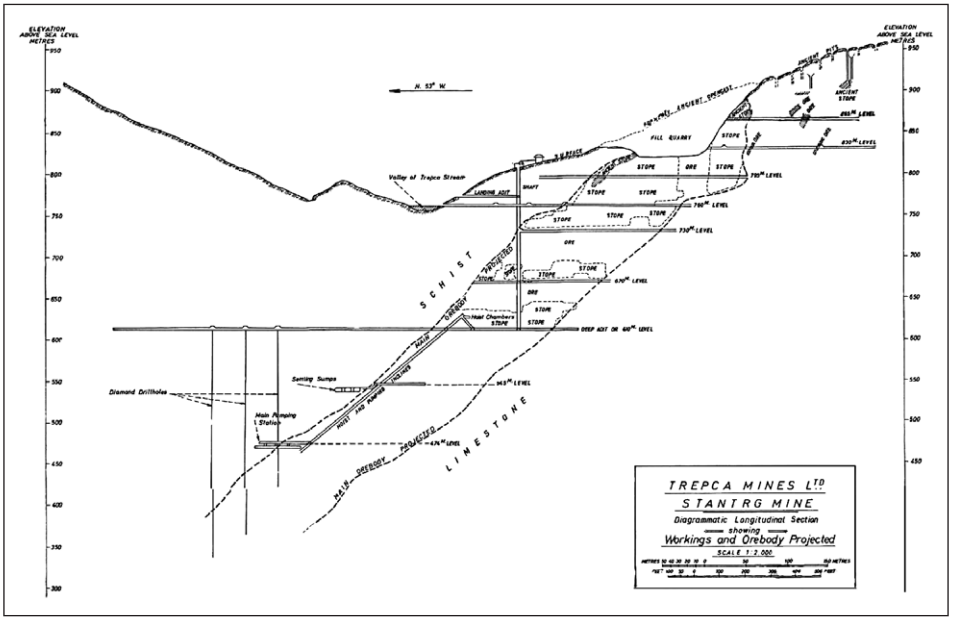
The Stari Trg flotation mine was opened in 1930. Initially, the concentrate was exported via the port of Thessaloniki. In order to reduce the cost of metal production, a smelter was built in Zvečan in 1940, where lead concentrate was processed.

Thanks to the quality of the ore and favorable operating conditions, production increased rapidly, in the fifth year it was 800% higher. Stari trg quickly became the largest lead and zinc mine in Europe. This is not to be praised, but rather a textbook example of exploitation of deposits and robbery. Due to the carelessness of the disinterested authorities, who were content with modest tax collection, it is not excluded that the actual content of useful components in the ore was concealed by "make-up" of reports and the huge profits made were reduced. World War II was on the horizon, so this probably also further stimulated greed and the plundering of our mineral wealth.



Field plan of the exploitation right concession and exclusive exploration rights of the company "Trepča Mines Ltd", 1:125,000

Exploitation right concession – Trepča 36 km^2. Exclusive exploration right concessions – Trepča 503 km^2, Rogozna 602 km^2, Belasica 927 km^2, Slatinska Sokolica 88.7 km^2, total 2,157.4 km^2



Stari Trg Mine – vertical section from the plan of the designed works of the company "Trepča Mines Ltd", R =1:2,000, 1935

Belo brdo. "Kopaonik Mines Ltd", a branch of the English company "Selection Trust Com.", began geological exploration in 1927, and nine years later preparatory work on the opening of the Belo Brdo lead and zinc deposit. By World War II, 183,690 t of high-quality ore with a lead content of 9–10%, zinc 6–7% and silver 80–100 g/t had been mined in the Belo Brdo mine. In 1941, the mine was taken over by the German company "Mansfeld A.G.", but the partisan action on October 1, 1941 disabled the Belo Brdo – Leshak cable car and the mine did not operate until the end of the war.

Kišnica, Ajvalija, Novo Brdo. In the vicinity of the mines of Kišnica (Janjevo), Ajvalija and Novo Brdo there are numerous remains of mining works from the Middle Ages, which testify to the foundations of the historical vertical and the duration of Serbian mining in these areas. Mining activities of the recent era began between the First and Second World Wars with geological surveys and preparatory works for the opening and exploitation of deposits: Kišnica (Janjevo) in 1925 and Novo Brdo in 1933 with English capital and Ajvalija in 1930 with French capital. By the beginning of the Second World War, certain results had been achieved and the opening of these mines began, during which 8,311 m of corridors, shafts and pits were built and 1,866 m of exploratory wells were drilled. ≈ 3,000 t of ore containing 12.4% lead, 16.2% zinc, 125 g/t silver and ≈ 2 g/t gold were excavated and semi-industrially tested. The war interrupted the work, the German occupier dismantled and took away the equipment found there, and sank the constructed underground facilities.

In World War II, the occupied territory of Kosovo and Metohija fell to Italy, but not the mines – they fell to the Germans. It is striking and unusual for opposing sides in the war to peacefully hand over material goods such as mines to each other. This is exactly what happened with the Stari Trg mine. The English left for home, and the Germans continued where they had left off. During the war, Trepča met 40% of the lead needs of the Nazi war industry in the production of ammunition and batteries.

Lece. The mine of polymetallic ore of lead, zinc, silver and gold was opened in 1931 by the joint-stock company "British Pacific". In the period 1931–1941. ≈ 59,000 t of ore were mined with an average content of useful components: 3.6% lead, 6.5% zinc and 4.7–9.4 gr/t gold.

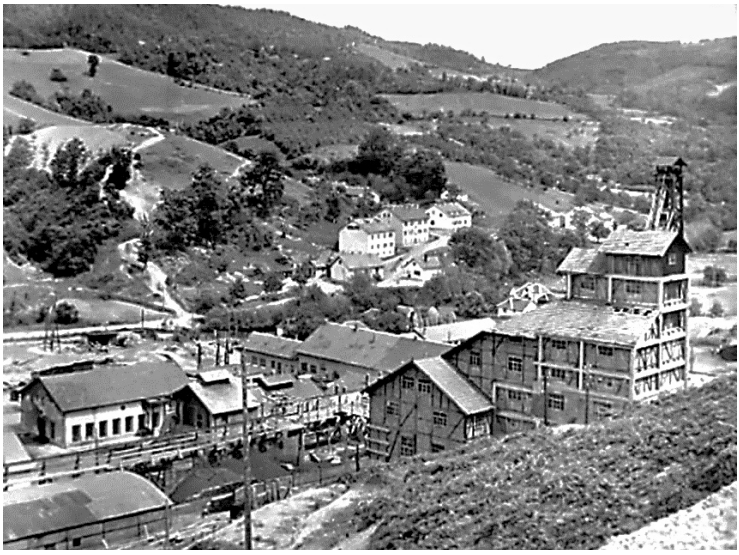
Production was stopped in 1941. The occupier used the mine as a warehouse, there was also sabotage. After World War II, production was started in 1951. The mine's restoration lasted until 1953. when a new flotation plant was put into operation in the village of Gazdare. In the period 1953–1990. 2.88 million tons of ore were mined and processed with an average content of useful components: 1.55% lead, 3.43% zinc, 3.78 gr/t gold and 16.16 gr/t silver. 38,768 t of lead, 79,906 t of zinc, 6,868 kg of gold and 27,250 kg of silver were produced.

Zajača. Before World War II, Serbia produced 40% of European antimony. The largest part of this production came from the Podrinje mines of Krupanj, Zajača, Stolice and Dobri potok. The Podrinje Mines Administration,

formed for the purpose of lead exploitation, proposed in 1889 to the state as the owner to try smelting antimony ores, since the price of antimony metal was significantly more favorable than the price of lead. Preparations in the mines and in the smelter were quickly completed, and antimony production began in January 1890.

From 1901 the situation changed with the commissioning of a smelter consisting of three oxidation furnaces and two flame furnaces for ore reduction.

The smelting plants in Zajača and Krupanj operated intermittently. After World War I, the smelter in Zajača did not operate until 1936, when, due to preparations for the war, the concessions for the production of antimony were taken over by the German capital "Montanija a.d.". Two years later, the most modern antimony smelter in Europe was put into operation in Zajača. Industrial coal consumption gradually increased.



Zajača antimony mine, mid-20th century

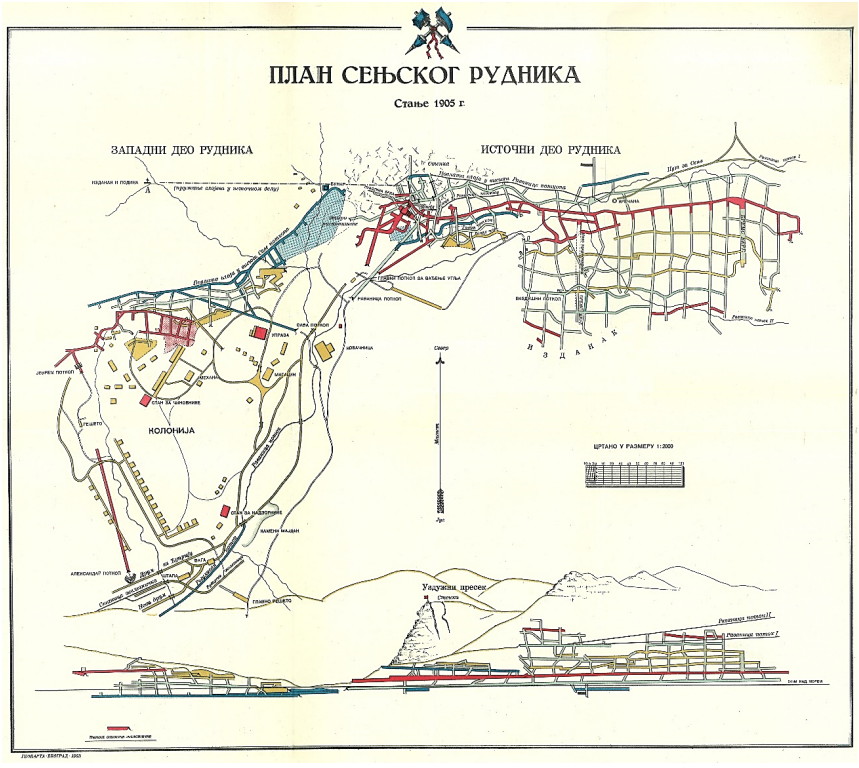
The results were excellent: the rich oxide ore was placed directly into the furnace flame. The Krupanj mine and antimony smelter operated with occasional interruptions until 1944. The Stolice mine was opened in 1916 during the Austrian occupation and provided more than 90% of the ore to the Krupanj smelter. The ore excavated in the Zajači mines was directly sold and exported until 1901.

Coal exploitation

Senj mine. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Senj mine was the largest and most important coal mine. In the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century, significant mining work was carried



Senj mine, Joksimović export shaft facility, 1905.
(Senj mine coal mining museum)



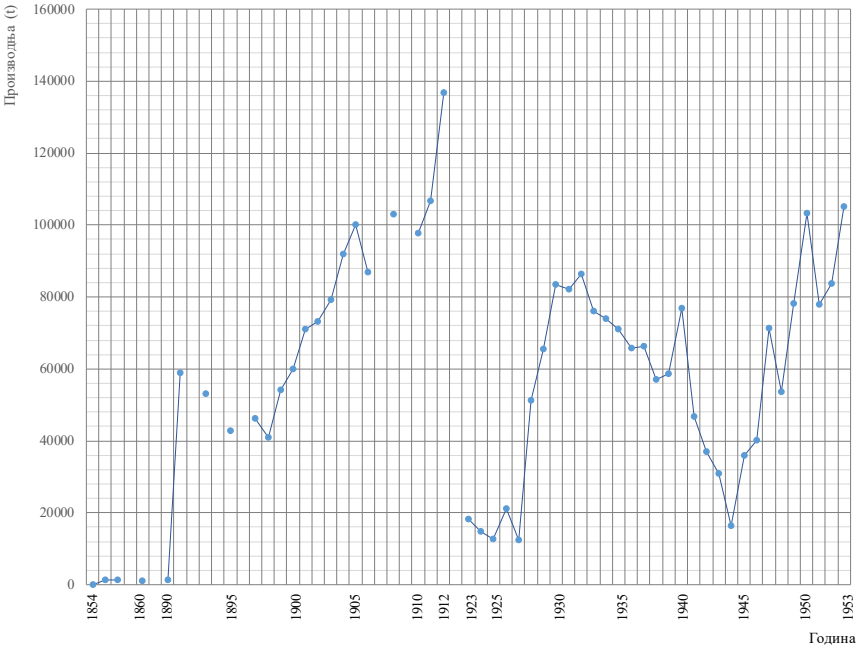
Plan of the Senj Mine, 1905.
https://ribeograd.ac.rs/istorija-srpskog-rudarstva/

out: in 1897, the Aleksandar, Ravanica and Sv. Sava, in 1898 the construction of the Joksimović shaft began, and in 1903 a new district in Ravna reka was opened and a power plant was built. A technical and technological breakthrough was made, in 1901 the first steam boilers were purchased (in 1906 and 1907 the boiler capacities were increased) and conditions were created for the introduction of steam-powered winches, pumps and compressors.

During World War I, the Senj mine fell to the Bulgarians as war booty, but was in the hands of the Germans, who ruthlessly exploited the deposit. At the end of the war, the mine was completely devastated, with flooded and collapsed premises and destroyed installations. Restoration took time and it was only in 1928 that it was brought into a stable state for safe operation and production. Two years later, in 1930, the power plant obtained as a result of war reparations was put into operation. It operated until 1969, and was dismantled in 1974.

A new export shaft with a steam plant was built during 1924 and 1925. The shaft is equipped with a steam-powered plant from the Vrdnik mine. It was constructed in 1872 and is still in operation. There is another similar museum plant that is not in operation. In 1934, the sewerage system in the Senj mine was built, and in 1936–1937, the Senj mine – Ćuprija power line was built.

After the liberation, the mine became state-owned, and in 1945, the state-owned enterprise Senjsko-Resavski rudnici mrkog uglja was formed, which includes: Senjski rudniki, Ravna reka, Resavica and Sisevac. Rehabilitation, further exploration and preparatory work lasted until 1946, when the conditions for work and coal production in the Senj mine were normalized.



Senj mine, coal production, 1854–1953.

The attached graphic representation of coal production in the Senj mine, from 1854 to 1953, with discontinuities due to mine closures or unavailability of data, outlines the variability of production, and the reasons are explainable: personnel problems, management of exploitation works not adapted to the conditions in the working environment, frequent fires caused by spontaneous combustion of coal, collapses, lack of investment, problems with shipping, i.e. transporting coal to consumers, inadequate mining and logistics infrastructure, wartime circumstances, etc.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Senj Mine, on August 6, 1903, a miners' strike occurred, and the reason was the dismissal of three miners. After nine days of strike, the miners won the return of their comrades to work, shorter working hours, and free oil for lamps. On the occasion of this event, August 6 was proclaimed Serbian Miners' Day in 1955.

On the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the miners' strike in the Senj Mine, the Serbian Post Office printed a commemorative stamp with an envelope. They were put into circulation on August 4, 2023, on the eve of Serbian Miners' Day.

For the transport of coal, the narrow-gauge railway Ćuprija – Senj Mine was extended by 10 kilometers to Ravna Reka in 1907. The following year, coal exploitation began in the Ravna Reka mine. The mine was built according to the highest technical standards of the time. In 1908, the Senj mine received electricity for lighting from the Ravna Reka power plant.

With the opening of the Ravna Reka mine, coal production increased significantly. On the eve of the Balkan War in 1912, it amounted to over 136,000 tons. During World War I, the Senj mine and the Ravna Reka mine were under Bulgarian occupation, and the management of the mines was in the hands of the Germans.

Thanks to the investments of the merchant from Ćuprija, Nikola Jočić, between 1904 and 1907, coal deposits were discovered and mines were opened in the areas of the villages of Stenjevac, Strmosten and Židilje. In 1910, the Resavski rudnici entered a financial crisis, so Jočić transferred his concession rights to Otto Steinbeis, a German industrialist. A year later, Jočić received a concession for the surface exploitation of coal from the newly discovered Bare deposit and built the Bare – Ravna reka cable car in 1912–1914. The cable car was placed on wooden poles, the second-hand rope was purchased from the Aleksinac mine, and a 50 HP locomotive was used for propulsion.

After World War I, having received a large amount of money as war reparations, Jočić started production in the Resavski rudnici, Stenjevac, Strmosten, Panjevac and Resavica.

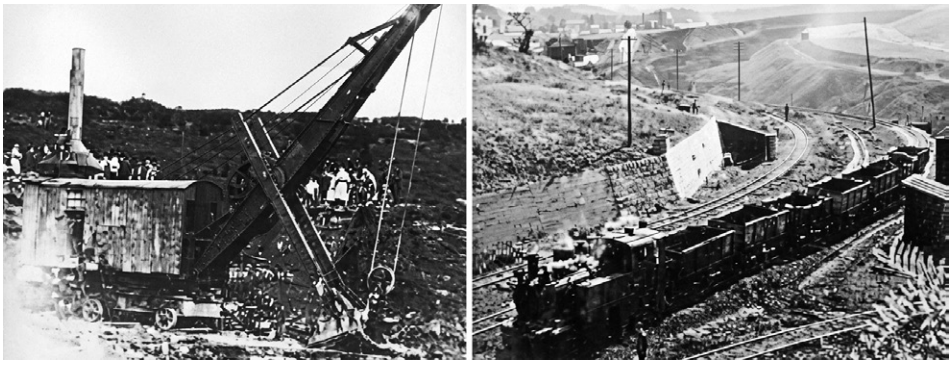
In 1929, a power plant, separation plant, and briquette plant were built in Ćuprija, and the Resavica mine was connected by a cable car to the railway station in Senj. Thanks to modernization, the Resavica mines reached a production of 190,000 tons of coal before World War II.

Kostolac mines. Kostolac mining entered the 20th century with significant technological advances. For the needs of lighting the site and the mine, and to drive

fans and motors in the Stari Kostolac pit, a 45 kW power plant was built in 1903. Thanks to electrical energy, coal production increased by 250% in a short time, in 1909 52,581 tons were produced. A glass factory was built near the mine in 1906, which speaks of the effort to rationally manage the available mineral resources. The factory was destroyed by artillery fire by the Austrians in 1915.

On the eve of World War I, the mine was equipped with two steam boilers with a heating surface of 120 m2, a 60 hp steam engine, two pumps, a 40 kW generator, two electric motors with an individual power of 2 kW and two digging hammers. In order to expand production by opening three more pits, Weifert merged the existing privileges in November 1913. The war made it impossible to realize this idea. With the announcement of war, miners, commodore, blacksmiths and other qualified mine workers were mobilized, which caused major problems in production. With the subsequent mobilization of all men, the mine ceased operations on May 11, 1914.

With the occupation of Serbia in 1915, the mine was first managed by the Bulgarians, and then by the Austrians, who, by daily bringing in labor from the camps in Kovin and Bela Crkva, increased annual production to 24,000 tons of coal.



Kostolac, steam excavator at work in an open pit mine and railway transport of coal, 1945.

After World War I, with the construction of power plants and industrial plants in larger cities along the Danube, Kostolac coal gained importance as an energy source, so that the annual production of coal in 1922 amounted to 107,500 tons. Frequent fires and high pressures in the pit, i.e. difficult operating conditions, influenced the decision to open a new shaft in 1928 (production began in 1930) and to suspend work in 1933 in the Sveti Đorđe pit, the symbol of Kostolac mining.

With the commissioning of the 30 MW “Power and Light” power plant in Belgrade in 1930, in order to ensure the security of coal supply, 2.5 kilome-

ters of narrow-gauge railway were built between the mine and the pier on the Danube.

One of the most important moments between the two wars in the Kostolac Coal Basin was the construction of a transmission line between the City Power Plant in Požarevac and Klenovnik in 1934. In addition to providing electricity, a cable car was built that same year to transport Klenovnik coal to Požarevac, with a capacity of 25 tons per hour.

The Joint Stock Company for Electrical, Transport and Industrial Enterprises from Zemun was granted a concession to open the Ćirikovac mine in the Kostolac Coal Basin in 1928. The mine was put into operation the following year, but Ćirikovac could not withstand the competition from Kostolac and Klenovnik, and production was suspended in 1935.

Immediately after the capitulation of Yugoslavia, the occupier occupied and started production in the Kostolac and Klenovnik mines. The German plan was for Kostolac to become one of the powerful energy centers in the Danube region. The electricity generated from this coal would power the mine in Bor and industrial plants in Belgrade. According to the plans, in order to intensify production, in early 1942, they brought five steam excavators to Kostolac and began work on discovering coal, or rather opening an open pit. After almost two years of work on the discovery, coal mining began in late 1943. Along with the opening of the Novi Kostolac open pit, they began, in mid-1942, the construction of a thermal power plant and the Kostolac-Bor and Kostolac-Belgrade power lines. Production in the Kostolac mines was accompanied by bloody terror, and a special unit was brought in for armed control of work in the mines. The workforce was brought in daily, in 1943 there were 2,500–3,000 workers, forcibly brought people, internees and mobilized youth.

Kolubara mines. Manual mining of small quantities of coal in the Kolubara basin dates back to the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, or rather to 1896 when the Zvizdar pit was opened. In addition to the Zvizdar pit, coal was mined in numerous pits: Sokolovac, Prkosava–Rudovci, Skobalj, Kolubara, Veliki Crljeni, Kosmaj, Baroševac, Junkovac, Šopići, Radljevo and others. With the construction of the 14 MW thermal power plant in Vreoce in 1937, fragmented and poorly organized production grew into more serious underground exploitation of lignite, which was the beginning of the birth of the Kolubara Mining Basin, which after World War II grew into the largest mining and energy system in Yugoslavia. The construction of the power plant and its needs for coal influenced the opening of the Junkovac pit in 1936, with a daily capacity of 400 t of coal. The mine was well equipped, had cutters, electric drills, and a 5 km long cable car was built to transport coal to the thermal power plant. The operation of the pit was suspended in 1943.

Kosovo mines. At the beginning of the third decade of the 20th century, one of the largest Serbian industrialists, Miloš Savčić, bought a concession for a coal field in the area between Kosovska Mitrovica and Kačanik. In 1921, Savčić

formed the Mining and Industrial Joint Stock Company Kosovo, the largest in Serbia until World War II, and together with the Acović family opened the mine of the same name for underground coal exploitation. A mining housing colony was built to accommodate workers, modeled after the time, a cable car was built to transport coal from the mine to the railway station in Obilić, and a thermal power plant with a capacity of ≈ 50 kW was built for the mine's needs. The Kosovo mine produced 647,127 t of coal by 1940. During World War II, production continued and in four years (1941–1944) 343,095 t of coal were produced.

Two more coal mines were opened before World War II: in 1930, Sibovac, which operated briefly and produced 990 t of coal; 1937. small open-pit mine Aleksandar, about whose production there is no data. There are indications that in 1930–1932. Prilužje mine was opened. It was owned by merchants Šenfajn and Popadić, and in 1937. it passed into the ownership of Trepča.

Bogovina, brown coal mining in Boljevac began at the beginning of the 20th century. The concession for coal exploitation was granted in 1903 to Mihajlo Čebinac, a stonemason from Kraljevo.

The first explorations and mining works in the Bogovina coal basin were carried out at the beginning of the 20th century. The development of the Bor copper mine influenced the intensification of production in the Bogovina coal mine, so that in 1920. the annual level of 76,000 tons of brown coal was reached. At that time, Bogovina participated with 43% in the production of brown coal in Serbia.

Vrška čuka, it is not known exactly when coal mining began, it is assumed that it was in the period 1870–1880. At the beginning of the 20th century, Vrška čuka had 37 mining fields. Several pits were united under the name of the Vrška čuka mine. The Serbian Balkan pit at the Avramice location was opened in 1912, and the Novi Balkan pit at the Burdelj location in 1935. Serbian Balkan is ≈ 4 km from the first Vrška čuka pit, and Novi Balkan, opened with two undercuts, is ≈ 3 km east of Serbian Balkan. Coal has been mined in the Avramice pit since 1959. It is estimated that in ≈ 100 years of operation of Vrška čuka, ≈ 3.5 million tons of coal were produced, which means that the average annual production was 30,000–40,000 t of coal.

Jerma, a hard coal mine, was opened in 1926 by the joint-stock company "Jerma a. d.". The mine was connected by an industrial track to Sukovo with the Niš–Pirot–Dimitrovgrad railway. In the first year of operation, 3,000 t of coal were produced, and three years later 20,000 t of coal. Due to unsecured reserves and unfavorable operating conditions, production was interrupted in 1934 and 1938. Before the war, ≈ 320,000 t were produced. After the war, production was restarted in 1946, and work was completely suspended in 1958. It is estimated that Jerma produced a total of ≈ 500,000 t of coal.

Rtanj, a hard coal mine, was opened by the Minh brothers in 1902 with a concession for 144 ore fields. In the first year, 45 t of coal were produced, and in the following years 910 t. The mine's more intensive development began in 1912 with the construction of the narrow-gauge railway Paraćin–Zaječar. The mine built a power plant, a separation plant, a 1.5 km long cable car and a 4.8 km long railway, for the purpose of more efficient production and coal supply to the Paraćin industry, railway, blacksmith shops, Bor mine, power plant, etc. After the First World War, the mine renovated and intensified production, producing 12,640 t of coal in 1919, and 28,310 t of coal three years later. In addition to the separation plant, a coal briquette plant was built. Rtanj produced a total of ≈ 3 million tons of coal, and the mine was completely closed in 1967.

Vlaško polje, a coal mine opened by undermining in 1908. Production was low both before and after World War I. After World War II, production was resumed. It is estimated that the mine produced a total of ≈ 70,000 tons of coal.

Podvis – Tresibaba, coal mines, Podvis on the left and Tresibaba on the right bank of the Svrljiški Timok. Podvis was taken over by Đ. Weifert in 1909, and since then the mine's production has been steadily growing. The coal was mainly used by the railway and the Bor mine. A sharp rise in production and development of the mine occurred with the construction of the Niš–Prahovo railway in 1915. After World War I, production was resumed. In 1927, the mines were taken over by the Prometna Banka from Belgrade. The production crisis occurred with the global economic crisis of the 1930s. The mines recovered only before World War II. Podvis achieved its highest annual production of 90,000 t of coal in 1939. In Tresibaba, the highest production of ≈ 45,000 t of coal was achieved in 1930. Since then, production has been declining due to a lack of reserves, and in 1937 the mine was left without coal reserves. Operations in Podvis were suspended in 1967.

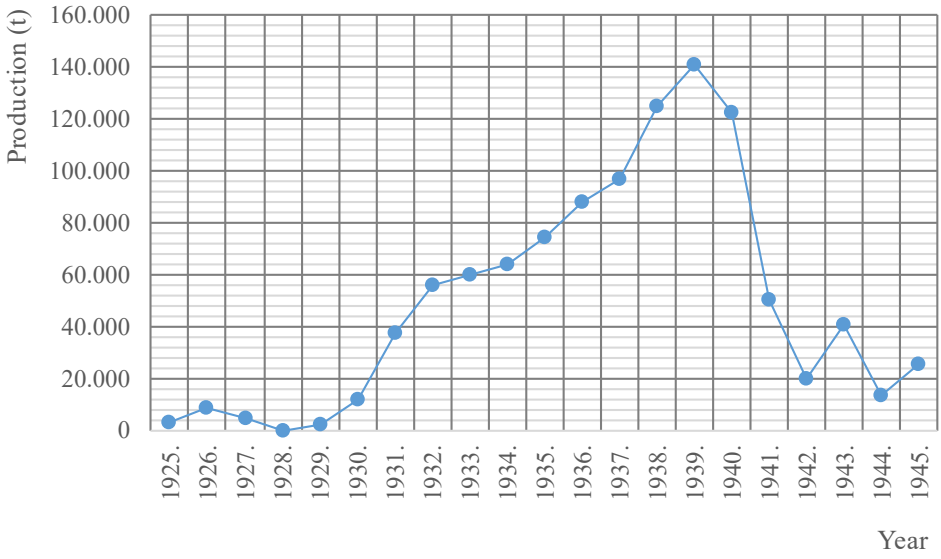
Aliksar, a brown coal mine not far from Brza Palanka. It was opened with two shafts in 1888. Operations were periodically started and stopped, and were permanently abandoned in the 1930s. Production was small, it is estimated that a total of ≈ 55,000 t of coal was produced.

Ibar coal mines in the Ibar valley between Ušće and Raška, Jarandol, Tadenje and Ušće deposits. Coal was not mined in the Tadenje deposit. The Jarandol deposit was opened by undermining in 1893, but the mine did not experience real development until the beginning of the 20th century. In the outcrop next to the Jarandol pit, coal was also mined surface.

Coal was used for local needs, it was used by blacksmiths, the Topolivnica in Kragujevac, etc. The main problem of production economics was transportation costs. The highest annual production of 240,000 tons of coal was achieved in 1964, until World War II about a million tons were produced,

during the war 149,545 tons, until 1989, according to records, 8,180,669 tons of coal were produced, an average annual production of ≈ 126,000 tons.

Aleksinac mine, the first tons of brown coal were produced in 1899. After 10 years of operation, production reached ≈ 64,000 t, and after 20 years ≈ 150,000 t of coal. During World War I, the occupying authorities produced ≈ 170,000 t of coal. At the end of the war, the occupier, during their withdrawal, almost destroyed the mine. Production was resumed, and in 1923 there was an accident in which 10 miners died. A significant technical breakthrough was made with the purchase of three troll locomotives in the same year. In the first half of the 20th century, the Aleksinac mine was considered the most profitable coal mine in Serbia. The largest quantities of coal were delivered to the railways, and the highest production of 444,007 t of coal was achieved in 1963.



Ibar mines, coal production 1925–1946.

Jelašnica mine, the first tons of brown coal were produced in 1902. The mine produced 80,000–90,000 t of coal intermittently until 1968, when operations were suspended due to lack of reserves.

Despotovac lignite-brown coal mines: Morava, Manasija, Bukovac, Sreća and Beljajka. Production was not continuous and was of variable volume. The Beljajka mine was opened before World War II, and closed in 1949. The Sreća mine also began production before World War II and produced ≈ 30,000 t of coal until the last days of the war. The Bukovac mine was opened in 1936. The Manasija mine began operations at the beginning of the 20th century and produced barely 5,000 tons of coal per year for local needs. The Morava mine began production at the end of the 19th century, and stable production was established only after World War II.

The Soko mine produced its first tons of lignite-brown coal in 1928. Production was mainly intended for local needs. The highest production of 10,000 tons of coal in the first half of the 20th century was achieved in 1942. After the war, production grew, and in 1970, 224,000 tons of lignite-brown coal were produced. The most significant exploitation problems are caused by the complex tectonic relationships in the working environment.

The Štavalj lignite-brown coal mine, the first tons were produced in 1936. Only in the second half of the 20th century, with the opening of the mine on Stupsko Polje in 1955, did production increase and stabilize.

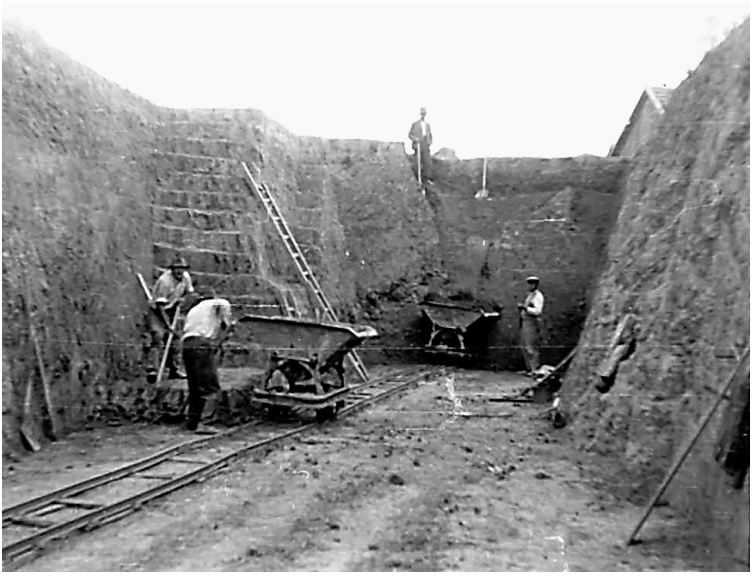
Exploitation of non-metallic mineral raw materials

In the first half of the 20th century, the importance and expansion of the exploitation of non-metallic mineral raw materials grew. Intensive exploration of magnesite ore in the territories of Čačak and Gornji Milanovac was carried out in 1927, and at the same time, the Italian joint-stock companies "Salvar" and "Emilka" began the exploitation of this ore. Large-scale exploitation of clay and industrial production of bricks and roof tiles began in Kanjiža in 1903, in Novi Bečej in 1904, and in the vicinity of Šabac in 1938.

Exploitation of trachyte in the Rakovac quarry began in 1937. Even before the opening of this open pit mine, stone was exploited on Fruška Gora in several smaller quarries owned by individuals or joint-stock companies (Bazalt and Paragovo). As the need for technical stone grew and recognizing the economic importance of the quarries on Fruška Gora, the Technical Department of the Banate Administration of the Danube Banovina began an action to reduce the high prices of stone by opening a state-owned quarry near Rakovac that would compete with private quarries.

Based on the geological map of A. Koch, geological research was carried out at the sites of Gradac, Lišajev vrh, Kišnjeva glava, Sedam izvora and Buškina ugljara on Fruška gora. The results obtained in January 1931 were reviewed by a commission composed of eminent geologists from the University of Belgrade, M. Luković, J. Tomić and K. Petković, which gave a positive finding on the presence of a large quantity of high-quality eruptive rock. Tests of the technical properties of trachyte were also carried out, which confirmed the excellent quality of the rock.

Based on these findings, the Banska administration prepared project documentation for the opening of quarries, facilities and equipment. From 1932 to 1935, the Banska Administration collected offers from foreign companies for the delivery of the necessary equipment and its installation (for mining works, for the crushing plant and for the aerial cableway for transporting stone from the Kišnjeva glava quarry to the Danube bank in Novi Ledinci). 57 companies from Europe and America applied. Contracts were concluded with "Ingersoll-Rand" from New York for the compressor plant and drilling hammers, with the company "Humbolt" from Cologne for the crushing plant and screening, with "AEG" from Berlin for the electric drive, with the company "Blajhert" from Leipzig for the cableway, etc. Preparatory work for the open-



Kanjiža, works on excavation and loading of clay



Kanjiža, ramp for flat clay of the brick factory

ing of an open-pit mine at the Kišnjeva glava site near Stari Rakovec began in 1934 with the construction of access roads, warehouses and ancillary facilities. Construction of the crushing plant began in 1936, the plants were put into trial operation in September 1937, and after four months into regular production.





Beočin Cement Factory, first half of the 20th century
Panorama and loading of cement bags into wagons for transport to the dock on the Danube
https://search.bisnode.rs/rs/82921/lafarge-bfc-srbija-doo-beocin/

Thus, with the investment of capital from the Danube Banovina, the exploitation of trachyte at the Kišnjeva glava site began. Production was quickly increased, and in 1939 it reached an annual level of 200,000 m3 of stone. The construction of a 5,900 m long cable car was a bold technical and financial undertaking. The port on the Danube near Novi Ledinci proved to be very suitable for loading stone into barges and cheap transport by waterways. A

large-capacity bunker was built for loading stone into wagons and trucks, which enabled transport by truck and rail (the Beočin–Petrovaradin railway). This is a textbook example of thoughtful and excellent professional management from geological research to the opening and exploitation of the deposit.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the modernization of the cement factory in Beočin continued; in 1904, a workers' housing colony was built; in 1908, the Beočin–Petrovaradin railway was put into operation for the shipment of cement; two years later, with the construction of a cable car, the delivery of limestone from the Erdelj open-pit mine was also modernized. The facilities of the old cement factory "Filijala" ceased operation in 1915. Until 1941, production was modernized several times, in 1920 the factory was nationalized and named the Beočin Cement Factory, and in 1922 the majority of the shares were taken over by "Cementia Holding" from Zurich. The factory was modernized in 1930 with the construction of a clinker hall and a grinding plant.

With the takeover of the cement plant, the Belgrade Commercial Bank began to modernize production, two vertical kilns and new mills powered by a 450 HP steam engine were put into operation, and production was increased to 25 tons of Roman and Portland cement per day.

During World War II, some plants were mined,
so the cement plant was out of operation.

The exploitation of marl and the production of cement in Popovac (started in 1869 by Lazar Popović, who baked clinker in a 2 m diameter pit kiln and ground cement in a stream mill) reached an annual production of 700 tons of cement in 1903.

Before World War I, the new owner of the cement plant in Popovac became the newly founded joint-stock company "Francusko-srpska industrija cementa a.d." with capital of French and Czech origin. The new owners continued to modernize the cement plant, in 1913 a rotary kiln was put into operation and production increased to 60 tons of cement per day. A narrow-gauge railway to Paraćin was built for the transport of cement, and a cable car was built for the delivery of coal from the mine in Sisevac.

During World War II, the cement plant operated. After the war, in 1956, a new factory was built, which was named Novi Popovac as a symbol of the times.

World War II and the German occupation

Excluding the mines, whose infrastructure was destroyed by sabotage and whose restoration required money and time, the German occupier in World War II took over the "baton" from English and French capital and continued to plunder and ruthlessly plunder Serbia's mineral wealth, primarily copper, lead, zinc, antimony, silver, gold and coal ores. The occupier turned many mines into camps and forced the interned people to work under bloody terror. There are numerous examples, Blagojev Kamen, Stari Trg, Bor, Kostolac, Zajača, etc.

At the end of the war, before withdrawing, the German occupier, in a frenzy of destruction and inflicting as much material damage as possible, used explosives to disable mining installations and facilities: pumping, ventilation, export, transformer and distribution plants, export shafts, tunnels, transport corridors, ramps, ore receiving bunkers, flotation plants, etc.

SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The Start of Mining after World War II

After World War II, the mines were nationalized. In a devastated and devastated country, strategic economic priority was given to the mineral and raw materials complex as the main economic branch, and in very poor financial, technical and technological conditions and with a small number of professional personnel, the renovation of existing mines and the opening of new mines began. Well-designed and planned activities of the state, supported by enthusiasm, perseverance, sacrifice and hard work, were not enough to implement the renovation plan. There is no exact data, but estimates are that there were no more than twenty mining engineers in the country. With a small number of personnel, not much could be achieved.

Realizing the situation, the state reacted and with the help of scarce experts on December 1, 1944, founded the Scientific Research Institute under the Mining Commission of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, the Geological Research Institute under the Ministry of Mining of the People's Republic of Serbia was founded in 1946, and in March of the same year, the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Serbia launched mining studies at the Technical Faculty in Belgrade, by establishing the Mining Department, which would soon grow into the Faculty of Mining and Geology, and then into the Faculty of Mining and Geology in Belgrade.

The results were quickly visible, the first generation of graduated mining engineers was promoted in 1950. Year after year, with the arrival of new educated experts, the progress of mining became more and more obvious. The mines gradually moved from the phase of reconstruction to the phase of development. More productive and safer exploitation methods and technologies are being introduced, production is being mechanized and production results measurable according to the criteria of the most developed mineral economies are being achieved. Progress lasted until the last decade of the 20th century, when the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, sanctions, economic and political isolation of the country, destruction by NATO bombing, predatory transition and privatization that devastated the economy followed. The consequences did not bypass mining, there is stagnation, technical-technological and personnel lag and collapse, cessation of exploitation works or reduction of production in mines.

Mining, inexhaustibly thirsty for new knowledge and solutions that lead to safer, more reliable and more productive production, similar to the principle

of connected vessels, after World War II expressed a high need for scientific research and design support. The potential of several design houses and mining development bureaus (e.g. Projmetal, 1951; Coal Institute, 1952; Bureau for the Improvement of Trepča Mine Production, 1955, etc.) could not meet the growing needs of the mining industry. Recognizing the solution and assessing that there were conditions for the establishment of an institute for research and design in mining, the largest mining systems and mines of Yugoslavia proposed and offered material support, and with the full understanding and support of the state, in 1960 the Mining Institute in Belgrade was founded, which would be the creative backbone of the development of Yugoslav and Serbian mining for almost half a decade.

In the second half of the 20th century, results were achieved that ranked Serbian mining highly by the standards of the most developed mineral economies, thanks exclusively to the expertise of mining and geological engineers educated at our faculties, primarily at the Faculty of Mining and Geology of the University of Belgrade, and thanks to the scientific and design support of domestic intelligence. The contributions of the Mining Institute from Belgrade – an internationally respected school of mining engineering – are highly significant. It has produced numerous top designers, researchers, scientists, university professors and holders of the most responsible operational functions in Serbian mining. Based on Mining Institute projects, over 70 mines have been opened in the country and abroad, more than 40 plants for the preparation of mineral raw materials and 20 tailings and ash and slag dumps have been built. Research on mineral resources was carried out by mining geological services, specialized geological organizations, and highly reputable institutes such as the Geozavod and Geoinstitut from Belgrade.

Mining in the Second Half of the 20th Century

The consistency of the scope of all chapters in the composition of the text has resulted in a factual generalization of the presentation of the development of Serbian mining in the long half of the 20th century. The following image shows a general map with the most significant mining sites in Serbia in the second half of the 20th century.

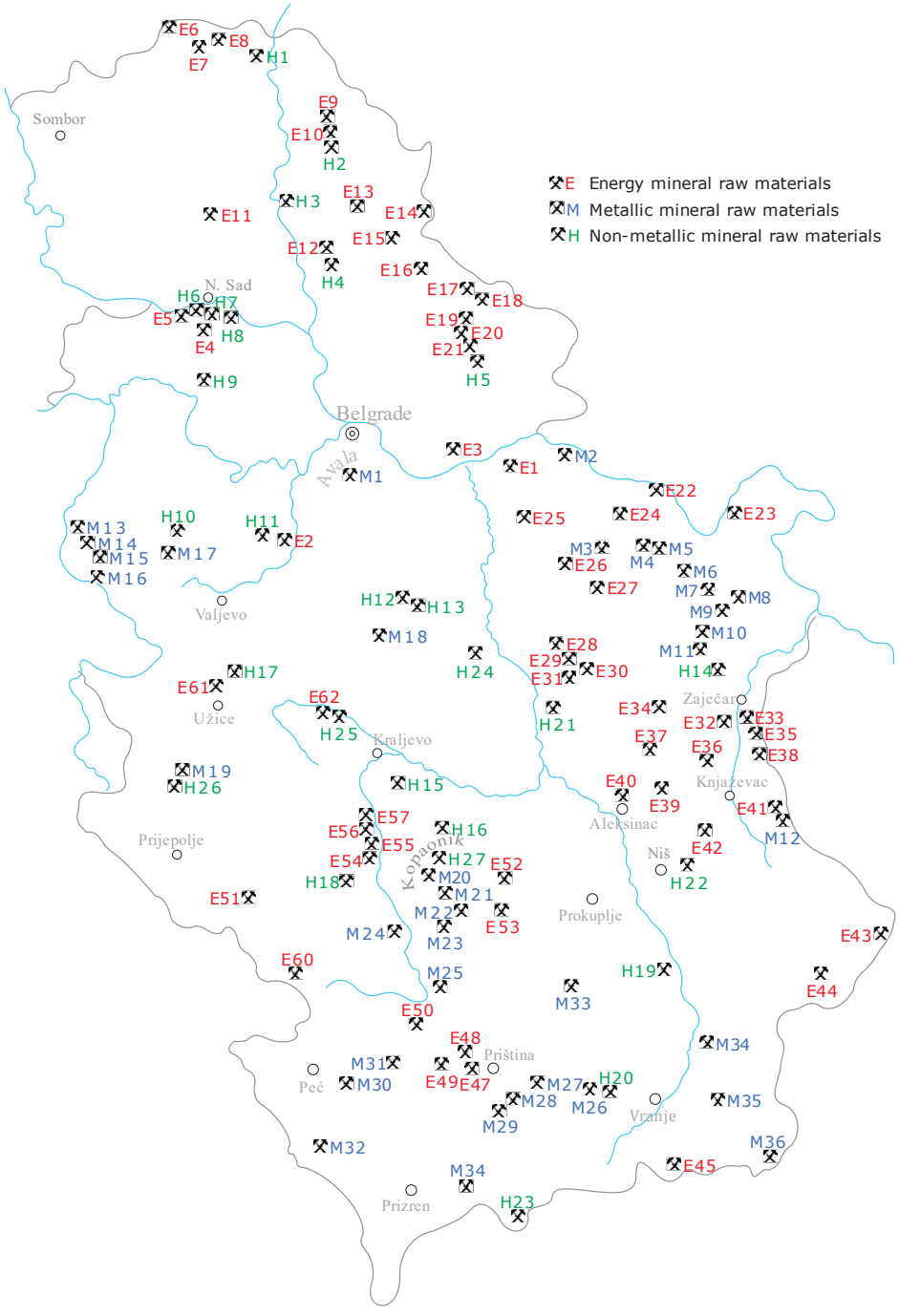
Great efforts were made to launch coal production as a key energy source for industry and wider consumption. Production in mines increased from 500,000 t of coal in 1944 to 900,000 t the following year, reaching 3.4 million t of coal in 1949. Until 1952, coal was mined underground, when underground mining began to be replaced by surface mining, as it was cheaper, safer, and more adaptable to mass production. With the construction of thermal power plants, the need for coal grew rapidly. In the late 1980s, the open-pit mines of the Kolubara, Kostolac and Kosovo coal basins supplied lignite to the thermal power system with an installed capacity of 5,171 MW and for the broad and industrial consumption of 2.5 million tons of coal per year,

Open-pit coal exploitation at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries is characterized by an increase in depth and expansion of exploitation operations, and the protection of open-pit mines from groundwater and surface water is becoming more demanding. Also, the inadequate attitude towards the reclamation, revitalization and arrangement of areas affected by exploitation works has created conditions for political and other generation of social tensions.

Mines of antimony, copper, nickel, lead, zinc, precious metals, bauxite are being renovated and opened. Copper and precious metal ores are exploited by the Bor Mining and Smelting Basin. Polymetallic ores of lead, zinc, often with silver, gold and copper, are exploited in numerous mines, Ajvalija, Badovac, Kišnica, Novo Brdo, Belo Brdo, Crnac, Žuta prlina, Jelakce, Koporić, Trepča Stari trg, Blagodat (now Grot), Veliki Majdan, Lece, Podvirovi, Rudnik Rudnik and Suva ruda. Bauxite is exploited in the Kosovo mine in Klina. Antimony ore is exploited by the Zajača Mining and Smelting Basin in several smaller mines in Podrinje and Rajićeva Gora on Kopaonik. Nickel ore was exploited at the Glavica near Pristina and Čikatovo near Glogovac in Kosovo and Metohija.

Industrial development raises and expands interest in non-metallic mineral raw materials, such as cement raw materials, magnesite, ceramic and refractory clays, quartz sand, feldspar, asbestos, etc. On the territory of Serbia, about 30 non-metallic mineral raw materials of economic interest for exploitation have been identified, 16 of which have been exploited at more than 180 locations. Production grew until 1991, when this trend was stopped by the violence of sanctions and the economic blockade of the country.

In the second half of the 20th century, Serbian mines produced 2.133 billion tons of solid mineral raw materials, of which 1.104 billion tons of coal, 0.754 billion tons of non-ferrous and precious metal ores and 0.275 billion tons of non-metallic mineral raw materials, 36 million tons of oil and 27 billion cubic meters of gas. A more detailed overview is given in the following table, and the production structure is shown in the graph. By the end of the 90s, about 100 million tons of solid mineral raw materials were exploited, which is a large production in proportion to the size of Serbia. Mineral resources are a real, strategically important capital of Serbia, the value of which is growing, especially considering the high depletion of mineral resources in the countries of the European Union.



Mines of Serbia, second half of the 20th century

EXPLANATION

Energy mineral resources: 1 Thermal power plants and mines Kostolac (lignite, open pit mines – Kostolac, Klenovnik, Ćirikovac, Drmno), 2 Kolubara mining basin (lignite, open pit mines – Field A, B, C, D, E, Veliki Crljeni, Tamnava East and West Fields), 3 Kovin (lignite), 4 Vrdnik (brown coal), 5 Čerević (lignite), 6 Kelebija (oil), 7 Palić (oil), 8 Velebit (oil), 9 Mokrin (oil and gas), 10 Kikinda (oil and gas), 11 Srbobran (gas), 12 Elemir (oil and gas), 13 Torda (gas), 14 Međa (gas), 15 Begejci (gas), 16 Boka (oil), 17 Velika Greda (gas), 18 Plandište (gas), 19 Jermenovci (oil), 20 Janošik (oil), 21 Lokve (oil), 22 Dobra (coal), 23 Miroč (coal), 24 Rakova Bara (brown coal), 25 Poljana (brown lignite), 26 Petrovac (brown lignite), 27 Krepolji – Jasenovac (brown coal), 28 Despotovac (brown lignite), 29 Rembas Resavica (brown coal), 30 Ravna Reka (brown coal), 31 Senjski Rudnik (brown coal), 32 Lubnica (brown lignite), 33 Avramica (brown lignite), 34 Bogovina (brown coal), 35 Vrška Čuka – Avramica (anthracite), 36 Vlaško Polje (coal), 37 Rtanj (hard coal), 38 Dobra Sreća (hard coal), 39 Soko Sokobanja (brown-lignite), 40 Aleksinac mines (brown), 41 Aldinac (hard coal), 42 Tresibaba (hard coal),43 Mazgoš (brown-lignite), 44 Jerma (hard coal), 45 Pčinja (hard coal), 46 Muhađer Babuš (lignite), 47 Kruševac (lignite), 48 Kosovo (lignite), 49 Kombinat Kosovo (lignite, open pit mines – Dobro Selo, Belaćevac, Sibovac), 50 Prilužje (lignite), 51 Štavalj (brown-lignite), 52 Jankova Klisura (hard coal), 53 Toplica (brown-lignite), 54 Ibarski rudnici Baljevac na Ibru (brown coal), 55 Jarando (brown coal), 56 Tadenje (brown coal), 57 Ušće (brown coal), 58 Dobrinje (brown lignite).

Metallic mineral resources: 1 Avala (Hg, Pb, Zn), 2 Pek (Au, Ag), 3 Neresnica (W), 4 Blagojev Kamen (Au, Ag, W), 5 Majdanpek (Cu, Ag, Au, surface mines – South and North districts), 6 Rudna Glava (Fe), 7 Crnajka (Fe, Mo), 8 Deli Jovan (Pb, Zn, Ag), 9 Tanda (Mo), 10 Krivelj (Cu, Ag, Au), 11 Bor (Cu, Ag, Au, Surface mine and Pit), 12 Aldinac (Bi), 13 Zajača (Sb, Pb, Zn), 14 Kostajnik (Sb, Pb, Zn), 15 Krupanj (Sb, Pb, Zn), 16 Veliki Majdan (Pb, Zn), 17 Radjevina (Sb, Pb, Zn), 18 Rudnik (Pb, Zn, Cu, Ag), 19 Zlatibor (Mn), 20 Belo Brdo (Pb, Zn,), 21 Koporić (Pb, Zn), 22 Jelakce (Pb, Zn), 23 Žuta prlina (Pb, Zn, Ag), 24 Crnac (Pb, Zn), 25 Stari Trg (Pb, Zn, Ag, Au), M26 Novo Brdo (Pb, Zn, Ag), 27 Ajvalija (Pb, Zn, Ag), 28 Kishnica (Pb, Zn, Ag), 29 Badovac (Pb, Zn, Ag), 30 Klina (Al), 31 Čikatovo and Glavica (Ni, Co), 32 Đakovica (Cr), 33 Brezovica (Cr), 34 Lece (Pb, Zn, Au, Ag), 35 Suva ruda (Fe, Cu), 36 Grot (Pb, Zn), 37 Podvirovi (Pb, Zn).

Non-metallic mineral resources: 1 Potisje Kanjiža (brick mines), 2 Toza Marković Kikida (brick mines), 3 Polet N. Bečej (brick mines), 4 Neimar Zrenjanin (brick mines), 5 IGMA Uljma (brick mines), 6 Beočinska fabrika cementa (cement mines), 7 Rudnici nemetala Rakovac (trachyte), 8 Stražilovo (brick mines), 9 Ruma (brick mines), 10 Zorka nemetali Donje Crniljevo (kaolin clay), 11 Kopovi Ub (Čučuge, Slatina, Avala, Bogovađa, Boj brdo – quartz sand), 12 Garaši (kaolinized granite), 13 Venčac (marble), 14 Rgotina (quartz sand), 15 Zlatokop Vrnjačaka Banja (zeolite tuff), 16 Igroš Brus (zeolite tuff), 17 Kosjerić (cement mines), 18 Novi Pazar (brick mines), 19 Mladost Leskovac

(brick mines), 20 K. Kamenica (zeolite tuff), 21 Popovac (cement mines), 22 Ostrovica (limestone), 23 Đeneral Janković (cement mines), 24 Batočina (dolomite), 25 Čačak (several mines in the area – magnesite), 26 Zlatibor (magnesite), 27 Kopaonik (magnesite).

The mineral and raw materials complex has made a great contribution to the development of the extractive industry and energy sector of Serbia, to solving demographic and social issues, to regional development, to the foreign trade balance, to reducing the sensitivity of the national economy to global influences, and to the independence and sovereignty of the country.

The collapse of Yugoslavia and the economic sanctions introduced on May 30, 1992 by the will of civilized countries through the United Nations Security Council, encompassing a complete international economic embargo, a ban on trade and payment transactions, a complete ban on flying and servicing aircraft registered in the Yugoslavia, the suspension of scientific and technical cooperation, the ban on the participation of sports teams and individuals representing the Yugoslavia, etc., led to an economic crisis and hyperinflation. The problems in the mineral economy are: numerous mines are reducing or suspending production, investments in geological exploration are drastically reduced, investments in the construction and opening of new capacities are suspended, investments in the modernization of existing mining technologies and the purchase of new equipment and machinery are disappearing. The purchase of spare parts for imported mining machinery is possible only through speculative intermediaries from neighboring countries, which multiplies business costs. Insufficient quantities of domestic and lack of regular imported oil, as the main energy source in mines with cyclical technologies, cause downtime, production reduction and losses, and oil from the "black" market is devastating the competitiveness of mine production. The following graph of the production of the Majdanpek Copper Mine before the sanctions and blockade, during the sanctions, NATO aggression and predatory privatization, is a faithful generalized illustration of the events in Serbian mining during that time period. Serbia withstood the sanctions and isolation thanks to agriculture – food production, and mining – primarily the exploitation of energy and mineral raw materials of non-ferrous and precious metals.

Mineral resources have always been at the center of local, regional, wider or global turmoil. In this context, among the key motives for the seizure of Kosovo and Metohia is mineral wealth. The mineral potential of Kosovo and Metohija is undeniably significant. This primarily refers to lead, zinc, silver, gold, ferronickel, magnesite, bauxite ores, as well as large reserves of lignite – over 12 billion tons – with very favorable deposit conditions for exploitation. These are quantities of energy that are significant by global standards; the current coal consumption in Serbia would be met by two centuries. Therefore, in addition to geopolitical, military and other hidden reasons, mineral resources are a strong motive for the seizure of Kosovo and Metohia.

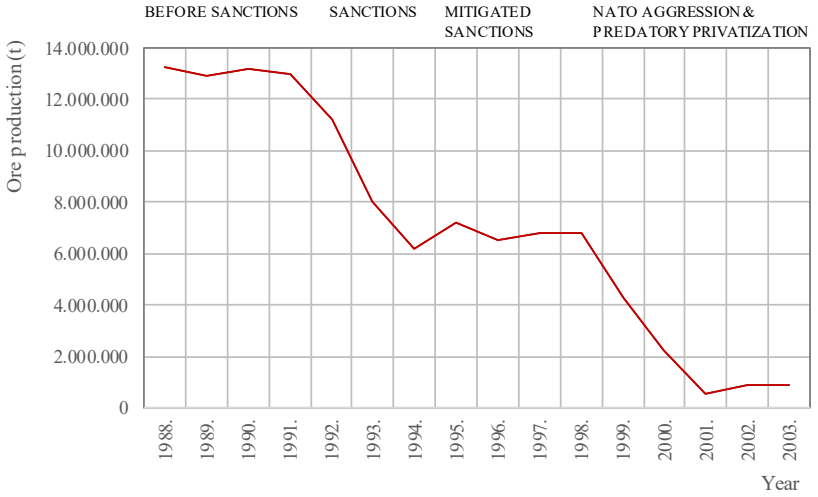


Kolubara Mining Basin, Tamnava Surface Coal Mine Western Fields
of social tensions. (photo: M. Zarić)

Mineral raw materials produced in Serbia in the second half of the 20th century

		Measure	Quantity	Specification
1,	Coal	t	1,104,254,758 Equivalently: ≈ 221x10^3 t oil	• Surface: 1,001,200,004 • Underground: 101,811,776 • Underwater: 1,242,798
2,	Oil	t	36,000,000	
3,	Gas	m^3	27,000,000,000	
4,	Copper ore [Cu, Ag, Au, Mo, Se, Pt, Pd, Ge, Ga, ...]	t	660,544,762	• Surface: 624,951,951 • Underground: 35,592,811
5,	Lead and zinc ore [Pb, Zn, Cu, Ag, Au, Bi, Cd, ...	t	82,803,474	
6,	Antimony ore	t	3,214,535	
7,	Chromium ore	t	1,061,500	
8,	Nickel and cobalt ore	t	3,191,497	
9,	Bauxite	t	2,850,000	
10,	Non-metallic mineral raw materials	t	275,000,000	• Cement: 90,151,970 • Quartz sand: 27,256,715 • Lime: 23,288,846 • Magnesite: 14,957,695 • Mica (kg): 12,977,850 • Asbestos: 4,888,403 • Kaolin: 2,804,568 • Gypsum: 1,707,078 • • •

Structure of production of solid mineral raw materials
in Serbia in the second half of the 20th century



Majdanpek Copper Mine, Ore Production, 1988–2003

TO CONCLUDE?

Thanks to the geological heritage, numerous mineral raw materials and metal ores have been registered on the territory of Serbia – copper, lead, zinc, silver, gold, nickel, antimony, cadmium, iron, chromium, manganese, molybdenum, cobalt, bismuth, magnesium, lithium, etc.; coal, oil, gas, oil shale; about 50 non-metallic mineral raw materials – asbestos, barite, magnesite, feldspar, quartz, clay, kaolin, ornamental and technical stone, marl, gypsum, zeolite, graphite, pine, etc.; 17 jewelry raw materials; over 160 natural thermal water springs, about 300 mineral water springs, etc. It is therefore understandable that throughout its millennia-long history, this part of the world has always been a target of conquerors. Confirmation of the historical rule that mining, as a substructure of civilization, shares the fate of society with its ups and downs, is in the trajectory of mining development in Serbia, from the Neolithic to the present day.

SHORT HISTORY OF MINING IN SERBIA

SUMMARY: From one of the greatest human discoveries that a piece of rock turns into metal in fire, to the present day, through a cognitive process lasting more than 8,000 years, mining has been the pillar of economic, technical-technological, scientific, cultural and overall social development. The text provides a concise overview of the development of mining from the Neolithic to the present day in the Central Balkans, i.e. in the territory of Serbia, from the author's monograph Historical Vertical of Mining in the Territory of Serbia.

KEYWORDS: mining, historical vertical, millennium duration, Serbia

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agricola G. On Mining and Metallurgy in XII Chapters (Agricola G., De Re Metallica Libri XII, Basel, 1556). Translated from Russian, edited by Z. Petković, N. Ćalić and D. Milovanović, Yugoslav Academy of Engineering, Belgrade 2007, 481 pp.

Aksin V., R. Cvetićanin, Lj. Đuk et al. *Mining of Yugoslavia*, NIRO Privredni vjesnik, Zagreb 1982, 156 pp.

Antonović D. and M. Vukadinović. Eneolithic Mine Prljuša – Mali Šturac Archaeological and Geophysical Investigations. *Starinar* NS XLII, 2012, pp. 95–106.

Antonović D. *Eneolithic Copper Mines in the Balkans*. Archaeological Institute of Belgrade, DOI 10.17234/9789531758185-10, pp. 187–209.

Barjaktarević D. *Overview of mineral deposits in the Novo Brdo ore field. Consulting Geology and metallogeny of Kopaonik*. ed. Dokmanović B., Republic Fund for Geological Research of Serbia, Belgrade 1995, pp. 314–325.

Bjelić N. *Tales of Trepča*, 1303–2018. Official Gazette, Belgrade 2019, 269 pp.

Bojović B. *From market economy to state monopoly Precious metals of Serbia and Bosnia between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries*, Economic History Society, Belgrade 2014.

Dimitrijević M. D. *Geology of Yugoslavia*, Geoinstitut & Barex, Belgrade, 1995, 169 pp.

Dušanić S. From the history of Roman mining in Upper Moesia. *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 28, Belgrade, 1977, pp. 163–177.

Dušanić S. Organization of Roman mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Upper Moesia. Society of Historian of Serbia, *Historical Gazette*, № 1–2, 1980, pp. 7–54.

Edmondson J. C. Mining in the Later Roman Empire and beyond – Continuity or Disruption. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 79, 1989, pp. 84–102.

Group of authors. *Kostolac 1870–1970*, Monograph of mines. Joint Electric Power Company of Serbia, Industrial and Energy Combine Kostolac 1970, 318 pp.

Herder, S.A. von. *Mining trip in Serbia in 1835,* (in Serbian: Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2012)

Janković S., R. Jelenkovic and S. Vujić. Mineral resources and forecast of the potential of metallic and non-metallic mineral resources in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Serbian Academy of Sciences, Faculty of Mining and Geology, Belgrade, 2003, 850 pp.

Janković S. *Metallogenetic epochs and ore-bearing areas of Yugoslavia*. Faculty of Mining and Geology and Mining Institute Belgrade 1967, 174 pp.

Janković S. *Ore deposits of Serbia regional metallogenetic position, environments of formation and types of deposits*. Faculty of Mining and Geology, Belgrade 1990, 760 pp.

Jeremić M. *Sirmium, a city on the water – the development of urbanism and architecture from the 1st to the 6th century*. Archaeological Institute Belgrade 2016, 336 pp.

Jovanović B. Mining technology in the early Eneolithic of the central Balkans. *Starinar* NS XXIII, 1972, pp. 1–14.

Jovanović B. Prljuša – Mali Šturac. *Prehistoric copper and rock crystal mine at Rudnik*. Collection of works of the National Museum, Belgrade 1988, pp. 5–12.

Katić T. *The Turkish Conquest of Serbia in 1690*. Serbian Genealogical Center and Center for Ottoman Studies, Belgrade 2012, 173 pp.

Klerić Lj., How a new rock-breaking device is theoretically interpreted and applied to practice, *Gazette of the Serbian Learned Society*, book XXXVI, Belgrade 1872, pp. 275–293.

Korać M. (ed.) *Archaeology and natural sciences.* Discussions and articles. Center for new technologies of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade 2020, 275 pp.

Maksimović R. *Mining and smelting under Karađorđe – a contribution to the knowledge of the history of our culture*, Belgrade 1940, 83 pp.

Pantić N. and M. Sladić-Trifunović. *In Search of Roots*. Serbian Geological Society 1881–1991, Belgrade 1992, pp. 8–27.

Radojčić N. *The Law on Mines of Despot Stefan Lazarević*. National Library Resavska School, Despotovac 1995, 124 p.
Savić M. Ancient Mining Centers of Kosovo and Metohija. *Heritage*, Priština–Leposavić, vol. 34, 2013, pp. 229–247.
Simić V. *From the recent history of mining in Serbia*, Rad, Belgrade 1960, 288 pp.
Simić V. *Iron and copper mining in Majdanpek, 1848–1858*. SANU, Belgrade 1980, 302 pp.
Simić V. Mining in the Middle Ages – Renovation of Ore Sites from the History of the Development of Our Mining, Publishing and Printing Company of the Council for Energy and Extractive Industry of the Government of the FPRJ, Belgrade 1951, pp. 14–17.
Vujić S. (ed.), M. Grujić, D. Salatić, S. Radivojević and R. Jelenković. The Majdanpek Copper Mine – Development, State, Future. The Majdanpek Copper Mine, Academy of Engineering Sciences of Serbia and Montenegro and Faculty of Mining and Geology, University of Belgrade, 2005, 167 pp.
Vujić S. (ed.), R. Jelenković et al. Mineral and resource complex of Serbia and Montenegro at the turn of two millennia. Academy of Engineering Sciences of Serbia and Montenegro, Faculty of Mining and Geology, University of Belgrade and the Association of Mining and Geological Engineers of Serbia and Montenegro, 2003, 632 pp.
Vujić S. et al. *Mineral and raw material complex of Kosovo and Metohija*. Mining Institute Belgrade and Geological Survey of Serbia, Belgrade 2021, 332 pp.
Vujić S., A. Grubić, R.Jelenković et al. Serbian Mining and Geology in the Second Half of the 20th Century. Academy of Engineering Sciences of Serbia, Matica srpska, Mining Institute Belgrade, Belgrade 2014, 564 pp.
Vujić S., B. Jovanović and Č. Jordović. *Mining in the Soil of the Central Balkans Eight Thousand Years of History*. Gallery of Science, SASA and Museum of Science and Technology, Belgrade 2003, 35 pp.
Vujić S. *Forty Years of Computing in Serbian Mining. Faculty of Mining and Geology*, University of Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Gallery of Science and Technology, Academy of Engineering Sciences of Serbia, 2010, 22 p.
Vujić S. *Historical verticals of mining in Serbia*. Mining Institute Belgrade and Informatika, Belgrade 2024, 527 pp.
Vujić S. One Hundred Years of the Mining Gazette. *Mining Gazette*, Mining Institute Belgrade, vol. CXII, no. 1–2, 2015, pp. 33–72.
Vujić S. *Six Decades of the Mining Institute Belgrade*. Mining Institute Belgrade, 2020, 400 pp.
Vukanović T. *Dictionary of ancient mining in the countries of the central Balkans 12th–13th centuries*. Museum of Mining and Metallurgy Bor, Bor 1998, 143 pp.

THE WRITTEN WORD OF DRAGOLJUB JOVANOVIĆ

MOMČILO ISIĆ
Institute for Recent History, Trg Nikole Pašića11, Belgrade, Serbia
isicmomcilo@mts.rs
https://orcid.org/0009-0000-6490-1113



SUMMARY: Apart from participation in the political life of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, and later in the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – i.e. the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia – as the first doctor of sociology and humanities, who earned that title at the Sorbonne in 1923, Dragoljub Jovanović left the Serbian cultural heritage an impressive interdisciplinary creative opus. That opus, thanks to the Kultura publishing company, the Archives of Yugoslavia, Public Enterprise Official Gazette and, above all, Dragoljub Jovanović's family, between 1997 and 2025 became accessible to the public, in as many as 35 volumes, on about 18,000 pages. In addition to *Political Memories,* in 12 volumes, and four volumes of *Medallions*, the public is acquainted for the first time with his work in three volumes, titled *Thoughts on Morality,* on over 3,000 pages, and after 100 years with his doctoral thesis, *The Optimal Yield of Workers' Labor*, as well. The publishing of the manuscript

Rural and Cooperative Culture, which he himself called his *magnum opus,* is especially important.

KEY WORDS: Dragoljub Jovanović, history of ideas, action sociology, peasant socialism, scholar, politician, sufferer, First Yugoslavia (monarchy), Second Yugoslavia (republic), 20th century

POLITICAL FATE

Dragoljub Jovanović (1895–1977) is one of the most prominent Serbian and Yugoslav politicians of the first half of the 20th century. In theKingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, as a member of the Farmers' Alliance and leader of its leftist wing – the so-called Farmers' Left – and later the founder of the People's Peasant Party, he was an opposition politician. In the elections of May 5, 1935, he won a seat in parliament on the United Opposition ticket, but never entered the National Assembly because the United Opposition boycotted it. Due to his constant and open opposition to the regime, he was arrested multiple times and sentenced to prison or internment. In total, he spent three years and two months in prison and internment during the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia. During the World War II occupation, he hid from the Gestapo in Belgrade.

Convinced that it was a matter of "great things, distant goals, constant values" [Јовановић 2020a: 49], Dragoljub Jovanović agreed to cooperate with communists. He also decided on the People's Peasant Party joining, in its entirety, the Unified National Liberation Front of Yugoslavia.

Very soon, however, the communists began to be bothered by Jovanović's views on the essence of general people's organization and democracy, on the role of the peasantry in new social processes – which differed from the communist postulate: dictatorship of the proletariat. They especially didn't like his statements that he did not foster the position of a "unipartisan system." The last drop in their cup of bile was Jovanović's criticism of the Law on Cooperatives, whose day of adoption he marked as "a day of mourning" for cooperatives [Јовановић 2020a: 59].

His declaring enraged Tito, too, who on April 2, 1947 told Soviet ambassador Lavrentiev that England had requested the statement by the opposition (Dragoljub Jovanović, Radomir Todorović and Imre Filaković) and that he was planning on arresting Dragoljub Jovanović and like-minded politicians [Јовановић 2020a: 63].

Executing Tito's earlier orders, with a staged correspondence between Dragoljub Jovanović and Maček in emigration, the state attorney IME?? of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia issued a decision on May 13, 1947 on the arrest of Dragoljub Jovanović, and on the same day requested the Presidium to approve that decision, which the Presidium did on May 15, 1947, when the arrest was carried out, on the grounds of a document that stated that Dragoljub Jovanović was "justifiably suspicious" on account of maintaining foreign connections, "possibly" even with emigrant circles [Јовановић 2020a: 65].

In a staged court proceedings, Dragoljub Jovanović was sentenced on October 8, 1947 to deprivation of freedom with forced labor for nine years, and to the loss of political and "certain civil rights" (the right to a pension and welfare aid) for a period of three years after his release from prison [Јовановић 2020a: 68].

Dragoljub Jovanović served his prison sentence at the Sremska Mitrovica Correctional Facility, in conditions – as he saw them – harsher than during imprisonment in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He was often in solitary confinement, deprived of contact with the other prisoners, the food was very bad for a long time, which resulted in his weight being just around 30 kilograms for a time. Hygiene conditions significantly improved only during the last years of his imprisonment [Јовановић 2020a: 69].

In such conditions, he served eight years, six months and 13 days, as the Federal Executive Council, on the occasion of Republic Day, by act No. 3000/55, pardoned him, shortening his sentence by five months and 18 days. He was released from the Sremska Mitrovica Correctional Facility at 7 a.m. on Thursday, November 28, 1955 [Јовановић 2020a: 70].

Dragoljub Jovanović spent a total of 11 years, eight months and 13 days in prison and internment. Stressing the fact that he was arrested in both the monarchy and the republic, Dragoljub Jovanović once said: "For the capitalists, I was a communist; for the communists, I was a reactionary. I spent 13 of my best years in dungeons or in internment, like I was the worst and most harmful man." [Јовановић 2020a: 76]

WRITTEN WORKS

Years of imprisonment and internment, but also other extraordinary circumstances in life: World War I, being a refugee and getting an education in France, the January 6 dictatorship, and World War II, however, enabled Dragoljub Jovanović to peacefully dedicate himself to intellectual work, *learning and writing,* with *action,* another vital need which marked his character. He himself wrote on the subject in the book *Political Memories*: " The periods that alternated suited my double need, for action and for learning and writing. [My] political opponents seemed to deliberately work in favor of the latter need. Being forced to study at my first faculty in the small and peaceful Clermont, rather than in noisy Paris, several years of being a refugee and in state service without a career, then the dictatorship, which long prevented any vigorous action, later prison and internment, the second engagement in Mitrovica, then the occupation and the third, longest imprisonment – those were the conditions that enabled me to write several books, which would not have been born had others not shut down the clamorous course of political life for me. If my temperament had thrown me into action, the obstacles the authorities placed before me suited the other kind of activity, which leaves more written traces." With regard to that, noting that he had been "very lucky in life," he wrote: "Those who persecuted me helped me the most. Without them I would not have done or written so much." [Јовановић 2022: 25 and 26]

Dragoljub Jovanović announced his public presence in *Radničke Novine* (*Workers' Newspaper*) in1912, with articles headlined: *Where Lies the Power of the Proletariat* (May 29 and 30) and *Organizing Workers* (July 10). He did not neglect the need "to learn and write" even in conditions of World War I. Thanks to the fact that he was not holding a rifle, he used every spare moment to read and learn something, and to write something. He learned the English language by reading the Bible printed, in parallel, in Bulgarian and English, he read the works of his favorite writer Anatole France in French, the works of philosopher Božidar Knežević, but also numerous magazines and newspapers he obtained in his military unit, the 122nd French Infantry Division. He used a six-month stay in Thessaloniki, ahead of going to university in France in August 1916, to – for a time – be an "associate journalist" of the *Srpski Glasnik* (*Serbian Herald*) newspaper. Initially he translated telegrams and news items, as well as the odd article from the French dailies that were published in Thessaloniki and Athens, or when something came in from France; later he became a true journalist, writing mostly editorials.

Apart from journalistic articles, Jovanović also honed his writing skills during the war period by writing a diary. In it he described the surroundings in the places where he worked as a teacher, Thessaloniki, the background of the front and the state of the French army, which he had been assigned to as a translator/interpreter. His thoughts on the escalation of the war conflict with Bulgaria's entering the war on the side of the Central Powers are also interesting. Nonetheless, the main part of the Macedonian portion of the diary is taken up by Jovanović's personal and intimate life. Made of emotions and love, honest and full of understanding for others, especially for those he loved and those who loved him, Jovanović often provided his diary entries as little essays on the meaning of life, on love, spiritual and physical beauty, happiness, friendship, but also on labor, whose sources he found precisely in love.

The Paris period of Dragoljub Jovanović's diary was largely also a youthful emotional "confessional." He stopped writing it when he found his lifelong love, Dana Milošević. Emotionally fulfilled, he then immersed himself in his work: at the state service of the Kingdom of SHS, at the Association of Yugoslav Students in France and its organ, the *Yugoslav Youth Gazette,* of which he was the editor-in-chief. He regularly published various features in the *Gazette.* Accepting the stance that "it is sociology's task to actively participate in the life of society, its reorganization, so that it can integrate on just grounds, and that all the strata in it can live in a dignified way," already in 1918 Jovanović wrote: "Everything calls us to creative work: the destitution of our country and our people, the size, wealth and beauty of everything we see in others, the need to develop it in a new life, broader, more free and more fruitful, the desire to ourselves as a people bring the world our own creation." [Тодоровић 1992a: 103]

A student of Bouglé, the successor of Durkheim's department of sociology at the Sorbonne, Dragoljub Jovanović was a supporter of so-called action sociology, i.e. sociology focused on the social action of creating a more just and humane society, accepting his professor's views and pointing out his aim

to focus on the history of social economics. He particularly highlighted what Bouglé himself emphasized, what was sensed in almost all French sociologists:

1. a sociologist must at the same time be a social fighter, a social worker;
2. there is just one step from sociology to social action [Ђорђевић 1992b: 50].

Jovanović made his pen "overheat" writing two doctoral disserations, the main one being *The Optimal Yield of Workers' Labor* and an additional one titled *The Modern Stimulants of Workers' Labor.* The *Optimal Yield of Workers' Labor* thesis belongs to the "transborder field of industrial sociology or sociology of labor, labor organization, sociology of industrial relations, ergonomics, sociology of economic life, and sociology of participation." At its center are "the problems of encouraging and motivating workers for the optimal contribution to production and a partnership approach to the process of humanizing social relations in industry" [Јовановић 2021: 399 and 402].

Upon his return to the Fatherland, in September 1923, he got a job at the Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of SHS, and was then elected docent, and later an associate professor at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, in charge of the Agrarian Policy subject, as part of the department of economics.

The subject he taught at the Faculty of Law, the growing awareness of the position of the peasantry in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia as an agrarian state, but also suggestions from older professors, especially those who had insisted on his being brought to the faculty, influenced Dragoljub Jovanović's decision to start focusing on the peasantry instead of on the working class.

Wanting to also partake as much as possible in the social life of the newly formed Kingdom of SHS, Dragoljub Jovanović, in parallel with his scientific and pedagogical work, also started practically applying "action sociology." He first published scientific, expert and publicistic papers in numerous magazines and dailies: the *Archive of Legal and Social Sciences,* the *Matica Srpska Chronicle*, *Serbian Literary Herald, Venac*, *Raskrsnica*, *Novosti, Politika, Pravda,* etc.

He was among the initiators of founding the Social Workers Society in Belgrade, whose goal was the scientific study of the position of the impoverished population so as to influence state organs to deal more seriously with social policies.

Dissatisfied with the work and results of this Society, in 1924 he gathered a number of intellectuals in the Group for Social and Cultural Action (GSCA), which organized public lectures, primarily in Belgrade but in other towns as well. Of course, he himself was the most frequent lecturer. Particularly specific were his lectures in labor sociology, on alcoholism, etc. The Group printed and disseminated brochures and articles which dealt with many social, political and economic issues, thoroughly developed in the Group's *Bulletin.* Jovanović was also the editor of the GSCA's publication *Rad* (*Labor*), whose pages from May 1926 to the January 6 dictatorship contained activistic articles, many of which spoke of the extremely difficult social and economic position of the peasantry, its cultural and educational backwardness and political neglectedness.

With the GSCA's joining the Farmers' Alliance in February 1927, and subsequently with the forming of the Farmers' Left, Dragoljub Jovanović became

more actively involved in political life by, among other things, fiercely criticizing the incumbent regime in the articles he published in his paper *Rad,* but also in other newspapers and magazines. Joining the ranks of the rare scientists whose work was considerably "colored" by politics, but also the few politicians who based their ideology on theoretical foundations, Dragoljub Jovanović "adjusts the theoretical settings according to the goals and program of his political activity." In his own words, he aimed – for example with the study titled *Land and Labor,* published in three parts in the *Rad* newspaper – to establish "the ideological basis of the farmers' movement" [Јовановић 1997a: 118].

Highly active in the social and political life of the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia, he often put science in the service of ideology, seeking in it support in the peasantry as the predominant social stratum, whose time in his opinion was yet to come. "With its physical, economic, cultural, and moral strength, the peasantry is increasingly attracting general attention in the current transitional time full of confusion. That attention is a sign of its coming liberation and ascent." [Јовановић 1940: 496]

As he himself pointed out, owing to the "political stupor" in 1929 and 1930, after the introduction of the January 6 dictatorship, he managed to complete and publish the *Agrarian Policy* textbook by the time the June exam term rolled around in 1930. From a scientific standpoint, out of his creative body of work on the peasantry and agriculture, it was his most important work yet, the "systematic base" of his sociology of peasantry. In it he focused on agrarian relations throughout history, the history of agrarian reform in nearly all European countries, paying special attention to the Yugoslav states; he also dealt with small property and forms of management, especially of the rural homesteads, and the role of agriculture in overall social life, stressing that the agrarian policy must constantly take care of the natural, economic, technical, social, and cultural conditions in a particular environment.

Jovanović's stance that the farmer, not the "big investor," is the most important pillar of the state actually represented his perception of agrarian policy. He considered the advancement of the rural homestead the main goal of agrarian policy in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, aligned with the specific circumstances in certain provinces, and that agriculture should not be reduced "either to a capitalist or to a little farmer's homestead," but rather should combine and mutually supplement them. For him, the ideal of the future was "to completely exclude capitalist management with hired labor, and to achieve all the virtues of that method by joining small rural homesteads together" [Јовановић 1930: 302].

Also,in1930, as a publication of the Division of Economics and History within the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in the French language, he also published a comprehensive monograph: *The Economic and Social Consequences of the War in Serbia,* which he had written – at the recommendation of Jovan Cvijić – for the Economic and Social History of the World War project, edited by James T. Shotwell, a professor at Columbia University.

In the monograph, Dragoljub Jovanović, among other things, described extremely vividly the flight of the Serbian people before the enemy and then

the agony of withdrawal through Albania, which lasted several weeks and took more than 200,000 lives, as well as the cruelty and terror of the enemy during the occupation. He underlined that in Serbia, Austria-Hungary wanted to fully realize its *Strafexpedition* launched in 1914, and the *raubwirtschaftlich* exploitation of the rural and urban economy, along with the land's riches above and below ground, while Bulgaria wanted to finally annex the entire right bank of the Great and South Morava rivers and all of Macedonia along with Old Serbia.

Jovanović did not overlook the extremely difficult life of the Serbian population in concentration camps and internment, pointing out that in Bulgaria there was much more cruelty toward Serbian prisoners and internees than in Austria-Hungary. He also described the life of Serbian refugees, primarily in France, England and Greece.

Presenting the material plight, Jovanović primarily focused on the most important branch of the economy in Serbia – on the fate of agriculture which, due to the huge number of mobilized men, was characterized by a lack of able-bodied workers, the fields destroyed by war and subsequently overgrown with weeds, pillaged orchards and forests, a largely destroyed and looted cattle fund and agricultural inventory, with the daily relentless confiscation of agricultural products.

Unlike 1930, when he published two extremely important works, the period that followed was considerably less successful for Jovanović in that regard. Over the course of 1931, he wrote and published sheet by sheet of the *Social Policy.* After the 11th sheet, he was swept up in "a wave of political activities," and so he slowed down his writing, and given that he was arrested and expelled from the faculty the following year, he ultimately abandoned the making of the textbook [Јовановић1997a: 188].

Sentenced to internment in Tutin, a small town with a population of roughly 4,000 in the mountainous and pathless part of the Raška region, which was a prison of sorts and due to which it was often dubbed "Serbian Siberia," Dragoljub Jovanović went back to writing. With regard to that, he mentioned in his *Political Memories* as a "big novelty" the fact that he began writing on August 21, 1933: "I have told them in Belgrade: 'I feel the first fruits of complete solitude: I am starting to put on paper the results of my thoughts.' The first pages of *Rural and Cooperative Culture* were coming out." [Јовановић 1997b: 25]

By the time he was released on October 16, 1933, he had written the first five chapters: *The Cult of Labor*, *Loyalty to the Land*, *Social Justice*, *Cooperation,* and *Enlightenment,* which comprised part one, *Principles.* As a man of practical action, upon returning from Tutin he "forgot" about his manuscript, about which he wrote the following in *Political Memories*: "'Action first and foremost, but what kind?' The above slogan stood at the top of the page of *Rural and Cooperative Culture,* which meant not veering away from the main task, not being distracted by newspapers and books, nor by correspondence with free and semi-free folk. A battle that was to be waged in internment, that is what this book was all about. I managed that just fine during the four and a half months I was in Tutin for the first time. But I was derailed by those four

and a half months in Belgrade (from October 16, 1933 to March 10, 1934), between two Tutins. I just couldn't manage to go back to my dear writing." [Јовановић 1997b: 58]

He returned to his work when he was again interned in Tutin on March 10, 1934, regarding which he wrote the following in *Political Memories*: "'Yesterday, on May 1 [1934], I (again) started editing (which at the time meant writing my book). Now, I think, it will go fast, because my plan is completely done and the material gathered.' Finally, how awful it is to lose one's train of thought and work!" [Јовановић 1997b: 63]. He was planning on writing "ten written or five printed pages" every day, bearing in mind "the style and format of the Serbian Literary Cooperative," which he considered the most suitable, especially for "Serbian folk." As he was initially fulfilling that plan, he indicated on June 16, 1934 that "in two months I will be completely done" with writing *Rural and Cooperative Culture* [Јовановић 1997b: 64 and 65].

Jovanović, however, did not realize his plan. Due to the outbreak of typhoid in Tutin and nearby villages, in June 1934 he was relocated to Sjenica, where he did a lot less work, and so by September 18, 1934 he had written "just" 338 pages [Јовановић 1997b: 76]. He himself wrote in *Political Memories* that he had spent the second half of December "mostly writing cards and letters all over the place, with the excuse of wishing some a merry Catholic Christmas, and others a happy New Year and Orthodox holiday," and that he felt that "the end of the Sandžak period is approaching and a new, period of semi-freedom and 'mobile maneuvering' is beginning," concluding: "Trench warfare has ended." [Јовановић 1997b: 89]

By the end of his internment, January 9, 1935, he had managed to complete only part two, *Framework,* which consisted of three chapters: *Home, Family and Property, Homeland,* and *Labor Alliance,* as well as an introduction titled *Farmers' Faith*.

After returning from internment, Jovanović suspended for a while work on *Rural and Cooperative Culture,* due to his reimmersion in intense political activity. Noting that release from internment had prevented him from moving on "to writing part three – *Ideals* [*Goals*] *of Rural and Cooperative Culture*," he wrote: "In early 1935, there was madness over the May 5 elections and the events after them, a concordat struggle and clashes with the leaders of the united opposition, a new arrest and actions under the Government of National Agreement, clashes with it and *finis Jugoslaviae*." Not only had he not continued writing his capital work by the time of the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the April War of 1941, but he also lost one copy of the first two parts of *Rural and Cooperative Culture* in the April bombing. Having headed to the military command headquarters on a truck full of soldiers, he was carrying in a suitcase alongside his personal items a copy of his manuscript. When, however, the truck broke down near Ralja, he stepped out of it leaving the suitcase inside. In the commotion that ensued he did not notice on time that the truck had been repaired and that the soldiers were getting on it again. Only when the truck left, taking his suitcase with it, did he realize that he had irrevocably lost his manuscript. So, out of four copies of the manuscript, he was

left with just one in its entirety, seeing as Dr. Kosta Jovanović's daughters had kept one and were typing it, whereas another "I have already mutilated quite a bit, also giving certain bits to dailies and magazines" [Јовановић 1997c: 251].

Running from the Allied bombing, on May 18, 1944 he and his family found shelter with his sister Zorka in Mali Mokri Lug, back then a village right next to Belgrade. There, in the attic of his sister's house, he finally wrote the last three chapters which constituted part three of *Rural and Cooperative Culture, Goals:* Peace Among Peoples, General Well-Being, and Freedom. He finished chapter nine on June 18, chapter 10 on July 24, and chapter 11 on September 8, 1944. He also wrote the conclusion to *Rural and Cooperative Culture,* titled The Many Ways into Socialism, albeit only by hand [Јовановић 1997c: 143].

Dragoljub Jovanović thus welcomed liberation with the completed manuscript of his – as he himself called it – *magnum opus*, which is a sort of comprehensive history of the peasantry, from time immemorial to the modern age, a history of the social stratum that, alongside Yugoslavia, was the second element of his credo, and to which he dedicated the biggest portion of not just his political, but his scientific work too.

Starting with the fact that the peasantry makes up the majority of humankind in the world, that the entire civilization rests on its back but, even so, it is deprived of numerous civilizational achievements, is socially shunned, that – despite being the winner in the struggle with nature – it has succumbed in the struggle with people, Dragoljub Jovanović believes that civilization must turn from an urban and monopolistic to "rural and general," in fact, a new, rural culture as "the only true human" culture. That, in his opinion, requires the liberation of the peasantry, also helped by a swiftly organized farmers' movement, which albeit primarily social by nature must "have much broader and deeper importance than the protection of the material interests of a single class, no matter how big and important that class may be." He underscored that economic differences among the peasantry should not be an obstacle for it to separate and organize separately, contrary to the other classes in society, but that this calls for "two different conversations, one right after the other: one with the urban economy, the other among themselves."

Believing that urban civilization had reached its peak and must decline, that the axis of economic and cultural life was moving in the direction of the rural and of the peasantry, Jovanović emphasized the need for a greater affirmation of the peasantry, as the youngest social class, and not just as a political and economic but also a cultural factor. It was exactly in a new, rural culture that he saw humanity's salvation "from unilateralism and injustice," stressing that the rural culture would "certainly be a new epoch in the history of humankind, the longest and most secure, because it will rest on the widest base," although the peasantry would not be able to erase all of its own past.

Speaking in detail about all the aspects of the peasantry's life and its changes throughout history, the most suitable form of future protection of the peasantry according to Jovanović are modern cooperatives, which are to "raise the cultural plane of rural areas and prepare them for rural and cooperative

culture." He pointed out that cooperatives suited the peasantry's mentality the most because they were not just a job for it, but rather also a kind of faith, into which it is introduced not just be reason but also by a feeling based primarily on a positive experience with rural patriarchal cooperatives and farmers' cooperatives ahead of World War I.

Sincerely devoted to the countryside and the peasantry, Dragoljub Jovanović did not observe the peasantry isolated from other social strata, nor rural areas and agriculture separately from urban areas and the urban economy. As a great erudite and an exceptional connoisseur of various world scientific literature, he followed all civilizational accomplishments and the most important historical events and processes, analyzing their consequences for overall social development, i.e. for all social strata. That is why his *Green Book*, in his own words, is his life's work, actually a *history of civilization* of sorts. Deeply contemplating the past, in it he presents – among other things – certain conclusions which sooner or later turned out (or are turning out) to be more or less prophetic. For example, finishing his work at the time when the end and the result of World War II was certain, he left a very interesting observation in it: "The division [of Germany] into four spheres of influence will be carried out somehow, otherwise the war would never end, or there would have to be a conflict among the allies. Since Germany and Japan will be weakened, a new war will not happen soon. The British and the Americans will have neither a need or the capacity to attack the USSR, and the latter will hesitate to lunge at the Anglo-Saxons across the ocean. A war might more likely break out over the Persian Gulf or China. One should not lose sight of the fact that the two Anglo-Saxon powers will find themselves together when one of them is put in danger..."

"Earlier there was talk of how 'there is no war without the Serbs.' Now, however, there is talk of the notion that the Germans alone can also carry a third world war. Peace in Europe, if not in the world too, depends on their attitude and orientation. If they join the Anglo-Saxons, the Soviets will look first and foremost to the East and Asia. If the Germans approach Moscow, the English will have to shift their center of gravity to the New World..."

"It may happen that the Western direction will prevail in the initial period, and then Europe will be under the increased influence of England and America. France will then especially remain with the West, together with Italy and Spain. But a turn must occur sometime because the German race will not give up on its centuries-old aspiration for the East. This time, penetration will be carried out in another way, politically and culturally. Then the Germans and the Slavs will rule Europe, with a focus toward the East. It is not ruled out that over time there may happen an internal fight in the Soviet Union between the Asian and the European directions, because after all, not just one people live between Vladivostok and The Hague.The Eurasian continent need not, and possibly even cannot, be under one government in its entirety. In that case, the Soviet Union, which would include a large part of Europe, would be divided into an eastern and a western one, like the Roman Empire was once." [Јовановић 2023: 654]

Having endless work energy, while creating one work Dragoljub Jovanović was already contemplating his next task, the next creation to come out of his pen. Already when he was organizing, during imprisonment and internment, the material collected for his *Green Book*, for his work *Rural and Cooperative Culture* – his *magnum opus,* as he called it – he was thinking "about the book that will come after the *Green* [*Book*]," about the book that was to provide an answer to the question: Why is he a farmer, or a peasant socialist? It was the book titled *Peasant Socialism* [Јовановић 1997b: 30]. He stressed that his love of peasant socialism had been initiated by Damnjan Kovačević[1], who had, however, adopted that socialism "in a regime of totalitarianism, fascist or at least authoritarian". It seemed to him at the time that it was much more likely "that backward countries will seek a way out of their poverty in some planned economy, which will be inspired by the social equalization of life levels". [Јовановић 1997d: 142].

While he completed the manuscript of *Rural and Cooperative Culture* at the very end of World War II, Jovanović had during occupation, i.e. until the summer of 1944, translated the brochure *Socialism and the Peasantry* into French and wrote *Peasant Socialism,* with a long introduction titled *Previous Work* [Јовановић 1997d: 142], the work he himself said was a popular presentation of his political ideology which, by his own admission, interested him much more than political power itself.

The manuscript *Peasant Socialism* comprised two units (books). The first consisted of three parts with 16 chapters, and the other of eight chapters, and each had many sections[2].

---

[1] Damnjan Kovačević, a dentist, writer, and pro-fascist ideologist. He preached a sort of peasant socialism during the occupation. After the war, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He served less, and then emigrated. He dealt in spiritism. (Драгољуб Јовановић, *Политичке успомене*, 12, Регистар личних имена", Београд 2008, стр. 139 [Dragoljub Jovanović, *Political Memories,* 12, Registry of Personal Names, Belgrade 2008, p. 139]).

[2] *BOOK ONE:* DEMARCATION– *Part One*: PREPARATORY WORK /or PREVIOUS WORK / (1910–1940)*; Part Two:* WHY AM I NOT...? – Why am I not a civic democrat? Why am I not a fascist? Why am I not a peasant democrat? – Why am I not a communist? *Part Three:* THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT – *Chapter X – WORKERS AND FARMERS RELATIVE TO THE STATE – Worker socialists and the state; Farmers relative to the state and government in general;Chapter XI – THE FIRST PEASANT MOVEMENTS EN ROUTE TO POWER: Without a peasant ideology, Peasant nationalists, Peasant democrats, Agrarian democrats, Co-operative members interested pensioners; Chapter XII – PEASANT SOCIALISTS RELATIVE TO VARIOUS REGIMES: Doctrines and movements are rejuvenated by their left, Socialism is rejuvenated by the peasantry, The peasantry takes taking power seriously, Peasant socialists distinguish between their opponents; Chapter XIII – CONQUERING POWER: The peasants' numbers themselves are not enough, The workers' revolutionary capacity is declining, The state, city and capital are still very strong, Peasants help the workers in power, Peasants demand the bulk of authority for themselves;* Chapter XIV – *RULING: Can peasants rule? Tradition of ruling with the Serbian peasant, 3. Peasants in parties, parliaments and governments, Intelligence, another's and one's own, The countryside – the source of a new government; Chapter XV – DEFENSE OF GOVERNMENT: The toppled ruling class versus the new one, The Bulgarian example is not crucial, He who acquires with more difficulty – defends better, Peasants will best safeguard the achievements in the USSR, The peasantry's objective capabilities are growing; Chapter XVI – ALONE OR IN A COALITION? – Society and state are becoming increasingly complex, The question of a purely peasant government must be raised, With the bourgeoisie or with workers? Who will be the left opposition to peasants?BOOK TWO* – ORIENTATION – *Chapter I*: *A FEAST IN THE CITY* (Founding of the People's Peasant Party)*, Chapter II*: *LEAF AND FLOWER* (Fundamental principles)*, Chapter III*:

Believing that without farmers' participation no thorough change to the existing social order could be carried out, Dragoljub Jovanović particularly focused on, among other things, the peasantry's coming to power. He underlined that the rule of a particular social stratum had never hinged on its size and that the best example of that was the peasantry, seeing as it had always been the majority of the population, while only World War I made it an active political factor. According to him, the power of the peasantry grew in parallel with the increasingly rapid reduction of its size, caused by economic, technical, cultural and educational progress. The future of the peasantry, he would say, "is tied to technical and spiritual progress, both general and its own. Not by numbers, but by enlightenment, technical know-how, economic and social organization, participation in the creation and expression of public opinion can peasants take over one social position after another and climb to the place from which the fate of individuals and the community is managed."

Stressing that the revolutionary capacity of the working class is decreasing, but also that the state, city and capital are still very strong, writing this work before the end of World War II he linked the fate of the peasantry to the inevitable changes that would happen after the war. "It remains to be seen what changes this war can bring, and what the power of the working people will be after hostilities have ended, and when a new world begins to be built."

In the expectation that the peasantry, as a social stratum with a billion and a half faces, will take the place it is entitled to by virtue of its size and social importance, he underlined that "any socialism without peasants, which ignores peasants or is against them is an expanded Herrenclub."

Jovanović saw organizing in cooperatives as defense of the peasantry against banks and merchants, in fact against the predominance of the urban,

---

SHELTER FROM THE STORM (International politics)*, Chapter IV*: *CONCORD AMONG BROTHERS* (Organization of the state)*, Chapter V: A FULL HOUSE – Economic and financial policy, Assessment of the global situation, How the peasant became indebted, Protection of farmers – protection of bankers, How peasants and craftsmen should have been separated, Crediting agriculture and crafts, Land to farmers! How to award land for controlled and planned economy, Three economic sectors, Private, cooperative and the public legal sector, Agricultural production is the most important, Forests and mines – to the community, First the agricultural industry, Electrification and industrialization, Cooperatives – the new puritanism, Organized exchange of goods, Central bank – a state institution, Means of transportation, a good of the people, A reasonable and just financial policy, Public works for improving the countryside; Chapter VI – RIGHT AND HEALTHY: Social policy and the people's health, Versatile protection of workers, National and farmers' insurance, Equal associates instead of hirelings, Apartments and homes within the plan, The people's health – general concern, Re-education of idlers and pests, Protection of mothers and children; Chapter VII: HARMONIOUSLY FORWARD! [LIGHT EVERYWHERE (Educational and cultural policy) – Civilization for the privileged minority, All civilizations excluded the countryside, Why isn't everything as cheap as food? The village gives birth to culture- the city enjoys it, The principles of new culture, The new school's tasks, The educational policy of the workers' democracy, Against the monopoly of diplomas and positions, Free ideational and cultural life; Chapter VIII: ALIGNING TO THE LEFT (Organization of the People's Peasant Party): Goals of the People's Peasant Party, Organs and means of struggle, How the party is organized, It is not easy being a member of the People's Peasant Party, Local councils the main force of the movement, Councils in cities, too?, The tasks of county councils, District and provincial realities, The Main Committee – the party's supreme leadership, The Executive Committee with roots among the people, Fighters and leaders, Congress – the party constitution maker, Allies of the peasant movement; CONCLUSION.*

but at the same time also as a powerful means of cooperation with the workers in power, who additionally multiply these organizations, even making them mandatory for the sake of their needs and purposes. Jovanović, however, also saw in cooperatives a great strength of the peasantry to, first and foremost, serve the government, then to defend it and, ultimately, to fight for the greatest possible participation in it.

After the peasantry's conquest of power, its ability to defend, i.e. preserve its own government is also especially important for Jovanović. He refutes the belittling of the peasantry's capability to fight for and defend its government, citing the Bulgarian example from 1923, by saying that the regime of Aleksandar Stamboliski collapsed quickly, primarily because it was the first experience of full peasant government, because it happened in a small and poor state surrounded by enemies (and defeated in World War I to boot), and because Stamboliski took on the governing position against his will. In Jovanović's opinion, the Bulgarian example is, in fact, a sort of foreplay, "a premature bud on the peasant tree, which died with winter's sudden return." At the same time, he points out: "One lost battle, in which there was only fighting, is worth more for the peasantry than ten lawsuits, led by lawyers, even if won in favor of peasants."

On the subject of the growing power of the peasantry, he underscored: "A conscious, organized and armed peasantry may be slower than an army or police, it may be less mobile and quick than armed workers, but it is terrible in its size and the fact that it holds food, present and future, in its hands: Dangerous as an opponent to capitalist governments, strong as an ally and helper of the working, worker-peasant and peasant-worker state, it will also pose the question of a purely peasant state to the world."

Parts of the second book of manuscripts *Peasant Socialism* are specific because they were written in the form of a dialogue, thus truly being the best means of "popular presentation" of his political ideology, as he himself would say.

Through a dialogue, first between Gavrilo "Gaša" Zlatić, president of the Commercial and Industrial Credit Bank from Belgrade, and Nemanja Jelić, a farmer in his 40s, president of the Farmers' Credit Cooperative; then between Stana, wife of farmer Radič Grbić, who is knitting, and Julijana-Lula, wife of banker Gavrilo Zlatić, who is playing with her silk parasol and cooling herself with a paper fan; then through a conversation in late December 1940 between Radič Grbić and priest Sava Zlatić, whom he asks whether the priest has any message for his brother, the banker; and, finally, through a conversation between Ljubica "Buba" Zlatić, the priest's daughter, a student of theology, who is drowsing in a hammock strung between two plum trees, and her neighbor and peer, peasant Ljubica "Ljuba" Dragović, who is sitting in the grass and knitting, Dragoljub Jovanović presented in the simplest way the organization of his People's Peasant Party, its program, goals, and tasks.

Dragoljub Jovanović's satisfaction with the fact that he had welcomed liberation with two of his until then most important manuscripts complete, was dimmed by learning that his manuscript *Rural and Cooperative Culture* had been considerably damaged by moisture during occupation. It took him quite

an effort to reconstruct the damaged parts. But, as his political activism again followed, for the first time in the role of a member of government, the reconstruction of the damaged parts of the manuscript went very slowly, and was definitely interrupted by his arrest on May 15, 1947, when both manuscripts were seized, followed by years of imprisonment.

Despite the pretty severe conditions of his incarceration, Dragoljub Jovanović's spirit did not falter. He read a lot and then wrote a lot, too. Apart from poems, which he wrote in investigative prison, during jail time he first began to write medallions – portraits of his contemporaries, in two books. He wrote both in the Mitrovica solitary, in the winter of 1948–1949, when "nearly all my fingers split open, especially on my right hand, from frostbite" [Јовановић 2020b: 342].

During preparations for writing a piece titled *Thoughts on Morality,* he requested that his family bring him Bouglé's *The Evolution of Values,* and then in a letter dated August 1, 1951 he highlighted the following: "My preparations are nearing their end and something is beginning to push me to write." During his time in prison he started and completed part three of *Life Philosophy and Morality,* which he had envisioned as an extension of *Peasant Socialism*.

He stopped writing in prison only for physical labor, which the management of the correctional facility had introduced for political convicts on May 20, 1954. However, since he was soon relieved of that, writing remained his chief preoccupation. During his discharge from prison, on November 28, 1955, he addressed the warden with the following words: "You certainly know, mister warden, that I have done some writing. There is plenty of it and it was all taken away from me. My manuscripts [written] by pencil amount to over 6,600 pages of quarter sheets. Please make sure they are not ruined. I have worked a lot and it is to the credit of your facility that I was allowed that." The warden replied that "all papers" were kept at the correctional facility, where they were read, after which a report was submitted to the Ministry, which then decided whether they were to be returned or not. Then he asked that the package be untied. After looking at a few titles, he assured Dragoljub Jovanović that "the papers" would not be ruined, but that the Ministry of Internal Affairs for Serbia would decide whether they would be returned to him [Јовановић 2008: 239].

He was particularly delighted when on December 16, 1956 he received his manuscripts created at the Sremska Mitrovica Correctional Facility. He turned down an offer from the chief of office of the interior minister of the Republic of Serbia, to bring the package to a cab, replying that he would take it home himself on a tram. "I enjoyed that weight, because it testified to [the fact] that I had been industrious in jail, and that it was not at all the forced labor I had been sentenced to." [Јовановић 2008: 306]

The package, tied with a thick string, contained the "prison" manuscripts, including an article titled *What the Croats Had Before Unification,* volumes of portraits of deceased contemporaries – *Medallions,* a collection of poetry and, of course, the manuscript *Thoughts on Morality,* without the last chapter and conclusion, which he did not write because he had been distracted by his early release from prison. Unfortunately, Jovanović could not add to this pack-

age a small diary and a notebook with his poems, works created in solitary cell No. 14 on the second floor of the facility's second building. He gave that to Obren Mališić, a young farmer from Banja near Peć, to read and then destroy, so that at least someone could see how he had "writhed in the worst kind of isolation, without company and without news, during the first months of the Informbiro" [Јовановић 2008: 238].

Designed as part three of *Life Philosophy and Morality,* as a sequel to *Peasant Socialism,* the manuscript *Thoughts on Morality* itself became a work comprising three large volumes. Putting the peasantry in this work, too, on the pedestal of the highest values, Dragoljub Jovanović does not give up on thoughts of the peasantry's struggle to take power: "It is better for the peasants to be without allies than to tie themselves to old, toppled classes, or to listen to peddlers of religious misconceptions (...) most likely peasants will find helpers for their struggle among the disgruntled and idealists from the upper class, among the intelligentsia and the youth (...) and they will be there, because the revolution has been unilaterally taken advantage of and because the less reasonable leaders, a new aristocracy and bourgeoisie have risen to the surface (...) this was confirmed by recent events..."[Јовановић Срђан 2025: 124].

Dragoljub Jovanović also criticizes Marxism, pointing to a different path to peasant socialism, otherwise a very vital thesis in his ideology. "The weakest spot of Marxism is the fact that it does not resolve the matter of the rural and the preasantry. It would prefer to destroy both: it would only have to carry on the work of the industrial and urban civilization, which has already reduced the number of peasants." [Јовановић Срђан 2025: 125]

Sticking to his ideology, he returns to the matter of cooperatives in agriculture, criticizing collectivization and farmers' working cooperatives, thereby actually continuing his previous criticism spoken in parliament: "A cooperative should help, should educate him, not frighten and terrorize him (...) in that regard the most severe psychological mistake has so far been made in so-called socialist states (...) collectivization was not carried out anywhere without hidden intentions: the objective was for the state to get 'its own' quickly and securely, and for farmers to be put in a subordinate position." [Јовановић Срђан 2025: 127]

Aggrieved at the position of the peasantry and the results of socialism at the time, the complete opposite to his understanding of socialism – especially the peasant one – Dragoljub Jovanović, as the ideologist of peasant socialism, underlines: "If we put on one side all that we are and what we have, what we really want and think – those would be various *Values.* On the other side would be the various *Relations* we are in. On the third side would be *Methods,* the ways in which we achieve our goals. Thence a ladder of values would be built which would be the starting point of relations among people and methods that suit peasant [socialism], therefore socialism in the broadest sense. It could look like this: 1. the modern man; 2. economy and civilization; 3. work and creation; 4. belief and title; 5. corporeal life and material goods; 6. psychological life; 7. beauty and art; 8. spiritual deepening; 9. the only life of ours; 10. dying and death; 11. the greatest good; 12. society and individuals. By studying all these

elements of our [life] and human life in general, we prepare to move from the world of values into the sphere of relations with other members of society." [Јовановић 2021: 109 and 110]

This is, in fact, the structure and backbone of Dragoljub Jovanović's *Thoughts on Morality* in three volumes, a sort of "encyclopedia of knowledge" [Јовановић Срђан 2020: 130].

After having reclaimed his manuscripts created at the Mitrovica Correctional Facility, Dragoljub Jovanović – for the first time politically inactive and free – spent more than three years working on their completion, tidying and typing them. At the same time, he translated three chapters from *Thoughts on Morality* into the French language, under the title *Relations Among Nations*.

With inexhaustible work energy on the one hand and without a political follower to carry on his work on the other, Dragoljub Jovanović, contemplating his political fate, decided to write as much as possible and thus leave "as many traces" about himself and his activities as possible [Јовановић Срђан 2020: 131].

As regards that, he wrote the following in his diary on October 2, 1962: "Last night I walked long and lonesome along the road from the Braće Stamenković cinema to Zvezdara. I was thinking and I made a decision to write, actually to start writing my *Political Memories.* Dana agreed, not knowing that this would cause quite a disturbance in my life. I cannot only draw from myself, like a spider spins of its web. I have to thoroughly go through and arrange my papers by years: flyers, letters, resolutions, newspaper cutouts. I also have to take a look at certain collections and sets of newspapers and magazines in libraries." [Јовановић 2020a: 74]

The very next day he got to work, about which he wrote: "With a certain nervousness and excitedly I took off the shelf in the girls' room a package with documents labeled with the word *Persönlich*. Before that I made 'sleeves' or 'folders' out of thin paper, one for each for now, for each year, starting from 1901, which my first political memory dates back to. Milan Bogdanović says 'recall'. That is how I started working on my *Political Memories,* at the suggestion – presumably well-meaning – from the Department of Historical Sciences of the Institute of Social Sciences. I am not writing for them, not even for their archive, least of all for the Collection of Works: they would neither buy nor print my work. I am writing because my [loved ones] at home also want me to. Thus, the reworking of *Rural and Cooperative Culture* and *Peasant Socialism* is postponed, and it was planned for after the translation of the book on *Nations.* And *Upstream,* a leftist philosophy experiment, for which I had made a temporary overview of contents back during the war, is particularly postponed. Once more the initiative for my fateful action has come from another." [Јовановић 2020b: 342]

After thorough preparation and the approach of the beginning of writing, Jovanović wrote the following in his diary on December 12, 1962: "Like a pregnant woman, I feel the hour of 'relief' drawing near. Perhaps already tomorrow I will start writing. I have foreseen thirteen chapters, divided into four books, for as many periods of my conscious life. Today I gave temporary titles to those books. *Fascinations,* for the period from 1906 to 1927 (joining the

Farmers' Alliance); *Knowledge,* for the years 1928 to 1938; *Sermons,* for the time of second imprisonment, the occupation and cooperation with the new authorities – 1938 to 1947; *Experiences,* for the years between 1948 and the present hours. I see a little Introduction where I would provide the workplace atmosphere, and finally Conclusions, if I manage to formulate them." [Јовановић 2020b: 342]

The next day he did indeed start writing: "I got up a little earlier, wished my daughter a happy 35th birthday and announced that I would again start a book on her 13th of December. It was successful for me when, 33 years ago, I began *Agrarian Policy* at the library of the Faculty of Law on Topličin Venac street. (...) I shaved immediately, dressed as if I was going out, and sat at my typewriter, remembering Machiavelli when he was working on *The History of the Roman Republic*. (...) Today is a minor holiday, and I generally have no ceremonial or a suitable environment for my work. I never did. My work is in my disorder. And the ceremonial mood is created as soon as I am swept up in my work and immerse myself in ideas and in finding ways to express them." [Јовановић 2020b: 445]

For nearly six years, Dragoljub Jovanović steadfastly wrote his memoirs. A diary entry of October 10, 1968 reads: "I am finishing book XII (340 pp. of pure text, with an extensive registry to follow) of *Political Memories.* I will not go further than the end of 1956, when I was given all the manuscripts from jail and started typing them. A period ended." [Јовановић 2020b: 446 and 447]

He did not write down when, exactly, he also finished the registry. It must have been before January 28, 1969, as that was when he started putting on fiches terms and words he would potentially focus on in *Intimacies*, a project he had planned on taking up after the completion of his memoirs. *Political Memories* were certainly completed and bound before April 14, 1969, since that was when Dušan Milačić[3] gave him back book XII, after having read it [Јовановић 2020a: 9].

Instead of the planned four books, Dragoljub Jovanović's memoirs ended up consisting of 12 books, each with a separate title: 1. *Fascinations* (1906–1927), 2. *Knowledge* (1927–1933), 3. *Sermons* (1933–1936), 4. *Experiences*

---

[3] Dušan Z. Milačić (1892–1979), a Romanist, historian of French literature and writer. Participant of World War I, as one of the "1,300 corporals." He retreated wounded through Albania. He studied the French language and south European literatures in Aix and Algeria (1918–1920). He was first an assistant teacher at the Men's Classical High School in Niš (1920) and manager of the Niš National Library. He defended his doctoral dissertation, titled *A Student of Paul Bourget and the Origins of the Reaction Against Taine's Positivism,* at the University of Zagreb in 1923. He was then appointed head of the Educational Division with the Yugoslav embassy in Paris (1925), where in 1925, at the Sorbonne, he also defended a state doctoral dissertation titled *The Theater of Honoré de Balzac According to New and Unpublished Documents,* and the supplementary thesis *The Unpublished Theater of Honoré de Balzac*. For this doctoral dissertation, printed in two enormous books, he won an award from the French Academy. For a short time, he was a French Language professor at the Military Academy, then the manager of the National Theater in Niš, a professor at the Third Men's Classical High School in Belgrade, he was a literary clerk at the National Theater in Belgrade, the secretary of the Actors' School, and the director of Drama. The occupation authorities retired him in 1942. From 1944 to his second retirement, he was the director of the National Library of Serbia.

(1936–1938), 5. *Trials and Tribulations* (1938–1940), 6. *Ascent During the Storm* (1940–1943), 7. *Mezza Voce* (1943–1945), 8. *Resistance and Punishment* (1945–1946), 9. *Opposition – Prison* (1946–1948), 10. *O, Prison, Mother!* (1948–1952), 11. *Upright (*1952–1956). The final, 12th book was a registry of personal names, with notes and explanations about the people he mentioned. In his life, Dragoljub Jovanović sold eight books to the Archives of Yugoslavia, so that they can be available to researchers.

Simultaneously with writing his memoirs, Dragoljub Jovanović again went back to writing his diary, starting on April 15, 1962, with the explanation: "I am not starting a new diary. I just [want] to write down some of what the Germans call *Erlebnis* [experience], for which the French do not have a suitable word. Not experiences, rather simply what should be remembered."

When his grandson Srđan asked him whether he was writing "a book, letters, or 'articleses,'" he replied that he was putting "everything that is happening" into his diary.

Dragoljub Jovanović defended himself from his wife Dana's reprimands that he was revealing in his Diary "personal matters of certain individuals and families", and that she feared "the children of the people who were presented fairly bare will later feel uncomfortable," by saying: "I think the value of the *Diary* and the *Letters* lies in the fact that they uncover uncomfortable truths. I have nothing against everything being said and written about me." Perhaps in this "defense" Dragoljub Jovanović actually revealed the true value of his diary, which he kept until March 4, 1973.

Strengthened by the hardship he had suffered in life, he did not feel the need to hide anything "uncomfortable" about himself, and he adhered to that even when speaking about others. That is why this diary is all the more important because it refers to the period that is not covered in *Political Memories,* which makes it a sort of supplement to his biography and an important source for future researchers, those who focus on the personality and work of this in every way outstanding person in recent Serbian history. At the same time, he represents an exceptional political time machine too, but also a lexicon of sorts of people of different profiles – from porters and maids, through respectable rural homeowners, to academicians and prominent public workers in various areas of social life, known and esteemed not only within the borders of Serbia and Yugoslavia, but also in Europe and the world. But they are not just Yugoslavs, rather also important figures from across Europe. Among them are: academicians of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Jovan Žujović, Radomir Lukić, Miloš Đurić, Slobodan Jovanović, Živojin Perić, Jovan Cvijić, Vasa Čubrilović, Jovan Dučić, and others; also: Mihailo Avramović, Rudolf Bićanić, Milan Gavrilović, Jovan "Pižon" Jovanović, Ljubomir Davidović, Milan Grol, Kosta Kumanudi, Dimitrije Ljotić, Vlatko Maček, Mijo Marković, Miloš Moskovljević, Moša Pijade, Jaša Prodanović, Dimitrije Tucović, Josip "Tito" Broz, Milovan Đilas, Nikola Vulić, Mihailo Konstantinović, Milan Kašanin, Mirko Rački, and others. Among foreign figures: Célestin Bouglé, René Fauconnet, Jean Cassou, Georges Friedmann, Georges Dupret, Fuscien Dominois, Jacques Kayser, R.V. Seton-Watson, Tomáš Masaryk, Aleksandar Stamboliski, etc.

With exceptional erudition, which he constantly built up on by incessantly reading diverse literature and following numerous media: radio, television, newspapers and magazines, and not just domestic but foreign ones, too, such as the Parisian *Le Monde, Le Figaro littéraire* and others, Dragoljub Jovanović kept up with events on the world and the internal political scene. He did not fail to record anything significant and to – even more importantly – comment and present his opinion on it. Stressing, for example, the immense importance of events in the Caribbean area, because "the Soviets are delivering arms to Cuba, and several thousand experts, mostly military ones, have already arrived," with a threat to America that they would help Cuba in the event of an American military intervention, while "the Americans are reacting very strongly and unanimously", calling "immediately for armed action, even before the 150,000 reserve soldiers whom Kennedy has called are mobilized," he describes Kennedy's statement that there would be no deployment of the U.S. military in Cuba as there was no danger to the Western hemisphere yet, as smart. He also noted that Kennedy certainly "will not tolerate any Cuban offensive, or even the solidification of communism in Cuba itself," or in the rest of America, Africa or Europe [Јовановић 2020a: 91 and 92].

As a man who contemplated and had his own opinion on every issue, he believed that the USSR had suffered a crushing defeat. Dragoljub Jovanović also touched on the results of Nikita Khrushchev's policy, calling it wrong in nearly all segments. "I am still thinking about Khrushchev. He has been ruling for almost ten years now, yet he has not had any success. Unless the technical wonders are attributed to him: flights into space and arming with missiles. He has liberalized life in the Soviet union, but did not dare democratize it. He set himself the goal of raising the light industry, to advance agriculture, to improve the Soviet people's standard of living. But all that was prevented by terrible expenditures for unnecessary bluffs in the universe – for long-range missiles. He suppressed in blood the rebellion in East Germany and in Hungary. He unsuccesfully prevented the coming of Gomułka to power in Poland, just like he couldn't put Tito back 'into the lager,' although he humiliated himself by courting 'Yugoslav revisionists'. He got into a quarrel with the Chinese, he lost Albania. He did not get loans from the Americans, and he fell out of favor with them by insulting Eisenhower and blackmailing Kennedy. He constantly made threats, yet did not make any of his threats come true. The biggest embarrassments: the wall in Berlin and the arming of Cuba. One comes to think that he is simply sabotaging world communism. I have been defending him until now, because he seemed to me skillful and crafty. The Cuban affair, after the Berlin Wall, embarrasses, humiliates and brings him down." [Јовановић 2020a: 93]

The Cuban crisis served Jovanović as an occasion to also comment on the foreign policy of the Yugoslav regime, i.e. its reorientation toward the West. Underlining that the Yugoslav authorities were for the first time "criticizing the Cubans and the Soviets" and thereby providing arguments and proving to the Americans "that 'a new conspiracy really is being hatched,' – that 'communist agents' are ruling Cuba, and that Cuba is turning into 'a communist military base,' which is irrefutable proof of 'great danger'", he pointed out that

Kennedy, despite opposition from the House of Representatives, would approve deliveries of wheat, lard and sugar to Yugoslavia, "but the regime will have to be meeker. Here we are, already not encouraging Cuba to accept Soviet weapons. Changes can also be seen in the new Constitution, first formal, and then to be real." [Јовановић 2020a: 93]

Disappointed in the new regime since the start of its formation, and having had the opportunity upon release from prison to see for himself how it functioned, Dragoljub Jovanović, for example, wrote: "And so I am constantly learning, and I will never learn how people live in this socialism of ours. Maybe because I am constantly hearing about the scarcity of the people who come to us or whom we go to." [Јовановић 2020a: 95]

Devoting his entire political career to the countryside and the peasantry, Dragoljub Jovanović was particularly sensitive to the regime's policy on rural areas, about which his friends and politically like-minded people informed him from the field: "'All the big talk has led us to ruin. They've put our land in 1st class and are not checking whether it has borne fruit or not. If I'm making a turnover of 150,000, the tax is 80,000. Not everyone can take this anymore. It's getting harder for the farmer every year. We ask, wasn't it worse when there was forced purchase. It wasn't, they say, because then we gave what we had: one ox out of three, three sheep out of ten. Today money, big money has to be given, and there's nowhere to take it from. The village is far from the road, there's no railway. This is how we toil and expose ourselves to danger from the police when going from house to house. If it goes on like this for another year, we will go and jump into the Sava and the Danube to drown, or we will take our pickaxes and scythes, and whichever way the ball bounces.' We were stunned by such a brave speech. It means it is up to their necks now." [Јовановић 2020a: 96 and 97]

Analyzing Yugoslavia's post-war economic development, with an emphasis on Serbia, Dragoljub Jovanović reached the following conclusion: "Economically, Yugoslavia has made progress with the help of the U.S. and others. There is an impression of abundance in stores. The dinar is constantly devalued. People and the country are living off loans, and many countries owe them. The bureaucratic apparatus in enterprises is oversized. The economic reform of 1965 did not produce results. For the first 10 years, two republics (Slovenia and Croatia) were invested in the most. Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro got a little, Serbia almost nothing. The Serbian communists stayed silent in the government. Now the figures are being presented: what Serbia gave, but that did not help." [Јовановић 2020a: 98]

Carefully following the 1968 student demonstrations in Belgrade, when students were attacking false socialism and the new, red bourgeoisie, and heartened by the news that students at the Faculty of Technology had put up a banner reading: "Farmers + workers + students = socialism," thereby accepting his notion of the peasantry as the most important factor in socialism, Dragoljub Jovanović conducted an analysis of the importance and character of the student demonstrations, singling out the five main postulates:

1. The fact that it has happened in the first place, and in a "socialist state" at that – it means the youth are unhappy – and that they have found a way to say it.

2. The whole thing has been carried out by *youth* because of whom we had begun to despair, thinking they were not interested in politics, that they were lost, that they only thought about themselves and their comfort: they have proved *the opposite.*

3. They did not put at the forefront their own, but rather *general social* problems, and set them up seriously, rationally, one could say in a stately manner.

4. This has happened in Belgrade, in *Serbia,* once again the banner of freedom, justice and equality has been raised there.

5. *Farmers* have, for the first time, been taken as a factor of transformation, and even placed before workers and students, as the first component of socialism [Јовановић 2020: 99].

Commenting on the existing official state policy, "that Shiptars should be given everything and completely satisfied," so that they may yearn for Albania less, he agreed "that the Shiptars really should be satisfied, come what may", pointing out: "We will fare even worse if through pressure we exalt their young nationalism."

Although aware of the separatist aims of the Shiptars in Kosovo and Metohia, that for that reason "the communists there are giving privileges to the Albanians, so the Serbs are leaving and there is increasingly few of them", the possibility of secession of some federal units from Yugoslavia – and Yugoslavia was his credo – caused in him great disappointment. First he was astonished by a statement by two Montenegrin students: Montenegro should secede from Yugoslavia and call the Americans for help, who would turn it into "Switzerland or at least Monaco – vacation resorts, casinos." He was also baffled by the "wise contemplation" of an intelligent young Slovenian woman – his sister Nada's daughter-in-law – "that it would be best for the Slovenians to have their own separate state", explaining that then they "wouldn't have to support the underdeveloped provinces in Yugoslavia", that there are even smaller states in the United Nations and that, due to an insufficiently large market for industry, Slovenia would develop as a tourist country (like Switzerland) [Јовановић 2020: 100].

In contact with numerous people from different spheres of social and political life, contemporaries of certain events, Dragoljub Jovanović was also able to learn certain details about the given events which have not been sufficiently clarified in Serbian historiography so far, and sometimes they were even misinterpreted. In a note, he conveys a statement by a direct witness to the real intention of Dragutin "Apis" Dimitrijević to eliminate Alexander Karađorđević: "On the same occasion, Zečević told the Radojević brothers what happened in 1916 or 1917 on the road between Zeitinlik and Kajmakčalan. As an engineer, Anta was given the task of turning an old Turkish army barracks into a field hospital. It seemed problematic to him to place the hospital and the tents right by the road itself, so he made a 'deviation' for access to the hospital and separated it from the road with a wall, to keep the wounded from being covered in dust. 'On the top of my deviation – this was now General Zečević talking – I had a small headquarters or command station. A guard reported that Regent Alexander was coming. I rushed out to greet him. He

asked my why the road had been rerouted and what kind of wall that was. I answered. The regent walked on, uphill. At one point rifles exploded. We didn't know what that was. A little while later, the regent was coming back down the hill. Apis was in my office. When he saw the crown prince, he apologized: 'They haven't killed the mutt. He's alive. I have to kill him myself.' – I jumped on him, to stop and prevent him. We struggled. We both fell to the floor. We were both dusty. When the regent arrived, we dusted ourselves off, straightened and saluted him.' When Anta Radojević heard this, he asked Zečević why he hadn't come to Thessaloniki to court and give his statement on Apis' intention and readiness to personally kill the regent, and that he had known he (the crown prince) had been shot at 'up there' and that they had missed 'the mutt!' Zečević replied: 'I couldn't accuse him. We were school friends from the youngest days. I couldn't do it.'" [Јовановић 2020: 101]

Jovanović's note on the last meeting between Nikola Pašić and Aleksandar Karađorđević is also interesting. It is known that King Aleksandar pointed out to Pašić the corrupt activities of his son and warned him that he could use them against him and even his family. However, Jovanović brings different details from that meeting, which shed light on the causes of King Aleksandar's direct resentment against Rade Pašić: "As for the December conflict in 1926, Vukašin said this. The king was bringing down Pašić and gearing up to remove him in favor of the court radicals – Uzunović, Lj[uba] Jovanović, B[ožа] Maksimović, V[elja] Vukićević. He was setting some difficult demands before Pašić. When the old man rejected them, he threatened to put his son Rada in prison for forging the king's signature. What forgery? When the Oplenac (royal complex) was being completed, the king urgently needed a hefty sum. His attorney addressed Rada, as the director of Slovenska Banka on Knez Mihailova street. Rada agreed, but asked for a bill of exchange. So as not to disturb the king, he signed it himself. When Alexander received a loan in Paris, he paid back the loan to Slovenska Banka, and the attorney brought him the bill of exchange with the forged signature. Alexander kept it, in order to use it for blackmail later. Pašić returned home depressed. And that night he had a stroke."[Јовановић 2020b: 101 and 102]

Jovanović's sudden interruption of keeping the diary on March 4, 1973 is most likely the consequence of his worsened health condition, which also caused him to abandon writing. That is also confirmed by the fact that in his material legacy, which is kept at the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, there is no manuscript of *Intimacies,* for which he had begun making fiches back on January 28, 1969, but some other texts as well, which he was thinking of doing. For the period from March 4, 1973 to his death on May 23, 1977 the legacy includes only his correspondence with Zagreb journalist Dragan Kalajdžić, the central part of which are certainly Jovanović's replies of November 21, 1973, to Kalajdžić's questions. The correspondence ends with Jovanović's letter to Kalajdžić dated March 18, 1974, in which he informs Kalajdžić – among other things – that he was sick from February 2 to the middle of March and that he is still not feeling quite well, stressing: "On the nights of February 2-3 and February 3-4 I experienced suffocation, and so

the doctor found that my heart has weakened and that I must stop receiving [visits], conversations *and writing.*" [Јовановић 2022: 702]

We do not know whether and what Dragoljub Jovanović wrote over the following two years, until March 19, 1976, when he sent a long letter to Desimir Tošić in London, and then two more, on April 14 and November 27, 1976, six months before his death. Even in them, therefore near the end of his life, he remained a consistent defender of Yugoslavia, as his first credo, even though its imminent dissolution was already apparent. He underlined: "Without Yugoslavia there is no life for us, for any of us. We just have to be reasonable and patient with the unspent nationalisms and narrow views", and stressed: "All the smart and mature Serbians (I am not saying all Serbs) want Yugoslavia to be preserved as it is and as big as it is, at the cost of the greatest sacrifice of the Serbs and Serbians." He particularly emphasized that farmers, his other credo, "all want Yugoslavia and cannot imagine going back to the way things were before." [Tošić 2000: 178, 179]

PUBLISHING OF JOVANOVIĆ'S WORKS

Dragoljub Jovanović, therefore, wrote up until his death, for more than 50 years. During that time, in the most diverse life circumstances, his imposing opus was created, imposing both in volume and content, unique in Serbian cultural heritage. Practically everything he wrote in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia he published in numerous dailies and magazines, or as independent publications, which he often organized and paid for himself. What stands out among them, besides the *Agrarian Policy* textbook (1930) and the unfinished textbook *Introduction to Social Policy* (1931), are the following brochures: *Alcohol and Labor* (1924), *Svetozar Marković* (1925), *Farming and Industry* (1925), *The Cult of Labor* (1927), *French Sociology* (1929), *Jean Jaurès* (1930), *Evolution of the Workers' Issue* (1932), *Social Structure* (1932), *The New Antaeus* (1934), *Farmers Against Fascism* (1936), *I Was in Spain* (1938), *Land and Labor* (1939), *The People's Peasant Party – Fundamental Principles* (1939), *Socialism and the Peasantry* (1941), *Teachers of Energy* (1946). Also, both of Jovanović's dissertations were published in France (1923), while the Division of Economics and History within the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace published his monograph *The Economic and Social Consequences of the War in Serbia,* in the French language (1930).

The fate of Jovanović's manuscripts from the time of internment, imprisonment and the occupation, like the fate of those created in the Sremska Mitrovica Correctional Facility, is, however, completely different. The manuscripts: *Rural and Cooperative Culture* and *Peasant Socialism* were confiscated during his arrest on May 15, 1947 and were never given back to him, whereas no publisher dared to publish the works from the Sremska Mitrovica penitentiary, which could already be glimpsed from a statement by Slobodan "Krcun" Penezić, vice president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and member of the Federal Executive Council, upon the

return of the manuscripts: "That is your work, we will give you back everything. As for publishing, that is your business." [Јовановић 2020a: 72 and 73]

Dragoljub Jovanović found out very quickly that not a single publisher dared to accept a manuscript from him for publishing. Having taken the manuscript for the book *On Nations* to his former fellow party member Nikola Lalić, director of Publishing Company Rad, he wrote in his diary: "I thought he would accept it and hand it over to the publishing council of his company, to request an opinion, and would ask the right person, 'higher-up' for advice. Lalić did not even touch the book, would not even hear about giving it to the council: 'I know that the thing is good, but they would blow me up with a bomb if I were to print it. Bring the blessings of two or three higher-ups, and then we'll fight over it." Lalić later spoke, with a tinge of irony, to Stanko Slavinski about Jovanović's "naïvete of an old proudhonist": how could he even think anyone would print his work [Јовановић 2020a: 73].

Publishing company Prosveta director Živorad "Gija" Dimitrijević replied to Dragoljub Jovanović that it was Kultura that published writings in ethics and philosophy. But Jovanović did not even think to address Kultura director Dušan Blagojević who had, previously, only out of fear that the receipt for a fee to the name Dragoljub Jovanović would end up in the Kultura archive, rejected him as a translator for sociological texts, even though he had received the publishing council's decision on that matter, a decision Veljko Korać had bravely fought for – to assign the translation to Jovanović. His argument was doubt concerning Jovanović's "expertise in sociology in both languages, and also that Nikola Popović, PhD, who was the [university] rector during the occupation and also out of prison, is already translating for Kultura." [Јовановић 2020a: 73].

Seeing that Lalić's claim was accurate, that he was undesirable for all publishing companies in the state – Dragoljub Jovanović by the end of his life published – on his own – a smaller portion of *Medallions,* in two books titled *People, People...,* and from the sizable work *Thoughts on Morality* just two out of the total 30 chapters, also in two books, titled *Serenities,* dedicated to his grandson Srđan and granddaughter Stela. The dedication reads: "To my grandson and granddaughter, so that they and their generations may believe in Man, love nature, and hope for the better from Civilization." [Благојевић 1980: 735]

With his unpublished complete manuscripts *Medallions* and *Thoughts on Morality,*in late 1968 Dragoljub Jovanović added a work of impressive size: *Political Memories,* in 12 volumes, but also a number of shorter texts including *What the Croats Had Before Unification* and *The Collapse of the Old Yugoslavia and the April Catastrophe.* Add to that the manuscript of the *Diary* kept in three periods: May 16, 1915 – November 21, 1918; February 29, 1932 – March 16, 1933; April 15, 1962 – March 4, 1973, he left behind an impressive legacy of manuscripts, additionally enriched with the saved, more specifically preserved parts of two manuscripts: *Rural and Cooperative Culture* and *Peasant Socialism.*

This extremely voluminuos legacy of manuscripts was for long far from public eyes, given that both Dragoljub Jovanović as a person and his work were rarely the subject of scientific research. Even if he was mentioned in historiographic papers, it was mostly in a negative sense. He was labeled an opponent

and enemy of the communist movement, i.e. of the social and political system in Yugoslavia at the time. Todor Stojkov was among the first to mostly objectively present Dragoljub Jovanović's role, in his doctoral dissertation titled *The Opposition Forces in the Fight Against the Regime of the January 6 Dictatorshipin 1931–1935*, defended in 1965, and then in the book *The Opposition During the January 6 Dictatorship in 1929–1935*, published in 1969. Much more time, however, needed to pass before the person and work of Dragoljub Jovanović became the subject of objective research, and not just in historiography. Obren Blagojević, in his work *Economic Thought in Serbia Until World War II,* which was accepted at the 12th meeting of the Department of Social Sciences of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on October 10, 1978, and published two years later, speaks in detail about Jovanović's economic doctrine, economic policy, economic history, with a conclusion of sorts: "Dragoljub Jovanović was a distinctive and very distinct person. Rare are economists whose science was so colored by politics, and vice versa: politicians whose views were so similar to what they wrote in scientific texbooks. In fact, science and politics were one and the same with him. If one were to look for a word to express them both, that would undoubtedly be the word *peasant*." [Mitrović 1982: 91]

Almost in parallel with Blagojević, Milovan Mitrović in his doctoral thesis titled *Sociology in Yugoslavia Between the Two World Wars,* which he defended in June 1979, and then also in the book titled *Yugoslav Pre-War Sociology,* published in 1982, critically analyzes *Peasant Socialism* and the *sociology* of Dragoljub Jovanović*,* and draws the following conclusion: "Neither sociology nor politics were in his lasting debt, but his case is to a great extent typical of the relationship between sociology and politics in our circumstances."[*Ни̲шки зборник* 1992: 5–174]

Among historians, Nadežda Jovanović, PhD, scientific advisor at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia, particularly committed herself to researching Dragoljub Jovanović and his work. First in 1991 she arranged and published selected political discussions by Dragoljub Jovanović: *Freedom from Fear*, published by the "Filip Višnjić" and Naučna Knjiga publishing houses. Then, in 1994, the Institute for Recent History of Serbia published her monograph titled *The Farmers' Left in Serbia in 1927–1939*. Between the publishing of these two books, Nadežda Jovanović initiated a scientific meeting on Dragoljub Jovanović, organized by the Institute for Recent History of Serbia and the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory on December 5, 1991, under the title "Dragoljub Jovanović's Political Thought," at which 14 scientific workers presented their statements on the different aspects of Dragoljub Jovanović as a figure and of his work [*Ни̲шки зборник* 1992: 5–174].

Together with Momčilo Isić, Nadežda Jovanović in 1997 published with the Institute for Recent History of Serbia a selection of Dragoljub Jovanović's texts: *The Peasant – Their Own Person*, while in 2000 the Institute for Recent History of Serbia also published her comprehensive monograph on the life and work of Dragoljub Jovanović, titled *Life for Freedom Without Fear.*

Simultaneously with researchers' increased interest in Dragoljub Jovanović and his work, the idea of publishing his *Political Memories,* stored at the Archives of Yugoslavia, was born. Aleksandar Jovanović, director of the Kultura publishing company, presented the idea to Dragoljub Jovanović's family in 1996. An agreement was reached for the Archives of Yugoslavia and Kultura to prepare *Political Memories* for print, in 12 volumes, and for the family to provide the printing paper, as well as the paper whereby printing would be paid for.

Based on this agreement, Dragoljub Jovanović's grandson Srđan Jovanović, in 1996, in the midst of the toughest sanctions against FR Yugoslavia, with permission from the U.N., sent from Austria two truckloads of paper for printing *Political Memories.* The first seven volumes were showcased at the Belgrade Book Fair in 1997, which was followed by a fair award of sorts. The publishing of the next five books was – for reasons unknown – not completed even by the following year's Belgrade Book Fair. As the delay continued beyond that, Aleksandar Jovanović explained it to Srđan Jovanović with the fact that, during the bombing of FR Yugoslavia in 1999, the Military Printing Shop was also hit, and that exactly the paper designated for *Political Memories* had been incinerated. Thus, with the end of the bombing, the publishing of Dragoljub Jovanović's *Political Memories* was also suspended for a longer period. It was completed no earlier than 2008, when the director of Public Enterprise Official Gazette, Dr. Slobodan Gavrilović, at Srđan Jovanović's request agreed to publish not just the remaining five volumes of *Political Memories,* but also the complete manuscript of the *Medallions,* in four volumes. It should be noted that PE Official Gazette made a particular contribution to presenting Dragoljub Jovanović's work to the public, when in 2018 – that is, 88 years after its publishing in the French language – it published Jovanović's study *The Economic and Social Consequences of the War in Serbia* and, especially, when in 2021 it published Jovanović's capital work in three volumes, *Thoughts on Morality,* on more than 3,000 pages.

The twenty volumes of published works by Dragoljub Jovanović did not, however, satisfy his family, primarily his grandson Srđan and granddaughter Stela. They wanted to gather and bind all that their grandfather had written, and not just what was left in manuscripts or what had not been published in the Serbian language, but also what had been published in numerous newspapers and magazines. They first published Dragoljub Jovanović's diary in four volumes; then, for the first time in the Serbian language, his main doctoral dissertation: *The Optimal Yield of Workers' Labor* and the secondary one: *The Modern Stimulants of Workers' Labor,* 100 years after he had defended them at the Sorbonne. They also gathered, in three large volumes, all of Jovanović's studies, discussions, articles, notes, reviews, speeches, and statements, both what had already been published in dailies and magazines and what was part of the manuscript legacy. They also published in the French language the piece *Les relations entre les Nations* (*Relations Among Nations*), but also the novel *The New Isolde,* and a book of Jovanović's poetry. In addition, they republished *Agrarian Policy* and *The Economic and Social Consequences of the War in Serbia.*

Dragoljub Jovanović's family invested a special effort into publishing the preserved parts of the manuscripts *Rural and Cooperative Culture* and *Peasant Socialism,* which were confiscated during Jovanović's arrest on May 15, 1947 and never given back to him. Apart from the fact that some parts of the manuscript *Rural and Cooperative Culture* were completely missing, the preserved parts were to a considerable extent damaged by moisture, which made reconstructing the text during typing difficult. With great effort, about 90 percent of the manuscript was reconstructed and published. On the other hand, the preserved portion of the manuscript *Peasant Socialism* was not damaged, but about two-thirds of it are completely missing. Despite their being incomplete, the family decided to publish both manuscripts, keeping in mind their importance, especially the importance Dragoljub Jovanović himself attached to them, considering *Rural and Cooperative Culture* his *magnum opus,* and *Peasant Socialism* a popular presentation of his political ideology.

In the end, without anyone else's help, Dragoljub Jovanović's family published 16 volumes of their forebear's works, with the above mentioned participation in publishing *Political Memories.* Respecting his grandfather's hometown, grandson Srđan Jovanović and granddaughter Stela Damnjanović Ćirić wanted the Historical Archives of Pirot to also be registered in the impressum of all the newly published volumes as the publisher, alongside Dragoljub Jovanović's family. In that way, 35 volumes in total of Dragoljub Jovanović's written works, on some 18,000 pages, are available to researchers in various scientific fields, seeing as multidisciplinarity is one of the main characteristics of Jovanović's works.

REFERENCES

[Благојевић 1980] → Обрен Благојевић. *Економска мисао у Србији до Другог светског рата*, САНУ, Београд 1980. [Obren Blagojević. *Economic Thought in Serbia Until World War II*, SASA, Belgrade 1980]

[Ђорђевић 1992b] → Драгољуб Ђорђевић. Д. Јовановићево тумачење атеизма, *Nissa*, Ниш, 1–4/1992. [Dragoljub Đorđević, D. Jovanović's Interpretation of Atheism, *Nissa*, Niš, 1–4/1992]

[Јовановић 1930] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Аграрна политика*, Графички институт „Народна мисао", Београд 1930. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Agrarian Policy*, Graphics Institute Narodna Misao, Belgrade 1930]

[Јовановић 1940] → Драгољуб Јовановић. Снага сељаштва јуче и данас, *Српски књижевни гласник*, LX, 6 и 7/1940. [Dragoljub Jovanović. The Power of the Peasantry Yesterday and Today, *Serbian Literary Herald*, LX, 6 and 7/1940]

[Јовановић 1997] → Драгољуб Јовановић, Сељак – свој човек, приредили Надежда Јовановић, Момчило Исић, Институт за новију историју Србије, Београд 1997. [Dragoljub Jovanović. The Peasant – Their Own Person, arranged by Nadežda Jovanović, Momčilo Isić, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade 1997]

[Јовановић 1997a] → Драгољуб Јовановић.*Политичке успомене*, 2, Сазнања, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 1997**.** [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Political Memories*, 2. Knowledge, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 1997]

[Јовановић 1997b] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Политичке успомене*, књ. 3, Проповеди, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 1997.

[Dragoljub Jovanović. *Political Memories, Vol. 3*, Sermons, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 1997]

[Јовановић 1997c] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Политичке успомене*, књ. 6, Узлет у бури, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 1997. [Dragoljub Jovanović, *Political Memories*, Vol. 6, Ascent in the Storm, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 1997]

[Јовановић 1997d] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Политичке успомене*, књ. 7, Mezza voce, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 1997. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Political Memories,* Vol. 7, Mezza voce, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 1997]

[Јовановић Надежда 2000] → Надежда Јовановић. *Живот за слободу без страха*, Институт за новију историју Србије, Београд 2000. [Nadežda Jovanović. *Life for Freedom Without Fear*, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade 2000]

[Јовановић 2008a] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Политичке успомене,* књ. 11, Усправно, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2008. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Political Memories,* Vol. 11, Upright, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2008]

[Јовановић 2008]] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Политичке успомене*, 12, Регистар личних имена, Београд 2008. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Political Memories*, 12, Registry of Personal Names, Belgrade 2008]

[Јовановић 2020a] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Дневник*, 1, приредио Момчило Исић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2020. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Diary*, 1, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2020]

[Јовановић 2020b] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Дневник*, 2, приредио Момчило Исић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2020. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Diary*, 2, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2020]

[Јовановић 2020b] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Дневник*, 2, приредио Момчило Исић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2020. [Dragoljub Jovanović, *Diary,* 2, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archive of Pirot, Belgrade 2020]

[Јовановић 2020c] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Дневник*, 4, приредио Момчило Исић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2020). [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Diary*, 4, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2020]

[Јовановић 2021] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Оптимални принос од радничког рада*, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2021). [Dragoljub Jovanović.*The Optimal Yield of Workers' Labor*, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2021]

[Јовановић 2021] → Драгољуб Јовановић.*Размишљања о моралу*, I, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2021. [Dragoljub Jovanović.*Thoughts on Morality*, I, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2021]

[Јовановић 2022] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Студија, расправе, чланци, белешке, прикази, говори и изјаве*, 1, приредили Момчило Исић, Стела Дамјановић-Ћирић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2022. [Dragoljub Jovanović, *Studies, discussions, articles, notes, reviews, speeches, and statements,* 1, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Stela Damnjanović-Ćirić, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2022]

[Јовановић 2022] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Студије, расправе, чланци, белешке, прикази, говори и изјаве*, 1, приредили Момчило Исић, Стела Дамњановић Ћирић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2022. [Dragoljub

Jovanović, *Studies, discussions, articles, notes, reviews, speeches, and statements,* 1, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Stela Damnjanović-Ćirić, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2022]

[Јовановић 2023] → Драгољуб Јовановић. *Рурална и задружна култура*, приредили Момчило Исић, Срђан Јовановић, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2023. [Dragoljub Jovanović. *Rural and Cooperative Culture*, prepared by Momčilo Isić, Srđan Jovanović, Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2023]

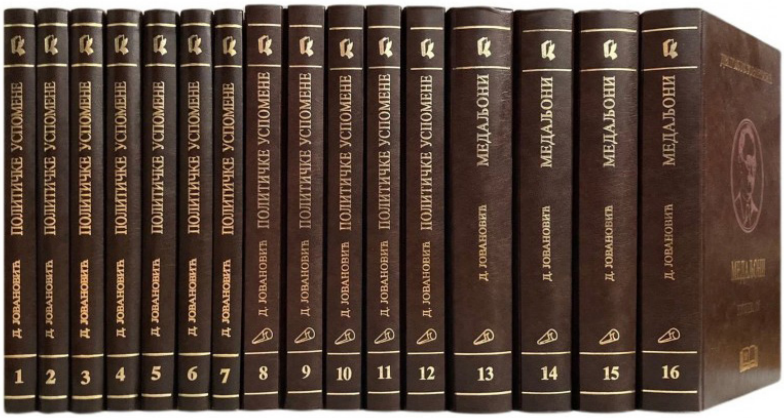
[Јовановић Срђан 2025] → Срђан Јовановић. *Идеологија Драгољуба Јовановића*, Породица Драгољуба Јовановића и Историјски архив Пирот, Београд 2025. [Srđan Jovanović. *The Ideology of Dragoljub Jovanović,* Dragoljub Jovanović's family and the Historical Archives of Pirot, Belgrade 2025]

[Mitrović 1982] → Milovan Mitrović. *Jugoslovenska predratna sociologija*, Istraživačko-izdavački centar SSO Srbije, Beograd 1982. [Milovan Mitrović.*Yugoslav Pre-War Sociology*, the Research and Publishing Center of the League of Socialist Youth of Serbia, Belgrade 1982]

[*Нишки зборник* 1992] → „Драгољуб Јовановић – научник, политичар, страдалник", Нишки зборник за друштвено-историјска и културна питања *Nissa*, № 1–4/1992. [*Dragoljub Jovanović – Scientist, Politician, Sufferer*, Niš Anthology for Socio-Historical and Cultural Issues *Nissa*, № 1–4/1992]

[Тодоровић1992a] → Мирјана Тодоровић. Демократска уверења Драгољуба Јовановића, *Nissa*, Ниш, 1–4/1992. [Mirjana Todorović.The Democratic Beliefs of Dragoljub Jovanović, *Nissa*, Niš, 1–4/1992]

[Тошић 2000] → Desimir Tošić.*O ljudima: eseji, zapisi, sećanja*, Slobodan Mašić, Beograd 2000 [Тошић 2000] → [Desimir Tošić. *On People: Essays, Writings, Memories*, Slobodan Mašić, Belgrade 2000]



A FORGOTTEN SCHOLAR: ANTONIJE (ANTUN) FARČIĆ AND HIS HISTORIOGRAPHICAL WORK

SOFIJA BOŽIĆ
Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Trg Nikole Pašića 11, Belgrade, Serbia
sofijamisa@yahoo.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7411-6343



SUMMARY: This paper* is dedicated to Antonije (Antun) Farčić's historiographical research. It opens with an overview of his biography, literal endeavors, and national identity, and then goes into Farčić's articles on early medieval Serbian history, with special emphasis on the history of Serbs living along the coast of the Adriatic Sea (Coastal Serbs). The paper sheds light on some of Farčić's views that differ from those embraced by the academic community. The reader's attention is drawn to the reception of Farčić's opus by the Croatian public. It has also been established that his findings were marginalized for ide-

* Thispaperis a result of work at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia which is funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, and based on the Agreement on the Implementation and Financing of Scientific Research Work of the Institute in 2025 № 451-03-136/2025-03/200016 of 4 February 2025.

ological and political reasons. Together with Farčić's books, studies, treatises and articles, archival materials, periodicals, relevant scholarly literature and electronic sources have been used for the purposes of this research as well.

KEY WORDS: Antonije (Antun) Farčić, Catholic Serbs, historiography, Coastal Serbs, Neretvan state, Duklja (Doclea), Mihailo Višević, Croatian forgeries

Antonije Farčić, Romanist, writer, and historian, is one of the Serbian cultural figures that faded into undeserved obscurity. Writings about Farčić appear rarely in bibliographies, and are limited to lexicographical entries published in *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije* (Lexicon of Yugoslav Writers)[1] [Gjivoje 1979: 105] and in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (Croatian Biographical Lexicon) [M[ilači]ć i R[edakcija] 1998: 135–136] *et sim*. As a result, the general public knows very little, if anything, about this hardworking, dedicated man of culture, worthy of profound admiration for his unquestionable intellectual integrity and courage to present the results of his research even though they were politically inconvenient and, for that reason, criticized and contested. Farčić, however, deserves a distinguished place not only in the history of Serbian historiography, but also in Serbian poetry and literature in general.

BIOGRAPHY

Farčić was born on February 2, 1890, in Vela Luka on the island of Korčula. The assumption is that family Farčić – the nickname Priša – originated from the island of Hvar. The first member of the family whose name was recorded in Vela Luka was Petar, born in the first half of the 18th century. There is no other, more detailed account of the first Farčićs of Korčula. It was not until Petar, known as Vuko, who was Antonije's father, that historical records confirmed the lineage. Petar was born in 1864 and died in 1937. He served as a municipal clerk in Vela Luka. Although his allegiances lay with the Party of Rights, he was a strong advocate of the Yugoslav idea of unification. For that reason, he was deported to Italy after the First World War. Later on, when Korčula became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, he became a leading figure of the Radical Party in Vela Luka, and in the 1930s he joined the Yugoslav National Party. He was known as a poetry- and prose-writer, leaving behind many unpublished poems, as well as autobiographical writings about events from his youth and during his internment in Italy[2].

Antonije was born to Petar and Kata Surjan (1869–1924). He had two brothers, Radislav and Petar-Radimir, the letter dying as a child, and four sisters, Marija, Ljubica, Nevenka, and Kata. Antonije attended elementary school in his hometown and after he completed a school for teachers in Arbanasi, near Zadar, he worked as a teacher in the village of Blato, on the Korčula island (1909–1911), in Vela Luka (1911–1913), and after that in the village of Viganj on the Pelješac peninsula, and in the Dalmatian hinterland (Dalmatin-

[1] The same author also wrote several sentences about A. Farčić in his book [Gjivoje 1969:[2] 274].
[2] http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=3_28794

ska Zagora), from 1914 to 1915[3]. Maturing against the backdrop of the Yugoslav national idea, and belonging to a generation evolving in the spirit of Slavic solidarity and Serbo–Croat unity, he gained the reputation of an enemy to the Habsburg Monarchy. Labelled a traitor, he was arrested and imprisoned during the First World War in Sarajevo, Dubrovnik, Split, Šibenik, and Graz. In 1915, he was tried in Graz and sentenced to eight years of hard labor[4]. After the war, due to his pro-Yugoslav activities, he was held in internment centers in Ancona and Potenza, Italy, from December 1918 to February 1919. During a transfer from Potenza to Sardinia, he managed to escape and was a free man again. He reached Paris, where he wrote an open letter to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and to the prime ministers of France and Great Britain, Georges Clemenceau and David Lloyd George, respectively, protesting against the Italian occupation of Dalmatia, violence in the occupied territories, and the harassment he had suffered at the hands of the Italian authorities during his internment [Farčić 1919]. He returned to the Balkans and was appointed a teacher in Imotski, but was soon granted leave to continue his studies in Paris [Бојовић 2022: 13]. He stayed in the French capital for several years, studying French language and literature, as well as history, at the Sorbonne. Having completed eight terms in November 1923, he wrote to the Dean's Office at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, asking for permission to, due to financial constraints, take his final exams in the capital of Serbia and Yugoslavia[5]. The request was granted, and having passed all the exams provided by the Medieval History, Comparative Literature and Literary Theory curricula[6], he graduated in 1924. He expected to be employed by either of the two schools for teachers in Skopje and Jagodina, but he was not[7]. Instead, in the years leading up to the Second World War he taught in various parts of Yugoslavia, namely, in teachers colleges in Dubrovnik, Šibenik, Pakrac, and Sarajevo, as well as in grammar schools in Nikšić, Šibenik, Belgrade, and Prizren. After the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, he fled to Serbia, where he was appointed an acting principal of the 1st Boys' Grammar School in Kragujevac. He held that position from June 13 to September 29, 1941 [*Spomenica gimnazije u Kragujevcu* (*The Memorial Bookof the Kragujevac Grammar School*) *1833–1983*, 1989: 856], narrowly escaping death in the mass shootings carried out by the Nazi occupiers in Šumadija, on October 20 and 21, 1941, when several thousand

---

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Архив Српске академије наука и уметности (Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, hereinafter: АСАНУ), Заоставштина Федора Никића (Fedor Nikić's Legacy) 14530-VII-Г/5: Антоније П. Фарчић – уреднику Слободне Далмације: Исправак (Antonije P. Farčić to the editor of *Slobodna Dalmacija*) Correction, Belgrade, August 4, 1956.

[5] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца (Miodrag Ibrovac's Legacy), 14450/283-1: Антун Фарчић – Миодрагу Ибровцу (Antun Farčić to Miodrag Ibrovac) Dubrovnik, November 21, 1923.

[6] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца (Miodrag Ibrovac's Legacy), 14450/283-1: Антун Фарчић – Миодрагу Ибровцу (Antun Farčić to Miodrag Ibrovac), Belgrade, April 27, 1924. (Farčić misdated the letter as 1923, since an internal analysis of its contents indicates that it was written in 1924.)

[7] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца (Miodrag Ibrovac's Legacy), 14450/283-1: Антун Фарчић – Миодрагу Ибровцу (Antun Farčić to Miodrag Ibrovac), Belgrade, July 12, 1922.

innocent civilians were killed[8]. He was retired at that time, only to be reinstated in the 1944/45 school year as a "professor without teaching duties" in the Real Grammar School for Boys "Miloš Veliki" in Kragujevac [Споменица гимназије *у* Крагујевцу (*The Memorial Bookof the Kragujevac Grammar School*) *1833–1983* 1989: 869]. He spent the rest of his life in Belgrade, where he passed away in 1975. He was buried on April 26 at the Central Cemetery, and one of his students, Saša B. Vasiljević, gave a heartfelt farewell speech[9]. Aside from Farčić's grave at the Central Cemetery in Belgrade, there is another tombstone, inscribed in Cyrillic, at the cemetery in Vela Luka[10]. He was married twice. With his first wife, Lucija Stražičić, he had a daughter, Tatjana, a distinguished ballet dancer. His second marriage was to Branislava (Branka) Ajdačić.

LITERARY WORKS

Farčić had been devoted to the art of poetry since an early age. In 1909 he wrote the poem *Velolučka poputnica* (*A Farewell Song of Vela Luka*), which after Nikola Mirošević composed music specifically for it in 1925, became the town's unofficial anthem. Farčić published his verses in newspapers, journals, and other periodicals. The *Lexicon of Yugoslav Writers* and the *Croatian Biographical Lexicon* have listed the following: *Ilustrovane novosti* (1918, 1919), *Ženski svijet* (1918), *Jugoslavenska žena* (1918–1920), *Ilustrirani novi Jug* (1919), *Vijenac* (1924), *Srpski književni glasnik* (1924), *Novo doba* (1925–1933), *Jadran, kalendar* (1927–1930, 1932), *Jadranska straža* (1928), *Razvitak* (1929), *Hrišćanska zajednica* (1933), *Dubrovačka tribuna* (1933), *Jugoslovenski rasvit* (1934–1939), *Glas* (Šibenik, 1937), *Srpski glas* (1940), and *Prosvjeta, kalendar* (Belgrade). Farčić also contributed to the Споменица педесетогодишњег верско-националног *и* културно-просветног рада богословско-литерарне дружине „Растко" (*TheMemorial Book: Fifty Years of Religious, National, Cultural and Educational Work of the Theological and Literary Society "Rastko"*) *in Prizren 1889–1939* (1940) and to Косовска народна читанка (*Kosovo National Anthology*)*,* published in 1940.

He published his poetry in two collections: *Stihovi* (*Verses*) [Фарчић 1924][11] and *Pesme* (*Poems*) [Фарчић 1934]. His poetry was elegiac in tone,

---

[8] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Федора Никића (Fedor Nikić's Legacy), 14530-VII-Г/5: Антоније П. Фарчић – уреднику Слободне Далмације (Antonije P. Farčić to the editor of *Slobodna Dalmacija*) Correction, Belgrade, August 4, 1956.

[9] We were unable to determine the exact date of A. Farčić's death. The *Croatian Biographical Lexicon* lists it as 25 April; however, in the obituary published by his wife in the *Politika* daily, it is stated that he passed away on April 21 "at noon." [Политика 1975a: 32]. On the other hand, six months later, in a memorial notice, his wife wrote that "26 September marks six months since the painful parting." [Политика 1975б].

[10] https://stanjestvari.com/2019/10/01/farcic-kralj-tomislav/ If Farčić's remains were not moved from the Central Cemetery in Belgrade, it is possible that the tombstone at the Vela Luka cemetery was erected as a memorial by a member of the Farčić family who stayed on the island of Korčula.

[11] The book was met with harsh criticism in *Jugoslavenska njiva*. In his review, Jakša Ravlić dismissed the collection as "redundant" and described the author as *stihodelja* – a plain verse-maker versifier – rather than a genuine poet. Out of 54 pieces, Ravlić accepted only seven as true

and influenced by earlier poets, particularly those of the Modernist movement. Marinko Đivoje of Korčula, who authored a monograph on his native island, believed that Farčić had composed his poetry in Jovan Dučić's style [Gjivoje 1969:[2] 274].

Alongside his work as a poet, Farčić translated from French and other languages, wrote plays, reviews and historical essays. As early as in his high school years, he launched and edited a short-lived satirical journal, *Papataž* (1908). The authors whose works he translated most frequently were Alfred de Musset and Charles Baudelaire. In a letter to Professor Miodrag Ibrovac, he let the distinguished Romance scholar know that he had occasionally published feuilletons in the Split-based newspaper *Novo doba*, devoted to French writers such as Maurice Barrès, Jules Michelet, Charles Loiseau, and others[12]. His historical dramas *Braća Crnomiri* (*The Crnomir Brothers*) and *Čudesa svete Mande* (*The Miracles of Saint Manda*) remained the manuscripts, and excerpts from *Turci pod Korčulom* (*The Turks underKorčula*) were published in *Zbornik otoka Korčule* 1 (*Collection 1 of the Korčula Island*) in 1970. Using the local dialect, he wrote the humorous sketch *Pitsmoher*, performed by the drama section of the choral and tamburitza society *Hum*, whose founder, among others, was Antonije Farčić himself. He wrote on historical themes for Belgrade's newspapers *Republika* and *Politika*, *Glasnik Srpske pravoslavne crkve* (*Journal of the Serbian Orthodox Church*), a magazine published in Cetinje, Montenegro, *Istorijski zapisi* (*Historical Records*), and his other historically-themed contributions appeared also in the monographic collections *Krajina i Krajišnici* I and II (*Krajina and Krajina People*), published in 1968 and 1970, respectively, as well as in other publications.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

The name of Antonije Farčić (as a historian) appears in the well-known book *Katolički Srbi* (*Catholic Serbs*) by Laza M. Kostić, written during Farčić's lifetime [Kostić 1963: 85]. Indeed, Farčić demonstrated his commitment to the Serbian identity in many ways, and may rightfully be regarded as belonging to the Serbian people. He was born in the 19th century, when many Roman Catholics living along the eastern Adriatic coast – most notably in Dubrovnik

---

poems, while the rest, in his opinion, were mere "verses." The critic placed Farčić in the category of "unknown authors" and "beginners," since, as he put it, prior to the collection Farčić had published only three poems (in *Jugoslavenska žena* and *Srpski književni glasnik*), and, like his peers in the group, inundated the public with worthless works, "hoping to sell the bad along with the good". Ravlić insisted that Farčić's poems were monotonous bordering on "wearisome", but recognized at least one redeeming quality – that they were "at times warm and sincere." He advised Farčić not to write in haste, for "what matters in poetry is quality, not quantity" [Ravlić 1924: 38–39]. The truth is though that Farčić had published more than three poems prior to the appearance of the collection. *Ilustrovane novosti* published his poetry as early as 1918, four times to be specific, and by 1924 he had published some fifteen poems in total, not only in *Ilustrovane novosti* but also in *Jugoslavenska žena*, *Ženski svijet*, *Ilustrirani novi Jug*, and *Srpski književni glasnik*. See [*Bibliografija rasprava,* članaka *i književnih radova II/1: poezija* 1969: 552–553].

[12] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца (Miodrag Ibrovac's Legacy), 14450/283-1: Антун Фарчић – Миодрагу Ибровцу (Antun Farčić to Miodrag Ibrovac), Belgrade, April 27, 1924.

– began to articulate their ethnicity, and to oppose a covert project run by the Catholic Church, aimed at Croatizing the Slavic flock from Rab in the north to Špič in the south, disregarding their ethnic origins, which by no means could help merge them with the Croatian national corpus[13].

Illustrating Farčić's evolution from Croatdom to Serbdom – already noticeable in the first years after the Great War – are his own words in a letter to Miodrag Ibrovac, in which he apologized for his "poor Cyrillic", and for still failing to rid himself completely of Croatianisms, but hoping "that all this would be easier and quicker" in the future, as he would be able to live in Serbia. Equally revealing is the enthusiasm he displayed when it became evident that he would be able to live in Serbia[14]. Equally illustrative is the thrill he did not hide when it was clear he would be able to finish his studies in Belgrade. "No greater joy or happiness could I have imagined. believe me! It's one of the most beautiful dreams of my youth, and now I might be able to fulfil it. The possibility of graduating from the University of Belgrade, *in Belgrade,* has always been imbued with a certain noble charm of national romance, even in the Austrian era. For us, there are only two capitals in the world: Paris and Belgrade. One should indeed be educated in Paris, but graduate in Belgrade!"[15] Not only was Farčić embracing Serbdom, but Orthodoxy, too, even though there is no strong evidence of him converting to it officially. The traces he left behind have outlined the path that had brought him closer to the Orthodox faith; he would, of course, use his Christian name to sign his contributions to various publications, but in time he would use "Anton" more frequently, eventually preferring "Antonije"[16]. In this same context, when the Orthodox Church in Vis was consecrated in 1933, he published a poem whose title referenced the event, and dated a 1951 letter to his sister as the day on which "our Orthodox Christmas" fell [Бојовић 2022: 16].

UNDER POLITICAL PRESSURE

In his younger days, Farčić was devoted to literature, but applied himself to historiographical research after retirement. A number of treatises and articles were released as a result: S*rbi i pomorstvo* (Serbs and Seafaring) [Фарчић 1953а и б], *„Veleizdaja" u Cavtatu* ("High Treason" in Cavtat) [Фарчић 1956:

---

[13] Catholic Serbs were written about both before and after Laza M. Kostić, partly in research papers, partly in publicistic literature: ([Бакотић 1939], [Барић 1940], [Тадић 1971], [Милутиновић 1989], [Митровић 1992], [Борак 1998], [Жутић 2006] and [Љушић 2012]). Croatian authors, however, do not accept as relevant to determining the ethnic identity of the Roman Catholic population along the coast the scholarly interpretation of early history based on data contained in the work of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.

[14] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца (Miodrag Ibrovac's Legacy), 14450/283-1: Антун Фарчић – Миодрагу Ибровцу (Antun Farčić to Miodrag Ibrovac), Belgrade, July 12, 1922.

[15] АСАНУ, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца (Miodrag Ibrovac's Legacy), 14450/283-1: Антун Фарчић – Миодрагу Ибровцу (Antun Farčić to Miodrag Ibrovac), Belgrade, November 21, 1923.

[16] On Farčić's tombstone at the Central Cemetery in Belgrade, the name *Antonije* and the nickname *Toni* are inscribed in Cyrillics. The monument was most likely erected by his wife, who outlived him by fifteen years and, in all probability, chose the form of his name that was dearest to him, or simply acted in accordance with his previously given instructions.

2], *Kako je bilo ime sinu neretljanskog vojvode Rusina* (What Was the Name of Neretvan Duke Rusin's Son) [Фарчић 1957: 265–270], *Maronia i Mariani* (Maronia and Mariani) [Фарчић 1963: 297–303], *O postanku kraljevske vlasti kod primorskih Srba* (On the Origin of Royal Authority among the Costal Serbs) [Фарчић 1965: 405–427], *Granica Krajine i granice između Porfirogenitove Srbije i Hrvatske* (The Border of the Krajina, and the Boundaries between Porphyrogenitus's Serbia and Croatia) [Фарчић 1968: 13–17], *Reka Sava kao severna granica Bosanske krajine* (The River Sava as the Northern Border of the Bosnian Krajina) [Фарчић 1970: 19–26], *Da li je postojao kralj Tomislav* (Was There Ever King Tomislav?) [Фарчић 1974: 14–16], *Hercegovina u srednjem veku* (Herzegovina in the Middle Ages) [Фарчић 1959], and others. Farčić's earnest interest was in the early history of Serbs – since they had settled in the Balkans and, more specifically, built their first states along the Adriatic coast. Born and raised on the coast himself, his interest in the history of that region is only logical, and he strived to reconstruct it, and establish the origins of the people living by the sea and on the nearby islands. There is no doubt that his knowledge of that part of history was profound, as profound as his knowledge ofboth Serbian and Croatian medieval and early modern history was. Keeping up with the scholarly achievements of his time, he was very well informed, and made use of relevant literature and sources. Farčić relied on both younger and older Serbian, Croatian, and foreign researchers: Ferdo Šišić, Franjo Rački, Nikola Radojčić, Boško Desnica, Nikodim Milaš, Miho Barada, Grga Novak, Heinrich Biedermann, Vasa Glušac, Jovan Tomić, Vladimir Ćorović, Georgije Ostrogorski, Jadran Ferluga, Ljuba Jovanović, and others. He also studied primary sources, especially the writings of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and other Byzantine and Western sources. Having laid this admirable groundwork, Farčić's opus was based on scientific evidence, serious, well-reasoned, and persuasive.

A historical writing of his that attracted public attention was the article *Srbi i pomorstvo* (Serbs and Seafaring), published in two installments by the Belgrade-based newspaper *Republika* in 1953. In this "historical survey spanning a period from the earliest times to the First World War", as the subtitle read, Farčić dismissed the thesis that the Serbs were a continental people who had never been seafarers, and who lacked any aptitude for maritime and shipbuilding. Relying on historical facts, he argued that Serbs deserve credit for all major maritime undertakings by the Slavic element in the Adriatic, maintaining that the Serbs were the only Slavic people with a centuries-long maritime tradition. Farčić found that their deeply rooted veneration of Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of travelers and sailors, was evidence thereto ([Фарчић 1953a] and [Фарчић 2022: 53–62]).

Farčić's historical overview of Serbian maritime traditions was published shortly after the Second World War ended, when every publicly expressed thought on a matter concerning the past and present of the Serbian people was subject to strict control, and had to conform to the ruling ideology of communism and the "brotherhood and unity" doctrine. While, on the one hand, the new authorities nurtured the ideas of a Greater Serbia's hegemony that

allegedly marked the interwar period (being, in this, in tune with Croatian exclusivists), betrayal and wartime collaborationismby the Serbian bourgeoisie, instilling into the consciousness and sub-consciousness of the Serbian people a sense of collective guilt, Farčić's article, on the other, departed from such stereotypes and ideological patterns in terms of content, interpretations, and the impression it had left on readers. The author, therefore, had to be castigated, and the first attacks came even before the feuilleton was published in its entirety.

The barrage of criticism started in Split, and it was not historians or other scholars to have attacked Farčić, but rather its youth. A group identifying itself as the Committee of the 8th Grade of the Grammar School accused Farčić of having imbued the article with chauvinistic "facts", presented so brazenly that they were offensive to Croats and to Montenegrins alike, disregarding their fight for the Adriatic coast ([Aktiv VIII-ih razreda Klasične gimnazije u Splitu 1953] and [Фарчић 2022: 63]). It is not difficult though to discern behind the students some other forces finding Farčić's interpretation of Serbian history completely unappealing. Together with the senior students of the Grammar School of Split, a sea captain, Mato M. Kovačević, volunteered a comment to the press. Captain Anton Kovačević's grandson presented biographical details about his grandfather that differed from those provided by Farčić, describing him as a descendant of an old Croatian family, and a man who regarded himself as a Croat[17]. Archeology students in the Croatian capital, Zagreb, also reacted to Farčić's article. In order to eliminate any suspicion that their reaction might have had ideological or political motives behind, they spoke up professionally, relying on the tenets of their discipline, and presenting the arguments supposed to undermine Farčić's view of the history of Serbs [Klub studenata arheologije Zagrebačkog sveučilišta (The Club of Archeology Students of the University of Zagreb)1953: 3] and [Фарчић 2022: 65–68]).

Farčić was not indifferent to the criticism sparked by his article about the Serbs and maritime affairs, but he had his own arguments to disprovethe "critics" – young people of limited knowledge passionately embracing the ideology of extreme Croatian nationalism – as well as their patrons. The preserved counterarguments include an extensive text by Farčić, titled *Odgovor na 11 tačaka 'Kluba studenata arheologije Zagrebačkog sveučilišta'* (Response to the 11 Points of the 'Club of Archaeology Students of the University of Zagreb'). The "Response" is dated April 24, 1953, which means that Farčić reacted promptly, right after the Club of Archaeology Students had published their critique. However, Stevan Roca (whose legacy kept in the Archives of the

[17] ASANU,*Ostavština Stevana Roce* (Legacy of Stevan Roca)*,* 11231/6: *Srbi i pomorstvo* (Serbs and Seafaring) and [Фарчић 2022: 64]). Ivan Pederin, a Germanist and professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar, a staunch Croatian nationalist, was nineteen when Farčić's article was published. At that time, he was expelled from school as a "bourgeois" and as the son of a member of the Croatian Peasant Party who had refused to join the Partisan movement. Coming from a family of seafarers, he must have had a personal interest in the themes Farčić had written about, as well as in his interpretations, and had a role in Captain Kovačević's response, too. He claimed that he himself "visited the descendants of those seafarers, and they wrote a correction in which they underlined that they were not Serbs" [Pederin 2006: 297].

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts contains the materials[18]) wrote by hand on the "Response" that it had never been published[19]. In a word, Farčić was denied his right to defense, or even an opportunity to prove to his opponents that he had never claimed anything arbitrarily, or disregarded historical factography[20].

The attack by the archaeology students of the University of Zagreb against the renowned writer, translator, professor, and historian Antonije Farčić is a testimony to a particular milieu and the discriminatory atmosphere that prevailed within. It shows that a thinking pattern of the Serbs as uninvited guests and intruders – a disruptive and treacherous element in the Croatian idea – which had crystallized much earlier and, shaped by the pen of the "Father of the Homeland", Ante Starčević, was etched deeply into the consciousness of Croats, and that at the time of Farčić's article, too, it still worked, unabated. Making it impossible for the public to read Farčić's response by removing it, the effort to preclude any reasoned and transparent debate, any rational dealing with the facts if undermining the desired image of the past, also reveals the post-war tendency in Yugoslav society, which regarded the Serbs and Serbdom as a factor to be disintegrated and completely incapacitated to prevent any action towards the preservation and strengthening of the Serbian national identity.

HISTORIAN OF THE COASTAL SERBS

Apart from being prepared to confront critics who tendentiously disparaged his views, A. Farčić openly disagreed with the leading names in Serbian and Yugoslav historiography when his research would lead him to believe that they were mistaken. In his study *O postanku kraljevske vlasti kod primorskih Srba* (On the Origin of Royal Power among the Coast Serbs), he offered valid arguments against the prevailing opinion that Mihailo Vojislavljević was the first Serbian king and that he received his crown from the pope, supporting the thesis that Mihailo Vojislavljević inherited the royal title from his predeces-

---

[18] Given that both S. Roca and A. Farčić were Dalmatians of pro-Serbian and pro-Yugoslav leanings, that they lived in Belgrade and were close in age (Roca was born in 1881), it may be assumed that they were friends. It is probably the reason why Farčić gave Roca a copy of his "Response", which is how it was included in Roca's legacy.

[19] Having browsed through the pages of *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Republika* from the date when Farčić's "Response" was written until the end of 1953, we can confirm that S. Roca was right: in neither of these two newspapers, where it would have been only logical for the text to appear, have we found the "Response" published. I. Pederin noted that Farčić had replied to the attack, but hid the fact that Farčić's counterarguments had never saw the light of day [Pederin 2006: 297]. Farčić's response was revealed in our study [Božić 2017], and subsequently published in full [Фарчић 2022: 69–86].

[20] Farčić was later criticized again for causing that "regrettable affair" [Bogišić 1956: 3], to which he responded again with *Ispravak* (Correction), denying that he had presented "distorted data about our past". He implied that he was being labelled by a person of dubious background by pointing out that he was unaware of the whereabouts of Professor Baldo Bogišić – who had reminded the public of Farčić's "biased writing" in *Republika* – in the era of the Independent State of Croatia, or of his conduct in those years. Farčić underlined though that for his persistent pro-Yugoslav leanings he had to "emigrate" to Serbia when Pavelić's creation set in. АСАНУ, Заоставштина Федора Никића(Legacy of Fedor Nikić), 14530-VII-Г/5: *Antonije P. Farčić – uredniku Slobodne Dalmacije: Ispravak* (Antonije P. Farčić – to the editor of *Slobodna Dalmacija*: Correction), Belgrade, August 4, 1956.

sors, and that the Serbs had their kings before him ([Фарчић 1965: 405–428] and [Фарчић 2022: 134–159]). He maintained the same notion in the text *Kraljevina primorskih Srba* (The Kingdom of the Coastal Serbs), defending the view that the ruler of Zahumlje, Mihailo Vuševica (Višević), a contemporary of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, was the first Serbian king. According to Farčić's interpretation, he used Zahumlje as a pillar around which he united all the littoral Serbian lands: Travunija with Konavle, Duklja, and Neretva – or rather, the entire area from Split to Skadar. He proclaimed himself a king, our historian goes on, sometime between 917 and 926, and did so with the approval of the Bulgarian emperor Simeon and the Bulgarian Church. The proclamation was possible because Simeon had been crowned emperor by the Patriarch of Constantinople; therefore, his act of elevating Mihailo to kingship was fully legitimate, while the acquisition of another vassal was desirable and most expedient. Moreover, under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian patriarch – the Bulgarian Patriarchate being fully independent and equal to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and to the Roman Church – were all the Slavs within the Bulgarian Empire. Mihailo could not have received the royal title from the Patriarch of Constantinople, Farčić contends, because Constantinople did not wish to recognize it for anyone within the borders of its empire. He couldn't have received it from the Roman pope either, because Mihailo's church was not under papal jurisdiction and because, at that time, the popes respected the monarchs of Constantinople and did not wish to act contrary to their will. Farčić based his views on Constantine Porphyrogennetos's testimonies, the chronicle of John the Deacon, the South Italian annals, *Barski rodoslov* (The Genealogy of Bar), and the 976 epitaph of Queen Jelena [Фарчић 2022: 88– 93].

Farčić wrote a separate study about the epitaph of Queen Jelena, dismantling a myth that has persisted to this day in Croatian historiography, namely, that Jelena was the wife of the Croatian king Mihajlo Krešimir II and the mother of King Stjepan Držislav[21]. The epitaph in Latin was discovered in Solin by a Dalmatian archaeologist, Frane Bulić, in 1898, while the foundations of the ruined Church of St. Mary of the Island (Sv. Marije od Otoka) were excavated. The inscription was found in fragments, but Bulić was fairly successful in reconstructing it, and his reconstruction – later confirmed by the historian Ferdo Šišić, whose version does not differ from Bulić's in any relevant respect – was accepted in science as reliable, as much as it is possible. Farčić's critique, however, was directed at Bulić's and Šišić's interpretation of the inscription, in which Queen Jelena is described as the wife of King Mihailo and the mother of King Stefan, and 976 was cited as the year of her death. Their belief that those were Croatian kings – Krešimir and Miroslav, that is, Držislav – who allegedly bore double names, one popular and one Christian, Farčić regarded as an arbitrary construct, which couldn't be supported by any source because the Croats had no kings in the 10th century, Farčić argued, offering a completely different view. The epitaph of Queen Jelena was, according to him,

[21] https://enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=26386;https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=136

the epitaph of the wife of the Zahumlje ruler Mihailo Višević, who controlled the entire Adriatic coast south of Split and who, due to the internal conflicts which, according to the existing records, had engulfed Croatia, also conquered part of the Croatian territory, the Solin area in the first place. Farčić believed that the existence of a church built in the Byzantine style, just as the Church of St. Mary was, offered further proof that Solin and its surroundings lay within Mihailo's state, since there's hardly a queen who would build her legacy or prepare her tomb in the territory of another state. Having dismissed the interpretation that Jelena had been a Croatian queen, Farčić was at one with Dušan S. Popović, who published his own view of the inscription discovered in Solin in *Prilozi čitanju i razumevanju raznih starina* (Contributions to Reading and Interpreting of Various Antiquities), in Belgrade, in 1957, but Farčić went one step further. Analysing the inscription in detail, Farčić also took into account the charters of Hungarian kings, Venetian doges, and other available sources [Фарчић 2022: 268–299].

Developing the idea further, Farčić presented a comprehensive picture of the early medieval Serbian history, guided by his own research and shaping it in a way he believed to be truthful and consistent with the primary sources. According to Farčić, Mihailo Višević had three or four sons: Stefan, Dragomir, Petar, and possibly another whose identity remains unknown. After Mihailo's death, Stefan ruled over Neretva, Dragomir over Zahumlje, and Petar – who was succeeded by his son Vladimir – over Travunija and Duklja. This division followed the medieval custom that, upon the death of a king, his sons or brothers partitioned the realm and ruled their respective domains either independently or while nominally recognizing the supreme authority of the oldest of them. In Farčić's opinion, Vladimir, as well as all the other rulers of the Serbian littoral lands in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, were members of the same dynasty, originating from Zahumlje, and all being descendants of the first king, Mihailo Višević [Фарчић 2022: 94–103].

However, the partition between Mihailo's heirs weakened the realm, and Emperor Samuel easily conquered all the Serbian lands, both littoral and inland, except for Neretva. Samuel later restored the territories to the Serbian rulers, at the same time extending Vladimir's power. Thus, two Serbian states – or, according to Farčić, kingdoms – emerged on the coast: a smaller one in the north, the successor of the former Pagania or Neretva, and a larger one in the south, composed of Duklja, Travunija, Zahumlje, and the inland regions of Raška and Bosnia, ruled by King Vladimir. The Neretvan state survived until 1138, when its islands, Brač, Hvar, and Vis, were occupied first by the Venetians and then by the Hungarians, while its mainland territory together with the islands of Korčula, Mljet, and Lastovo, was annexed to Zahumlje under the Nemanjić dynasty [Фарчић 2022: 104–110].

Geographically, the territory of Neretva had two parts – the mainland and the insular. According to Farčić's findings, Neretva's islands were Brač, Hvar, Korčula, and Mljet, and from the second half of the 10th century also Vis, Biševo, Sušac, Lastovo, and possibly the western part of the Pelješac Peninsula (excluding Ston), as well as the Tremiti and Palagruža islands. The islands

that were part of the Neretvan state were called Maronia, and its inhabitants were called Marianior – Moryani. Since that part of the Neretvan kingdom was the most significant, its name came to be used as a synonym for the entire state and all its inhabitants ([Фарчић 1963: 297–303] and [Фарчић 2022: 299–307]).

THE NERETVAN STATE

Farčić had developed keen interest in the history of the Neretvan state, studying diligently certain events from its past, the prime intent of the research being to clarify ambiguities or correct what he believed were erroneous interpretations in historiography. Thus, in his study *Muislav i 'Liudit'* he challenged the view that Muislav, mentioned by the Venetian chronicler John the Deacon, was the Croatian duke Mislav, arguing instead that he could only have been the ruler of the Neretvans, not of the Croats. Farčić was even doubtful as to whether Duke Mislav existed as a historical figure, relying on the papers that were to prove that the charters in which Duke Mislav was mentioned are mere forgeries [Фарчић 2022: 208–217]. While Muislav ruled in the 9th century, the throne of the Neretvan state belonged to King Berigoj in the 11th century. His name appeared in the charter written by monk Jovan of Biševo, which Farčić examined in detail and found that it provided convincing evidence that, in the 11th century, there existed a separate Neretvan state functioning as a kingdom under the supreme authority of the Byzantine *basileus*, and that its ruler was King Berigoj [Фарчић 2022: 218]. The Biševo charter was considered by our historian as particularly important, because it also proved that the Neretvan state had at that time its own Christian monasteries and bishops, as well as an organized ecclesiastical hierarchy [Фарчић 2022: 218–229].

King Berigoj was succeeded by King Krivalj, who ruled in the second half of the 11th century [Фарчић 2022: 229–239]. Farčić studied the period of his reign as well, extending the research so as to include his successor, King Slavac, too. Our historian's assumption was that King Slavac ruled in the first decades of the 12th century, broadening the chronological boundaries set by earlier researchers. Farčić regarded him as the last Neretvan king, in whose wake the state disappeared entirely from the historical stage. He also intended to shed more light on a number of additional details from the history of Neretva, such as the territory it covered under King Slavac, or the identity of certain figures close to the king [Фарчић 2022: 239–260]. Absolutely convinced that he was in the right, Farčić dismissed the thesis that Dukes Jakov and Rusin had been rulers of Neretva. In a bid to complete the research into the Neretvan state, Farčić published a study about the name of the son of the Neretvan duke, King Slavac's brother, Rusin. Identifying him as Petrislav, Farčić categorically denied the possibility – suggested by some Croatian historians – that he might have been the last Croatian king, Petar Svačić ([Фарчић 1957: 265–270] and [Фарчић 2022: 261–267]).

Farčić had tried to publish the results of his research into Neretvan history in the Serbian Academy of Sciences (SAN) journals a few months before his feuilleton *Srbi i pomorstvo* (The Serbs and Seafaring) appeared in Belgrade's

Republika. The study *Neretljanska država* (*The Neretvan State*) reached the highest-ranking scientific institution the Serbs had on November 8, 1952[22]. At the 11th conference of the Department of Social Sciences, held on December 27,1952 under the chairmanship of Academician Jovan Radonić and in the presence of academicians T. Živanović, V. Petković, N. Radojčić, G. Ostrogorski, D. Nedeljković, M. Vasić, and corresponding members D. Pantelić, R. Grujić, V. Radovanović, J. Tadić, M. Dinić, I. Sindik, and S. Radojčić, Jovan Radonić and Ilija Sindik were appointed as rapporteurs, whose responsibility was to prepare a report on Farčić's study [*Godišnjak* (Yearbook) *SAN* LIX 1952: 314–315]. The report was submitted only at the 6th meeting of the Department of Social Sciences on September 12, 1953, months after the attacks Farčić had been publicly exposed to. The chairman, J. Radonić, and the corresponding member, I. Sindik, presented their opinions to the attending academicians, namely, T. Živanović, V. Petković, G. Ostrogorski, D. Nedeljković and M. Vasić, and to the corresponding members present – D. Pantelić, R. Grujić, M. Dinić, V. Novak, G. Elezović, V. Radovanović and S. Radojčić. The consensus was that the study should be returned to the author for revision in accordance with the rapporteurs' comments [*Godišnjak SAN* LX 1953: 284]. Unfortunately, the search for the reports has been futile, and we do not know anything about the observations and remarks submitted with regard to Farčić's work. One can only hope that, aside from the available minutes (published in *GodišnjakSAN*), which contain neither reports nor discussions, but only decisions, it might still be possible to find the reports, perhaps misplaced and forgotten somewhere among the vast holdings of the SANU Archives. If we could examine those reports, we might be able to answer the question whether Radonić and Sindik would have objected to Farčić's study had it not been for the reaction from Croatia to his feuilleton in *Republika*, or whether, under political pressure and fully aware of the intellectual climate back then, they chose caution – perhaps even to sacrifice scientific truth so as not to heighten tensions and exacerbate the already deeply disturbed interethnic relations. Be it as it may, Farčić's paper reappeared on the agenda at the 4th meeting of the Department of Social Sciences on June 29, 1954. In the presence of the chairman J. Radonić and academicians T. Živanović, G. Ostrogorski, D. Nedeljković, and M. Vasić, as well as corresponding members R. Grujić, J. Tadić, M. Dinić, G. Elezović, I. Sindik, and S. Radojčić, Radonić and Sindik were advised to verify if the author had acted upon the comments, since the Academy had received a new version of Farčić's study [*Godišnjak SAN* LXI 1954: 133–134][23]. That was also the last mention of Farčić's name in the conference minutes published in the Academy's yearbooks. Not a word has been said about Farčić or his work during the meetings held in the following years,

---

[22] АСАНУ, Административна архива (Administrative Archives, hereinafter: AA): Register for 1952.

[23] In this part the report published in *Godišnjak* (Yearbook) differs somewhat from the original minutes, saying that "Antonije Farčić submits the paper *The Neretvan State* having acted upon the comments" and that the rapporteurs are to verify this (ASANU, AA: Department of Social Sciences, Conference Minutes, 618, 1954). *Godišnjak*, however, only says that the rapporteurs are to determine whether their remarks have been taken into account. It was probably assumed as self-evident, but no mention was made of Farčić having submitted the revised paper.

even though it is customary for a final decision to be made on whether a submitted paper should be accepted or rejected.

DUKLJA AND ITS KINGS

While the Neretvan state had its own history, in the other lands united by the first Serbian king, Mihailo Višević, a brief period of Byzantine hegemony followed the deaths of Kings Vladimir and Dragomir. Stefan Vojislav, the son of either King Dragomir or of a fourth, unknown, son of Mihailo Višević, ended that period. At any rate, Farčić is absolutely certain that Stefan Vojislav was a descendant of King Mihailo of Zahumlje. Duklja was his native land. Having liberated Duklja from Byzantine supremacy, he united Travunija and Zahumlje around it, securing the primacy of Duklja among the Serbian people in the 11th century and, as a liberator and unifier, in Farčić's eyes, he was one of the most powerful and admirable Serbian rulers. To him, just like to his father, uncles, and grandfather before him, Farčić confidently ascribed the royal title [Фарчић 2022: 116–123].

After Stefan Vojislav, his son Mihailo came to power in the second half of the 11th century. He conquered Raška, where he enthroned his son Petrislav, succeeding also in appointing his other son, Bodin, as the emperor of the Bulgarians. Bodin, whom the Bulgarians renamed Petar, waged an unsuccessful war against Byzantium and was taken captive; released, he returned to Duklja to rule together with his father. Farčić has underlined that proclaiming Bodin as the Bulgarian emperor was a very important event in the history of the South Slavs, since it restored the Serbian–Bulgarian ties first established in the era of Mihailo Višević and Emperor Simeon [Фарчић 2022: 124–133].

THE QUESTION OF BORDERS

Not only did Farčić challenge the deeply-rooted historiographic standpoints regarding the first Serbian king, the history of the Neretva region, and other issues, but he also contested the understanding that the border between Croatia and Serbia in the era of Constantine Porphyrogenitus ran along the river Vrbas. Quite the contrary, referring to the emperor's testimony, Farčić argued that the border must have been the Una River, since the eastern borders of the Croatian *županas* (counties) of Lika and Krbava were at the same time Serbia's western borders ([Фарчић 1968: 13–17] and [Фарчић 2022: 354–360]).

A. Farčić found the northern border of the Bosnian Krajina a captivating subject, too. He held that the territory of Bosnia – more precisely, the territory of Bosnia in socialist Yugoslavia at the time he was doing the research – had, all until the end of the 12th century, been covered by the name *Serbia*, and that the northern border of that Serbia (and, at the same time, of the Byzantine Empire) ran along the Sava River. Bosnia was merely one *župa* within Serbia, while the northwestern part of the Bosnian territory, known as *Donji kraji* (Lower Regions), which later became Bosnian Krajina, was a borderland also within Serbia. Farčić would oppose the historians who placed the Lower Regions in Croatia, since the

medieval Croatia was a coastal land that extended northward only as far as Kapela or Gvozd, while north of the Sava River lay Slavonia, a separate Hungarian province, in every way separated from Croatia. "The so-called Posavska Croatia is a fictitious literary term coined by modern Croatian writers". Farčić boldly concluded ([Фарчић 1970: 19–26] and [Фарчић 2022: 361–372]).

CROATIAN FORGERIES

Our historian not only disputed the existence of *Posavska Hrvatska* but also held that the very figure of King Tomislav had been fabricated. To make a long story short, he arrived at this conclusion after decades of studying early medieval history, having failed to find a single piece of evidence confirming the existence of that ruler: Tomislav is not mentioned in any relevant source, whether written or material. The acts passed at church conferences in Split in 925 and 928, upon which the legend of King Tomislav rests, cannot be trusted, as they are mere forgeries; scientific proof to support the legend of the first Croatian king was provided by Franjo Rački, and accepted by other Croatian and foreign, as well as Serbian, historians. Farčić firmly believed that at the core of that entire construct lay the ambition to support the theory of Croatian stateright[24], based on a thousand years of Croatian statehood ([Фарчић 1974] and [Фарчић 2022: 374–386]). Indeed, with the benefit of hindsight –knowing now that when the scientific fundamentals of the myth about Tomislav were built in the second half of the 19th century, Serbian national individuality was radically contested in Croatia, and the groundworks were laid for a policy that would have far-reaching and dangerous consequences – Farčić's reasoning appears entirely convincing.

Farčić used yet another example to unveil a tendency among Croatian intellectuals to falsify and adjust everything that might be inconsistent with their political aims. He referred to the book *Dubrovačke slike i prilike* (*Dubrovnik: Images and Circumstances*) by Josip Bersa, published by *Matica hrvatska* in 1941, posthumously, Farčić reviewed his writing, warning at the flagrant forgeries perpetrated by the publisher, inserting, omitting, or altering words, sentences, and even entire sections of the book at will. It goes without saying that all the interventions were to eliminate completely the Serbian component of Dubrovnik, and to forcibly incorporate it into the Croatian national corpus. Farčić, however, managed to expose the shameless action, owing to the fact that part of the book had been published during the author's lifetime in *Srpski književni glasnik* (Serbian Literary Gazette), which the editors of Bersa's book were either unaware of, or simply chose to ignore. Be it as it may, we must agree with Farčić that the edition of Bersa's book, prepared the way

[24] The concept of "Croatian state right" (Croat historians and politicians borrowed from Hungarians) is based on the idea that Croats as a people have an "inalienable historical right" (based on "primogeniture" /prvostečenosti/ to establish their national state in all territories that were temporarily under the rule of the Kingdom of Croatia in the early Middle Ages, i.e. during the time of the Croatian national kings (until 1102). The concept of "Croatian state law" was used as apretext for the creation of *Greater* Croatia.

it was, "was one of those which had their political equivalent in the *Ustaša* crime, unparalleled in the history of all humankind" [Фарчић 2022: 390][25].

CONCLUSION

Farčić's persistent, devoted, and long-lasting research endeavors, as well as the results he achieved, portray an outstanding scholar, a true connoisseur of the themes and problems he found appealing and a very careful reader of older and more recent scholarly literature and primary sources. Armed with immense patience and a profound desire to unearth the truth, he studied meticulously the remnants of the past, while abreast of developments in contemporary historiography. Farčić's name, therefore, is not unknown to the scholarly community: his two papers published by the Cetinje journal *Istorijski zapisi* (Historical Records) were included in collections on Yugoslav historiography ([*Historiographie Yougoslave 1955–1965*, 1965: 90] and [*The Historiography of Yugoslavia 1965–1975*, 1975: 81]). Nevertheless, Farčić was never recognized to the extent he deserved. Quite the contrary, marginalized and ignored, he seems to have been unable to publish everything he had written. Clearly, the main reason for his status was that he was ideologically and politically unsuitable. His scholarly findings were hardly compatible with the preferred, overly simplified, monochromatic portrait of the past, with predetermined roles and no sharper contours allowed unless prescribed. Castigated and inconvenienced, even though he had done nothing but adhering to the principles of science and drawing conclusions dictated by the inexorable logic of facts, Farčić– as his work shows – nevertheless continued to fight persistently for the freedom of scholarly inquiry and a science in which truth is not kept under surveillance, hidden, or sacrificed to political goals.In this context, the work of Antonije Farčić may serve as a model for historians of our time, being a reminder of their own responsibility, which is exceptionally great, as a historian must often be brave enough to share a discovery that constitutes a *novum*, while preserving their intellectual integrity at all costs. We trust that Farčić, having lived up to the ideal, will finally be accorded his well-deserved place in historiography – regardless of whether his findings will withstand the test of time or are eventually rendered untenable and unacceptable by new interpretations or, perhaps, by new factual evidence, now or in the future.

APPENDIX

Nearly half a century after Farčić's death, his most important manuscripts, published and unpublished, were finally collected in a book – *Jedna istorija*

[25] Modern researchers have reached the same conclusion as Farčić: "[...] that the alterations to Bersa's manuscript were most likely made by the editor who acted under a specific cultural and political agenda aimed at the Croatisation of Dubrovnik [...]" [Младеновић: 2014, 422]. In our time, a new edition of Bersa's work, which is also the first Serbian edition, has been published, based on the last authorised version of his text. It provides insight into the interventions made, at their own discretion, by the first editor and reviewers [Bersa 2021].

primorskih Srba. The way in which this extensive book came to light is truly remarkable and quite unusual. It is described in the foreword by Professor Slobodan Antonić, who, by a fortunate coincidence, came across Farčić's legacy and managed to find a publisher interested in it. Although a sociologist rather than a specialist in the history of the Serbian people, Professor Antonić quickly realized that Farčić's must have been a work of certain importance. Sadly enough, historians to whom Farčić's manuscripts had previously been offered did not [Антонић 2022: 24–27].

I had been drawn to Farčić's work well before his book was released in 2022. While studying Stevan Roca's legacy in the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts –more specifically, the materials related to Dalmatia and the Serbs of Dalmatia, I came across Farčić's text *Srbi i pomorstvo*, and then also other newspaper articles written to dismiss his findings. Then came the most important discovery – Farčić's response to the attacks, a manuscript typed on a typewriter. I am not a medievalist, and I'd rather leave it to my peers specialized in the Middle Ages to validate Farčić's historiographical achievements pertaining to that era, but what had drawn me to the case was that it was a sign of the times, describing the setting in which Serbs lived in socialist Yugoslavia and AVNOJ[26] Croatia. It was that interest that gave birth to a scholarly paper, published in 2017 [Божић 2017: 75–92], followed by an invitation from the editor and publisher to take part in the preparation of *Jedna istorija primorskih Srba*. The result is the foreword for the book, presented here in an expanded and partly revised form[27].

SOURCES

Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, Заоставштина Федора Никића.
Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, Заоставштина Миодрага Ибровца.
Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, Оставштина Стевана Роце. Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, Административна архива.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=3_28794https://stanjestvari.com/2019/10/01/farcic-kralj-tomislav/
https://enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=26386;https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=136

---

[26] AVNOJ – Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia – a political body of the Yugoslav Partisans in WWII*, translator's note*)

[27] Another, also expanded version of the foreword, though shorter than the one presented in this paper, to which the latest research I have carried out in the meantime had been added, was published under the title Srpski srednji vek i mitovi hrvatske istorije u istraživanjima Antonija (Antuna) Farčića (The Serbian Middle Ages and the Myths of Croatian History in the Research of Antonije (Antun) Farčić) in the collections *Srbi Krajišnici u uslovima geopolitičkog zaokreta* (Serbs of the Krajina in the Context of the Geopolitical Turn) [Божић 2023б: 77–91] and *Građanski rat u Hrvatskoj (1991–1995)* [The Civil War in Croatia (1991–1995])*: Proceedings XIX* [Божић 2023а: 28–42].

LITERATURE

[Aktiv VIII-ih razreda Klasične gimnazije u Splitu 1953] → Šovinizam na stranicama „Republike“, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Split, 17. II 1953.

[Bersa 2021] → Josip Bersa. *Dubrovačke slike i prilike 1800–1880 I–II*, prir. Jelena S. Mladenović, Zadužbina Vladete Jerotića, Domus editoria Ars Libri, Beograd 2021.

[*Bibliografija rasprava,* članaka *i književnih radova II/1: poezija* 1969] → *Bibliografija rasprava,* člana*k*a *i književnih radova II/1: poezija*, Leksikografski zavod, Zagreb 1969.

[Bogišić 1956] → Baldo Bogišić. Slučajno ili namjerno, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, br. 3542, 10. VI 1956. [Gjivoje 1969[2]] → Marinko Gjivoje. *Otok Korčula*, Zagreb 1969[2].

[Gjivoje 1979] → M[arinko]. Gjivoje, Farčić, Anton, u: *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije* II, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1979.

[Farcic 1919] → Antun Farcic. *Ce que j'ai souffert: procédés des autorités italiennes dans les territoires yougoslaves occupés*, Imprimerie Lang, Blanchong et Cie, Paris 1919.

[*Historiographie Yougoslave 1955–1965* 1965] → *Historiographie Yougoslave 1955–1965*, Savez istorijskih društava Jugoslavije, Beograd 1965. [Klub studenata arheologije Zagrebačkog sveučilišta 1953] → Redakciji beogradske „Republike“: neugodna je istina (izjava Kluba studenata arheologije Zagrebačkog sveučilišta), *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Split, 23. IV 1953.

[M[ilači]ć i R[edakcija] 1998] → Ka[rmen] M[ilači]ć i R[edakcija]. Farčić, Antun (Antonije), u: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* 4, Leksikografski zavod „Miroslav Krleža“, Zagreb 1998.

[Pederin 2006] → Ivan Pederin. Hrvatski velikosrbi – Danko Angjelinović, *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina*, Zadar 2006.

[Ravlić 1924] → Jak[ša] Ravlić. A. Farčić. Stihovi, *Jugoslavenska njiva*, knj. II, br. 1, 1. VII 1924.

[*The Historiography of Yugoslavia 1965–1975* 1975] → *The Historiography of Yugoslavia 1965–1975*, The Association of Yugoslav historical societies, Beograd 1975.

[Антонић 2022] → Слободан Антонић. Како су пронађени Фарчићеви рукописи у: А. П. Фарчић, Једна историја приморских Срба, ур. Слободан Рељић, Информатика ад – Институт за новију историју Србије, Београд 2022.

[Бакотић 1939] → Љујо Бакотић. Срби у Далмацији од пада Млетачке Републике до уједињења, Геца Кон, Београд 1939.

[Барић 1940] → Изабрани чланци Антуна Фабриса, скупио и предговор написао др Х. Барић, Београд, 1940.

[Божић 2017] → Софија Божић. Историографија на удару политике: случај Антонија Фарчића, Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор 83 (2017).

[Божић 2023а] → Софија Божић. Српски средњи век и митови хрватске историје у истраживањима Антонија (Антуна) Фарчића, Грађански рат у Хрватској (1991–1995) зборник радова *XIX*, ур. Маринко М. Вучинић, Удружење Срба из Хрватске – Српска читаоница „Др Јован Рашковић“ – Српско културно друштво „Зора“, Београд 2023.

[Божић 2023б] → Софија Божић. Српски средњи век и митови хрватске историје у истраживањима Антонија (Антуна) Фарчића, Срби Крајишници у условима геополитичког заокрета, прир. Милорад Буха, Мирко Радаковић, Удружење „Матица српска у Дубровнику“ – Удружење „Крајишки привредник“ – Мирослав – Удружење „Центар за српске студије“, Ветерник – Београд – Бања Лука 2023.

[Бојовић 2022] → Злата Бојовић. Антун Фарчић 1894–1975, у: Антоније П. Фарчић, Једна историја приморских Срба, ур. Слободан Рељић, Информатика ад – Институт за новију историју Србије, Београд 2022.

[Борак 1998] → Светозар Борак. Срби католици, Српско друштво „Др Јован Рашковић“, Нови Сад, Српско културно друштво „Зора“, Београд 1998.

[Годишњак САНLIX 1952] → Годишњак САН LIX, Српска академија наука, Београд 1952. [Годишњак САН LX 1953] → Годишњак САН LX, Српска академија наука, Београд 1953.
[Годишњак САН LXI 1954] → Годишњак САН LXI, Српска академија наука, Београд 1954.
[Жутић 2006] → Никола Жутић. Срби римокатолици такозвани Хрвати: „Срби сви и свуда“ – „Хрватске земље“ без Хрвата, Српска радикална странка, Београд 2006.
[Костић 1963] → Лазо М. Костић. Католички Срби: политичко-историска расправа, Српски културни клуб „Свети Сава“, Торонто 1963.
[Љушић 2012] → Радош Љушић. Српство двоверних далматинских Срба (на примеру Марка Мурата и Никодима Милаша), Анали Правног факултета LX, 2/2012.
[Милутиновић 1989] → Коста Милутиновић. О покрету Срба католика у Далмацији, Дубровнику и Боки которској, Зборник о Србима у Хрватској 1, ур. Василије Крестић, Српска академија наука и уметности, Београд 1989.
[Митровић 1992] → Јеремија Д. Митровић. Српство Дубровника, Српска књижевна задруга – Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, Београд 1992.
[Младеновић: 2014, 422] → Јелена С. Младеновић. Дубровачке слике и прилике (1800.–1880.) Јосипа Берсе – једна текстолошка анализа, Зборник радова Филозофског факултета XLIV (2014).
[Политика 1975а] → Политика, бр. 22111, 26. IV 1975.
[Политика 1975б] → Политика, бр. 22262, 26. IX 1975.
[Споменица гимназије у Крагујевцу *1833–1983* 1989] → Споменица гимназије у Крагујевцу *1833– 1983*, Одбор за обележавање 150-годишњице Крагујевачке гимназије, Крагујевац 1989.
[Тадић 1971] → Јорјо Тадић. Сабласти круже Југославијом, Историјски часопис 18(1971).
[Фарчић 1924] → Антун Фарчић. Стихови, Српска штампарија Дубровник 1924.
[Фарчић 1934] → Антон Фарчић. Песме, Нова штампарија, Шибеник 1934.
[Фарчић 1953а] → Антоније П. Фарчић. Срби и поморство (историски преглед од најстаријих времена до Првог светског рата), Република, Београд, бр. 380, 10. II 1953.
[Фарчић 1953б] → Антоније П. Фарчић. Срби и поморство (историски преглед од најстаријих времена до Првог светског рата), Република, Београд, бр. 381, 17. II 1953.
[Фарчић 1956] →Антоније П. Фарчић. „Велеиздаја“ у Цавтату, Република, Београд, бр. 542, 20. III 1956.
[Фарчић 1957] → Антоније П. Фарчић, Како је било име сину неретљанског војводе Русина, Историјски записи 1–2(1957).
[Фарчић 1959] → Антоније Фарчић, Херцеговина у средњем веку, Споменица поводом осамдесетогодишњице окупације Босне и Херцеговине *(1878–1958),* педесетогодишњице анексије *(1908–1958)* и четрдесетогодишњице ослобођења и уједињења *(1918–1958)*, Београд 1959.
[Фарчић 1963] → Антоније П. Фарчић. Маронија и Мариани, Историјски записи 2(1963).
[Фарчић 1965] → Антоније П. Фарчић, О постанку краљевске власти код приморских Срба, Историјски записи 3(1965).
[Фарчић 1968] → Антоније Фарчић. Граница Крајине и границе између Порфирогенитове Србије и Хрватске, Крајина и Крајишници *I*, Ј. Зубовић, Београд 1968.
[Фарчић 1970] → Антоније Фарчић. Река Сава као северна граница Босанске крајине, Крајина и Крајишници *II*, Јован Зубовић, Београд 1970.
[Фарчић 1974] → А[нтоније] Ф[Фарчић]. Да ли је постојао краљ Томислав, Братство – *Fraternity*, Торонто, Онтарио, бр. 221–222, новембар–децембар 1973. и бр. 223, јануар 1974.
[Фарчић 2022] → Антоније П. Фарчић. Једна историја приморских Срба, ур. Слободан Рељић, Информатика ад – Институт за новију историју Србије, Београд 2022.

SLAVKO ŠEĆEROV: A CANCELED LUMINARY

BOJAN DRAŠKOVIĆ
ES "Jovan Jovanović Zmaj", Novi Kneževac, Serbia
draskoviclipovo@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0009-0001-8745-8019



SUMMARY: Slavko Šećerov was a Serbian economist, biologist, politician and public servant. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Vienna in 1910, and in 1913 he was appointed as a substitute teacher at the Fourth Belgrade Gymnasium. The war found him in his hometown, where he was interned and then sent to the Eastern Front, where he surrendered to the Russians with a group of Serbs from Banat, who sent him to Serbia, where he received Serbian citizenship and joined the Serbian army. Together with the Serbian army, he crossed Albania, and was then sent by the Serbian government first to Geneva and then to London to accompany Serbian students to school in England. He lived in London from 1916 to 1918, where he worked and graduated from The London School of Economics and Political Science, and defended his thesis *Economic Phenomena Before and After War*, which was printed in London in Macmillan's prestigious economic edition in 1919, making him a master of economic and political sciences and a prominent macroeconomist. After the Great War, Šećerov

actively participated in the political and economic life of the country, first as a member of parliament and a prominent member of the Democratic Party, a commissioner for agrarian reform, and then as a public worker, freelance intellectual and publicist, the creator of several budget projects and a representative of the Yugoslav parliament at numerous international conferences and institutions. With his theoretical work in macroeconomics, finance and monetary theory, he made an immeasurable contribution to Serbian economic thought. After the end of his political career in 1935, he lived in Belgrade as a private person, completely forgotten by the scientific and political public. From that period, several exceptional books that he wrote and that await publication remain, such as *Autobiography* and *History of Agrarian Reform*.

KEYWORDS: Slavko Šećerov, agrarian reform; economy; exchange rates; currency; budget; politics

In the period between the two wars, the name of Dr Slavko Šećerov was esteemed in the public life of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS) as a prominent politician, member of the Democratic Party, a renowned macroeconomist and expert for budgetary, monetary and agrarian policies, an advocate of the policy of welfare, an opponent of large land ownership, a public servant and patriot.

A prolific author in economics, Slavko Šećerov began his intellectual career as a biologist. He was a representative of the generation of Serbian intellectuals and politicians who developed under the auspices of important national and cultural institutions, such as the *Matica Srpska* (Serbian Literary and Publishing Society), and *Zora* (Dawn) from Vienna, etc., where they published their first papers on national and political topics. This generation, completely in the spirit of the Enlightenment tradition of Dositej Obradović, deemed it necessary to take active part in educating the people, work on their material and cultural advancement, raising the overall national welfare in the society, through intellectual work and active political engagement, initiated while they were still pupils and students and continued through the subsequent political and party struggle. In the new state, which had to be renewed and built, members of this political generation placed themselves completely in the service of the people and country, although the political and party life brought them, besides public fame and acclaim, bitter fruits and hard disappointments.

After being celebrated and praised in one period of his life, in the other – after the revolution and World War II – Slavko Šećerov died without the right to visit his home town. Dr Šećerov spent the long post-war years in Belgrade as a member of the defeated class, forgotten and without the right to a pension or basic income. Šećerov's life, exceptionally interesting and prolific, belonged to one epoch and time but failed to be socially sustained in the other. Although having been morally right, he was unable to publish works and engage publicly: his public life was simply shut down, like many others. The new authorities did not want to know of him or his work, and his position in the society as "objectionable" politically and in the context of class condemned him to a long period of dwelling in the darkness of private vegetation, where he turned his energy into two yet unpublished works: *Autobiography,* the manuscript of

which is kept in the Manuscript Department of Matica Srpska, and the *History of Agrarian Reform* (*Istorija agrarne reforme*), which is owned by the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SASA).

In the zenith of his public life and work, Slavko Šećerov left a deep trace in the political activity of the Democratic Party, of which he was one of the leaders and member of parliaments of the Kingdom of SHS for more than 15 years. In this capacity he participated, as a parliamentary representative, in many international economic conferences, just like he was active in the drafting of the state budget. Despite his political work as an expert and intellectual, Dr Šećerov never became a minister in the numerous governments that changed in rapid succession during that period. As a skilled polemicist and a man of uncompromising words, he very quickly created numerous enemies: from impoverished land owners to political opponents. Locally, in Novi Kneževac, his greatest opponent was a high official of the Radical Party and minister of agriculture Dr Svetozar Stanković, in public life Dr Velizar Janković, while in the professional field he clashed the most with Velimir Bajkić. The greatest sin in Šećerov's political career was moving from the Democratic Party to the Yugoslav National Party of General Petar Živković, resulting in an electoral defeat in 1935 and an end of his political career.

Slavko Šećerov was born in Srpski Krstur on April 4 (according to the Julian calendar) in 1888, to father Bogdan and mother Anica – Anča, maiden name Popov, from Đala. During his childhood and schooling, the Šećerov family was the largest in the village (with more than 80 houses at the end of the 19th century), and Slavko's grandfather Motsa was the largest land owner in Krstur, with more than 140 acres of land. In the autobiography, Šećerov wrote that he was predestined to be a gentleman and that his father forbid him to work as a laborer. The way to become a gentleman was through school and education, it was a door to a different – great world. Slavko Šećerov completed elementary school in his place of birth – the first four forms, then went on to attend gymnasium in Senta (the first three forms), Szeged (fourth and fifth form), Sremski Karlovci (sixth and seventh form) and Novi Sad (eighth form) where he graduated. In this period, as he has said, he read folk poetry and periodical publications that could be found in school libraries and houses of good standing. Moreover, he began writing for school magazines, unveiling his obvious inclination toward political and public work. This work would prepare him for much greater social engagement, which he started after graduation in 1906, during his biology studies at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University in Vienna. Besides the expressed interest in biology and science, he actively cooperated with the students' association "Zora" in Vienna, where he held a lecture "About Nationalism and Socialism" in 1907. In those years, he worked as the editor of the *Zora* magazine, just as in *Brankovo Kolo* he advocated for Matica Srpska to form a section for the education of the people. The idea about people's education would lead to the mass emergence of people's libraries, while Šećerov himself published the first book of his youth texts, titled *Narodna prosveta, njena potreba, smer, rad i organizacija* (*People's Education, Its Needs, Direction, Work and Organization*). In this period, po-

litical and social ideas of Slavko Šećerov were already formed. Like many Serbian students in Austria-Hungary, Šećerov was politically the closest to the idea of national unity of Serbs and Croats, proclaimed by Jovan Skerlić and, in this context, Šećerov started a polemic in 1910 with Jaša Tomić, where he was proving the unity of Serbs and Croats and their need to live in a joint state from a scientific standpoint. His political ideas can mainly be interpreted as generational. In Vienna, Šećerov also cooperated with Young Bosnia and he knew Vladimir Gaćinović and Vladimir Dvorniković well. His national and social program could be literally interpreted as Dositeian. Like many young intellectuals of this period Šećerov understood the goal and purpose of the state as a living organism that should contribute to the people's happiness and well-being. According to him, for the people to be aware and able to manage themselves, lead their life and defend their country, they must be educated, which is the only way to make the democratic order possible. These ideas would later reflect on his studies of economics.

During studies and the early phase of social engagement, Šećerov wrote a large number of articles on biology, especially zoology. Thanks to Professor Hans Pischimbram, Šećerov volunteered at the Institute for Experimental Biology in Vienna, where he started publishing a series of articles on biology in 1909. Until 1914, as a young biologist, Šećerov published numerous articles in prestigious magazines throughout Europe: he wrote texts about the theory of pigments in lizards and salamanders, and a series of papers about vitalism and experimental morphology. His knowledge of biology and science would greatly impact on his understanding of economics and economic links in social movements. According to him, regulation is the most basic biological characteristic of an organism. Šećerov interpreted regulation as adequacy – purposefulness in harmony. The more developed an organism, the lesser its ability to regenerate, because greater differentiation excludes major regulation. These neo-vitalist ideas are felt in almost all his biological articles, supported by scientific and experimental work. The pinnacle of Šećerov's work in biology are the treatises "Neo-vitalism in contemporary biology" and the "The purposefulness of life and regulation of an organism". The works in biology and science, published in prestigious domestic and European publications, brought Slavko Šećerov a resounding voice among biologists of a younger generation, coupled with a philosophy doctorate from the Vienna University with the treatise *Über die Entstehung der Diplospondylieder Selachier.*

After obtaining the doctorate, Slavko Šećerov enrolled in the Faculty of Law in Vienna, where he attended the first semester and then transferred to the University of Zagreb in 1911, when he joined the Austro-Hungarian military. He served in Zagreb in the 53rd Regiment in 1911 and 1912. For Šećerov, these were the years of wandering. He wished to continue the scientific work he has dedicated himself to but, as is usually the case in our regions, although being young and with a lot of prospects, fluent in several world languages and with papers published in the most prestigious science magazines, he was unable to find an adequate job. This was certainly contributed to by his generational connection with the events in the Balkans, followed by the First Balkan

War where he wished to participate as a volunteer, as well as by numerous financial difficulties experienced by his father Bogdan (Mile) while securing education for his children. In 1913, Šećerov traveled to Paris to study with professor Delarge, where he met his French colleagues. Since these travels, just like his education, were paid for by his father, Šećerov had to return home and decide where he would live. He opted for Belgrade, where he did not have the favorable circumstances needed to demonstrate his knowledge in biology. The minister of education of the Kingdom of SHS at that time, Ljuba Jovanović, employed Šećerov in 1913 as a substitute teacher at the Fourth Belgrade Gymnasium, where he stayed until resigning in 1919. Although his salary was relatively small (120 dinars per month), Šećerov felt care-free in Belgrade where, besides working in the school, he lived off literary and publicist work. In this period, he also met the woman of his life, Anđelija, the daughter of a wealthy engineer, Petar Ilić, who subsequently provided him with a large dowry. He got engaged to Anđa during the crisis in July 1914 and then went to Krstur, when the war started. He was interned, mobilized and sent to the Russian front where he spent a total of 15 days and surrendered with his patrol to the Russians on November 25th, 1914. From Russia, where he spent several months in different prison camps, Šećerov managed to reach Serbia, the town of Zaječar, via Prahovo, on May 1st, 1915. He was granted Serbian citizenship in Zaječar on May 17th and entered military service of the Kingdom of Serbia. Meanwhile, he found out that he was dismissed from the school for failing to report to work on time, but was soon given his teaching job back, together with all the wages for the time of his absence. He was there at the time of the Serbian military's collapse in 1915 and retreated through Albania with the Serbian army. In this traumatic period of Serbian history, the life of Dr Šećerov changed drastically. As an expert and intellectual, the Serbian government used his European experience and knowledge of foreign languages and sent him via Italy to Geneva, where he was supposed to work as an associate in the Yugoslav press-bureau, which was supposed to be established there. He stayed in Geneva for a relatively short period, until the arrival of Milan Grol, and was then sent to England to escort 150 students whom the government of the United Kingdom *allowed* to be educated in prestigious English schools *at the expense of the Serbian government*. In London, Slavko Šećerov soon learned the English language and became one of the first Serbs to enroll in the prestigious London School of Economics and Political Science, where he wrote the dissertation titled *Economic Phenomena Before and After War* in 1919, after which he was promoted to the degree of master of economic science. Based on a decision of the London County Council, Slavko Šećerov worked as a high school teacher in the London-based Holloway Secondary School, from 1917 to the end of 1918.

Šećerov stayed in London until the end of the war when, on November 22nd, 1918, he was ordered to return to Serbia, where he arrived on December 24th to take part in the creation of the new state. In that period, together with Professor Jovan Radonjić, he wrote the *Statistics of Yugoslav Lands* in French, English and Serbian. On arriving in the country, Šećerov took active part in political life, as a secretary of the Democratic Party for Vojvodina. Besides

organizing the new political party and working daily on the ground, Šećerov also became the editor of the party newspaper *Demokratija* (Democracy), where he published a series of articles about the agrarian reform. The then minister for agrarian reform, Franjo Poljak, appointed him chief commissioner for the areas of Banat, Bačka and Baranja. Hard working, educated and with great energy, Šećerov took on the difficult task of organizing the agrarian reform in these areas. On behalf of the Kingdom of SHS, Šećerov appointed 28 county commissioners and four auditors, printed instructions for the work of the Commission for Agrarian Reform and wrote theoretical articles. More than 280,000 cadastre acres of land was distributed in the areas of Banat, Bačka and Baranja between July 25th and December 1st, 1919. Working on the agrarian reform has brought him many unpleasantries, from the land owners who systematically opposed the work of his commission and from the Radicals' newspapers, where he entered into a polemic with Jaša Tomić, which had its epilogue in court. Political pressure was such that Šećerov resigned from the Democratic Club in 1919, when the land owners set off to destroy everything he has accomplished in a relatively brief period.

Slavko Šećerov became a deputy of the Constitutive Assembly in the period from 1921 to 1922. His constituency was Novi Kneževac and Srpski Krstur. From that time, as he wrote, he became a free intellectual worker without employment and pension. He worked diligently in many parliamentary committees, dealt intensively with the agrarian reform and the issue of public finances, took part in numerous international conferences about trade, wrote theoretical and political articles. His work is prolific, fruitful and important; it not only reflected the spirit of the time he lived and worked in, but also speaks much more deeply about the immense and thorough work on any task he would take on. In political life, he was a skilled polemicist, just like he worked in numerous committees and commissions, writing entire studies about particular problems, which certainly have not lost any value to this day. Dr Šećerov was one of the rare politicians-experts, people whose shoulders the life of an entire party relied on. Although he never became a minister, his work and personal authority was immensely important for the period between the two world wars in Yugoslavia.

Education in the scientific field is clearly visible in his economic thought. More accurately, he clearly transferred the problem of regulation in living organisms and regeneration in simple ones, onto the social and economic sphere, creating particular analogies which his rather original economic and political thought relied on. While studying the issue of war and economy, Šećerov realized early on that war performed a stabilizing role, not only in terms of the population count, production and consumption of agricultural and industrial products, but also in terms of the distribution of assets. War is a regulator of all social and economic phenomena. It breaks out due to a certain imbalance; its cruelty introduces a society into a state of economic balance, which was a rather courageous and original thought at that time.

In his economic papers, Šećerov considered the influence of imports and exports on the purchasing power of the dinar and its exchange rate, and stud-

ied the theory of money, which resulted in a polemic with Velimir Bajkić, who published a brochure in 1926, titled *Teorija novca doktora Slavka Šećerova* (Theory of Money of Dr Slavko Šećerov), where he criticized Šećerov's theoretical concepts. Šećerov replied in his book titled *Problemi svetske i naše privrede* (Problems of World and Domestic Economy) from 1936, which represents the most thorough presentation of his economic concepts. According to him, "the value of a monetary unit that does not contain a set quantity of metal, gold or silver, is governed by the market value of supply and demand". This rule affects both the internal value of money – prices, and the external one – exchange rates. Only in this way can the great oscillations be explained, which emerged in the economy directly after the Great War. Demand for foreign currency depends on imports which are paid in foreign money, and its supply on the exports which are paid in domestic money. As the second factor in the theory of value of money, Šećerov cites the amount of paper currency in circulation. According to him, more money in circulation does not immediately result in a drop of the value of money and a higher exchange rate. Initially, there is price growth, but then things turn around when the exchange rates rise above the price levels and form independently of the purchasing power of money and of prices in the country, which leads to hyperinflation. Šećerov explained the stable exchange rate of the dinar between 1925 and 1931 with the active trade balance in that period, when the National Bank was able to intervene, either by selling foreign currency to prevent a drop of the dinar exchange rate, or by buying it to prevent its rise. This favorable state enabled the transfer to the gold standard in 1931 (26.5 milligrams of gold for 1 dinar) which, according to Šećerov, was performed at a wrong time, benefiting only foreign creditors who were able to collect all their claims in gold before foreign capital literally fled the country. The value of foreign capital or, as it is more popularly called nowadays – foreign direct investments – lies in the industrialization of the country but, when an investment is returned with profit, that capital wants to move to another market, which happened in 1931. These theoretical concepts posed Šećerov with a question of inflation, which he viewed in the following manner: the main cause of inflation is state spending that cannot be covered by state revenue (constant budget deficit), which leads to the printing of more money, which in turn affects the exchange rate. If, in the meantime, due to an unfavorable payment balance, there is a shortage of foreign currency, the dinar exchange rate imminently drops. However, an increase in expenditures does not necessarily have to lead to more money being printed if payments are deferred. In this context, a particularly dangerous phenomenon is the inflation of credits which, coupled with the inflation of money, represents the worst possible combination, because it creates a dangerous illusion in the society about the abundance of capital, which incites economic momentum. This is like a bubble that grows before it bursts and turns into chaos.

In economic policy, Šećerov has dealt the most with agriculture. As an agrarian country, the newly former Kingdom of SHS was supposed to perform a more just distribution of land through the agrarian reform, on the basis of principles of work. In other words, the purpose of the agrarian reform was to

abolish feudalism in particular parts of our country, primarily those which used to be part of former empires (Ottoman: Kosovo and Metohia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Hapsburg monarchy: Vojvodina, Slavonia, Croatia and Slovenia) where large land holdings were dominant and where a multitude of peasants formed the village proletariat. Šećerov has proposed the purchase of properties of large land owners and the introduction of a land maximum of 5 hectares of arable land (13 acres), which would be granted to landless folk who would purchase land from large owners at 25% less than the market price, while the rest would go to the state koffers. Šećerov opposed the idea about people from the mountains settling in the lowlands while the locals there yearn for land, because these locals were better farmers than them. For the realization of his ideas, Šećerov proposed the forming of the Agrarian Bank to perform the purchase and regulation of large land properties. Moreover, Šećerov was a vocal opponent of what is happening nowadays – that foreigners purchase the land, which was seen at Čekonjić's property, when the large land owners tried to sell the land to the English and place themselves under foreign influence. Šećerov attempted to solve the agrarian crisis between the two wars by restructuring agricultural production – increasing cattle and fruit growing at the expense of crop farming, and transferring to growing industrial crops, which would result in more profitable farms and an increase in the farmers' purchasing power. The transfer to this type of production would largely be accompanied by adequate industrialization and gradually lead to a state known as people's well-being. However, despite the increasing export trade, payment balance was negative because Yugoslavia, especially at the end of the 1930s, sold its agricultural products abroad at proportionally lower prices and imported industrial goods at higher prices, which led to the sell exchange rate being 35% higher than when the gold parity was introduced. For this situation, Šećerov blamed the currency stabilization policy, which he viewed as wrong and a textbook example how not to perform stabilization in an economic crisis when 17 countries abandoned the gold standard (which envisages free trading in gold and precious metals). Yugoslavia has introduced the gold standard and thus lost the capital that entered the country in the form of paper money and left as gold. As a solution for the economic crisis, Šećerov proposed a series of measures, such as: expanding the low-interest credits, founding of an industrial bank, opening of public works, even if they are financed partially by the issuing of money, removing the disproportion between prices of agricultural and industrial products, etc.

As a member of parliament, Šećerov worked in the Committee on Finance on drafting the budget and economic measures and also participated as an expert in numerous international economic and trade conferences, where his reports yielded significant results. The first conference in which he took part was in Poland in 1922, where he worked on the conclusion of a trade convention between the Kingdom of SHS and Poland, in order for the Interparliamentary Union group to be formed in 1923 in the Assembly, where Šećerov was given a position in the economics section. In 1925, he reported about opium and, in 1927, he was elected to the Council of the Interparliamentary Union,

based in Geneva, where he worked on a report about immigration and emigration. Also in 1927, Šećerov led the delegation of the Kingdom of SHS at the International Conference on Economics in Geneva, where the topics were world industry, trade and other matters of commerce. Next year, in 1928, Šećerov frequently visited Geneva, Brussels, Prague and Paris, where he participated in various economic conferences and fora and where he heard the news about the assassination in the parliament, when he was called back to the country.

After the introduction of dictatorship in 1929, Šećerov took part in the creation of the Little Antante that same year, and was elected into the Council of the League of Nations as a corresponding member of the League's Fiscal Committee.

After the 1935 elections, when he lost for the first time after working for 15 years, the political work of Slavko Šećerov abruptly stopped when he was 47. Withdrawn into private life, Šećerov monitored financial and economic developments, wrote the *History of the Agrarian* Reform, articles on economics and politics, while he published the majority of his theoretical thoughts and reports delivered at numerous international conferences in the book titled *Problems of World and Domestic Economy*. He was in Belgrade when the war started, where he lived a quiet life with his wife and mother. He lived long after the war to a very old age. He passed away in Belgrade in 1967, completely forgotten by the scientific, professional and political public and under direct police surveillance.

Slavko Šećerov, who spoke several world languages, who has proven himself as a biologist-zoologist, as well as a politician, an expert in finance and economic theoretician, fell into complete oblivion in one time in our history, which he tried to come out from through extended and thorough work on his books. Despite his great work energy, his knowledge was completely unutilized during the time of Tito-communism, when he was banned from visiting his birth place by a decision of police authorities. Nowadays, several decades after his death, the work of Slavko Šećerov deserves particular attention. It is more topical than ever, both from the standpoint of economic policy and theory, and especially from that of economic history. It has been proven on his example that Serbs (more exactly its contemporary political elites) very often take revenge on their wise people, those people who belonged simultaneously to us and to the world and whose work was respected by world politicians and holders of power. In our society, such people never find their place and, even if they shine for a moment, they are soon extinguished. Such was the fate of Slavko Šećerov, whose collected works wait in the corners of archives to be published and once again presented to our scientific, professional and broader public[1].

---

[1] *Note*: As the heir of his father's relatively wealthy estate, Mrs Šećerovs dowry and a high salary of an official of the then United Nations (League of Nations), Šećerov built two buildings – a villa in Puškinova street (where he lived with his wife until the end of World War II) and a building in Birčaninova street with 13 flats for renting. The rent enabled his independent and free thinking, intellectual and moral integrity in the time before World War II, in periods when he received no salary or pension for his principled public work. The building in Birčaninova street was confiscated immediately after the war and there was a threat for the same thing to happen with the villa in Puškinova street. Šećerov believed he could prevent that if he rented the villa for a period of several years (for 1 dollar per year!!!) to the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade. Šećerov pre-

LITERATURE

Slavko Šećerov. *Economic Phenomena Before and After War*, Mcmillan, London 1919.
Славко Шећеров. *Наше финансије 1919–1925*, Издавачко предузеће Напредак, Београд 1926.
[Slavko Šećerov. *Our Finances 1919–1925*, Publishing House Napredak, Belgrade 1926]

---

vented the confiscation of the villa, but failed to win (the years-long) court case against the U.S. Embassy, which did not react positively to his petition for the rent to be "corrected", i.e. raised to a level corresponding with the real-estate "market" in Belgrade at that time. After handing the villa to the Americans to use it, the Šećerovs moved to Senjak, to the address 2, Kralja Vukašina street (entrance from Jovana Ristića street, across the road from the Belgrade Publishing and Graphics Institute (*Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod* – BIGZ) and the building of the Official Gazette of SFRY). As "comedic chance" would have it, Časlav Ocić, the trainee research assistant of the Institute for Economic Sciences in Belgrade moved into the same building in 1969. Slavko Šećerov died in 1967, so Mrs. Anđa lived in the large salon flat alone. But she was not lonely. She often invited the young and curious economist for tea and talked about the family, Serbian and Yugoslav history of the first half of the 20th century that he and his generation were unable to find in the official textbooks of the time. Besides Ocić, two other couples kept them company: (amiable, always in a good mood) Mile Jovanović, a renowned surgeon, Anđa's nephew – and Mile's wife Dušanka Kalanj, a refined and charming TV presenter, beloved throughout Yugoslavia at that time. The second couple, who (once a week, as a rule) came for a game of cards, were Radmila (Ratsa), Anđa's best friend from childhood and her husband, Prince Đorđe Karađorđević, the older brother of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević.

Prince Đorđe dressed discreetly (modestly, almost as a pauper), with a mandatory French hat on his head. He spoke little, in a relatively weak, almost quiet voice, contrary to the power of arguments he presented. He left the impression of a man with a stance, which he defended with energy, consistence and persuasion. In 1969, the autobiography of Prince Đorđe Karađorđević was published by the Prosveta publishing company from Belgrade, titled *Istina o mome životu* (Truth about My Life), so Ocić had a unique opportunity to satisfy his curiosity by reading the book and talking to its author. In the vicinity of the building at 2, Kralja Vukašina street (at the beginning of the street, to the right of Jovana Ristića street, in front of the so-called laundry room of the Federal Executive Council (*Savezno izvršno veće* – SIV), from where water constantly flowed down the sloped street and froze in winter) Prince Đorđe slipped and fell, dying from the consequences of the fall several days later (on October 17th, 1972). He was buried in the New Cemetery in Belgrade, in the immediate vicinity of the Memorial Ossuary to the defenders of Belgrade. On October 16th, 1991, the *Borba* daily published that Đorđe's last wish was to be buried in his father's endowment, the Church of St. George in Oplenac, and that it would be fulfilled that week. On Friday, October 18th in the morning, Đorđe's body was exhumed and transferred to the Congregational Church in Belgrade. The liturgy for the deceased was served by Serbian Patriarch Pavle. After the service, the casket was on display from 3 to 7 p.m. for the people to pay respect and, on Sunday, October 20th, his mortal remains were laid in the Karađorđević mausoleum – the crypt of the Church of St. George. Ocić had the honor (deserved by chance) to attend (on the invitation of Prince Tomislav) the burial of Prince Đorđe in Oplenac.

During one of the "Thursday soirees" at Mrs. Anđa's, she announced her decision to donate her husband's library to the Faculty of Economics in Belgrade. (Ocić received only one title – *Problemi svetske i naše privrede* from 1936). The Faculty of Economics kept those books for some thirty years, but then sent them for recycling to a factory in Ada Huja together with another 26,000 titles (of mainly old and rare books), via the University Library.

In a strange (and still puzzling) way, the news about this book-ocide came to (academician) Ocić who (once again in a mysterious fashion) managed to rescue from recycling a significant number of these discarded („written-off") books, including all the books from Šećerov's personal library, which were welcomed, after several decades, by the book *Problemi svetske i naše privrede* (which offers the most thorough presentation of Šećerov's economic concepts) as one of the hostbooks of Ocić's Study Imagological Memorial Library (SIML) which consists of more than 60,000 titles and which was proclaimed a national cultural treasure of great significance by the decision of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia some ten years ago. (Verbal communication of Bojan Drašković and Časlav Ocić at the start of August 2025, at the "treasury" of SIML – under construction – in Trešnja, Ripanj Cadastre Municipality, Belgrade City Municipality of Voždovac)

Славко Шећеров. *Из наше аграрне политике 1919–1929*, Издавачко предузеће Геце Кона, Београд 1930. [Slavko Šećerov. *From Our Agrarian Policy 1919–1929*, Publishing House Geca Kon, Belgrade 1930]

Slavko Šećerov. *Problemi svetske i naše privrede*, Izdavačko preduzeće Geca Kon, Beograd 1935. [Slavko Šećerov. *Problems of World and Our Economy*, Publishing House Geca Kon, Belgrade 1935]

Славко Шећеров. *Аутобиографија*, рукопис [Slavko Šećerov. *Autobiography*, manuscript]

Славко Шећеров. *Историја аграрне реформе*, рукопис [Slavko Šećerov. *History of Agrarian Reform*, manuscript]

Обрен Благојевић. *Економска мисао у Србији, Изаабрана дјела 3*, Стручна књига, Београд 1966. [Obren Blagojević. *Economic Thought in Serbia*, *Selected Works 3*, Stručna knjiga, Belgrade 1966]

In memoriam

ARCHITECT OF LIGHT AND SILENCE ALEKSANDAR SAŠA RADOJEVIĆ (1934–2025)

SLOBODAN MALDINI
ASA – Association of the Serbian Architects, Ljubinke Bobić 11, Novi Beograd, Serbia
maldini.slobodan@gmail.com



His space remains open — like a horizon of thought that continues to teach us how to see further.

In life, we rarely meet people whose presence does not end with time, but continues to resonate like a quiet wave — invisible, yet constant, like light reflecting off the surface of stone and leaving an imprint on our consciousness. Such was Professor Aleksandar Saša Radojević — an architect who understood space not merely as a geometric construction, but as a spiritual state, a meeting place of light and thought. His work, both pedagogical and creative, was an ongoing dialogue between the material and the immaterial, between order and poetry, between permanence and transience.

Born in 1934 in Novi Sad — a city whose silences and rhythms can still be felt in his later works — Radojević found his architectural language early on:

a language that did not speak through monumentality, but through the essence of relationships. He graduated from the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade in 1958, and then, in pursuit of wider horizons, continued his studies in London, Moscow, and Mexico. Each of these experiences, every culture and space he touched, became part of his intellectual landscape, yet his expression always remained his own — authentic, serene, and deeply rooted in a humanistic view of the world.

As a professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade — and later at numerous universities around the world, from Priština and Banja Luka to Oviedo and Concepción — Radojević imparted to his students more than knowledge: he conveyed an awareness of architecture as an ethical act, of space as an extension of human being. His classroom was both a studio and a meditative space, where drawing was not taught as a line, but as a gesture of thought — as a trace of understanding the world.

His books, such as *The Development of the Chair Form* and *Architectural Drawing*, along with his later writings and travelogues from Mount Athos, reveal not only pedagogical discipline but also a spiritual quest. His architecture — where museum and temple, pavilion and silence, converged — reflected a man who understood that beauty is born from measure, and measure from reverence for space and life.

In an age of speed, Radojević built slowness; in an epoch of noise, his hand remained quiet; in a society of superficiality, he bore witness to depth. And thus, when we speak of his work, we speak not only of buildings, but of a kind of architectural philosophy — of a space that does not enclose, but opens; that does not divide, but connects.

CREATIVITY AS A DIALOGUE WITH THE WORLD

Aleksandar Radojević understood architecture as a continuous dialogue between space and life. His projects — from cultural centers, museums, and sacred buildings to residential and hospitality spaces — always carried the mark of deep attention to human experience. Every pavilion, every interior, every line of furniture or graphic design was an expression of respect for what space can do for the people who inhabit it.

With his hand and his thought, he shaped more than fifty public buildings and pavilions, yet his strength did not lie in quantity, but in his ability to make each designed space a bearer of story, memory, and aesthetic meaning. His museum reconstruction projects were never merely restorations of walls and roofs, but re-creations of the inner rhythm of light and movement — places where history meets the present. His sacred architecture, though diverse in function and style, shared the same philosophical spirit: space as a reminder of continuity, peace, and inner reflection.

Radojević skillfully combined local tradition with contemporary demands, always remaining devoted to the human being — not the abstract mass, but the individual: each user, visitor, and student. His pedagogical method was almost

architectural in itself: every assignment, every drawing, every conversation with students was shaped to teach them to perceive space as a whole — as something to be breathed, seen, heard, and understood.

His writings — whether theoretical works such as *Architectural Drawing* (I to III) or *Travelogues from Mount Athos* — reveal an artist who thought of architecture in terms of time: how lines and volumes meet history, and how every space carries the trace of human presence. His graphic works and drawings were never mere illustrations; they were meditative tools, visual records of a thoughtful encounter between idea and reality, between light and shadow, between interior and exterior space.

As a furniture designer, Radojević demonstrated the same philosophy: form was not merely function, but an extension of body and spirit — a line that follows movement, a proportion that honors the human being, a material that communicates with the hand and the gaze. Everything he created carried his fundamental message: architecture and design are acts of care, responsibility, and the creation of space in which a person can breathe, think, and feel.

His professional *oeuvre*, recognized with numerous awards and honors, remains a lasting testament to an artist who united aesthetic beauty, functionality, and spiritual depth. Yet more important than the awards and recognition is what cannot be recorded: the influence he had on generations of students, colleagues, and all who stepped into his spaces — forever shaped by his vision of architecture as an act of life itself.

THE PEDAGOGICAL HORIZON: EDUCATION AS THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIND

In both the classroom and the studio, Aleksandar Radojević built space in the same way he built architecture — as a place where thought expands freely, where ideas take shape, and where students learn to perceive the whole before focusing on the detail. His pedagogical philosophy was never about the mere transmission of knowledge, but about cultivating the capacity for critical thinking, aesthetic intuition, and ethical responsibility. Every exercise, drawing, or project was part of a long process of learning how space shapes human experience — and how humans, in turn, shape space.

Students remembered him as a mentor who challenged but never imposed, who guided without giving ready-made answers. Under his guidance, architecture became a dialogue — between past and future forms, between local identity and global currents, between personal expression and social responsibility. His lectures and workshops in Priština, Banja Luka, Podgorica, as well as in Spain and Chile, demonstrated the universal dimension of his approach: architecture is more than walls and roofs — it is a space where one learns how to think, how to see, and how to feel.

Radojević believed that knowledge should never remain abstract. Every theory, every method of drawing or modeling was linked to practice — to real space and material. His students learned that architecture is not merely a technical discipline, but a philosophy of life: a way of observing the world, of

understanding the complexity of human needs, and of creating harmony between function and aesthetics.

His pedagogical influence cannot be measured by the number of degrees or completed projects, but by the capacity of generations of students to understand architecture as an act of responsibility and creativity. The space he created in the classroom was open — but even more than that, it was a horizon of thought that continues to teach us to look further, to recognize light within complex structures, and to search for meaning in all that we shape.

THE CREATIVE HORIZON: ARCHITECTURE, INTERIOR, AND DESIGN

Aleksandar Radojević expressed his artistic voice through multiple dimensions of architecture and design, merging functionality, symbolism, and aesthetic clarity. His projects — from cultural centers and museums, through sacred and hospitality buildings, to residential spaces and exhibition pavilions — reflected his ability to shape a visual language that speaks of community, place, and time. Each work bears witness to reflection and dialogue — between form and context, between light and material, between tradition and modernity.

A special place in his creative opus belongs to interior and furniture design. In these works, we see his philosophy of detail: how a single element — a chair or a room — can become an expressive medium that ennobles everyday life. His book *The Development of the Form of the Chair* (1974) illuminates not only the functional but also the intellectual process of shaping an object — a bridge between art and everyday experience.

Radojević's architectural drawings, notes, and studies — such as his works on Mount Athos or the Hispano-Asturian Romanesque — reveal his continuous quest to understand space in its historical, cultural, and spiritual dimensions. These books and projects are not mere documentation; they are visual and intellectual meditations on space and time, where tradition meets contemporaneity and local identity opens toward a universal vision.

His exhibitions — both solo and collective — as well as the annual shows of the Architectural Graphics 1 and 2 department, represented a dialogue with the public and his students, not only on an aesthetic level but also as a form of education. A recipient of numerous awards and honors, Radojević left a lasting legacy, demonstrating that architecture and design can stand as testimonies of humanism, wisdom, and responsibility toward space and community.

His creative work is, in truth, more than architecture; it is a visual and philosophical horizon that teaches us how to recognize meaning in space, how to discover a message within form, and how the artistic act can become an act of life itself.

LEGACY AND INFLUENCE: TEACHER, MENTOR, HORIZON OF THOUGHT

Above all, Aleksandar Radojević was a teacher — an architect who passed on knowledge with passion and patience, with a profound sense of responsibility

toward future generations. His lectures, whether in Belgrade, Priština, Banja Luka, Podgorica, or at universities in Spain and Chile, were never limited to the transmission of technique and theory; they were lessons in shaping thought, in opening spaces for creativity, in learning how to perceive the world through line, volume, and light. His students did not learn merely how to design buildings, but how to understand space, time, and culture through architecture.

Throughout decades of teaching at faculties and departments, Radojević shaped generations of architects, designers, and thinkers, imparting to them the values of humanism, responsibility, and aesthetic clarity. His pedagogical influence went far beyond technical skill; he encouraged a philosophical approach to architecture — an understanding of space as a meeting place of function and spirit, of the material and the contemplative.

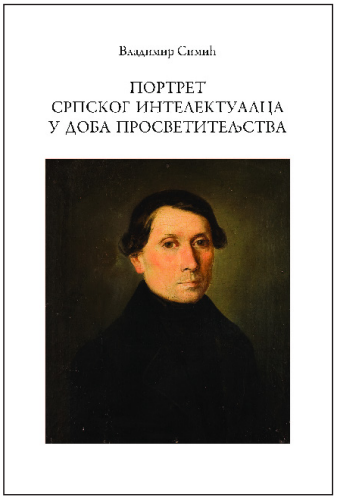
His artistic and pedagogical work form a unified whole. Every book, exhibition, or project he created carries within it a lesson: that architecture is not merely the space in which we live, but a way of thinking and feeling. His space remains open — as a horizon of thought that continues to teach us to look further, to seek meaning in every form, and to recognize light in every space.

Aleksandar Radojević is gone, but his legacy lives on — through his projects, drawings, books, and, above all, through his students. His life was devoted to the pursuit of harmony between art, philosophy, and the practical world — a lesson we carry with us now and in the times to come.

Aleksandar Saša Radojević has departed, but his space endures — open, vast, and luminous in thought. Within it still echo the footsteps of his students, inscribed in drawings, books, and projects, and each line bears his message: look further, think deeper, seek light in every form. His life was an enduring lesson in harmony — between art, knowledge, and the human soul — and as we walk along that horizon, we feel his presence still: quiet, yet unyielding, reminding us that the meaning of space does not end with his passing.

A LOOK AT THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF THE SERBIAN ENLIGHTENMENT

(Vladimir Simić, Portrait of a Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment, Novi Sad: Matica Srpska: Matica Srpska Gallery, 2022, 354 pp.)



The book by Prof. Dr. Vladimir Simić, *Portrait of a Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment*, was published as part of the "Art and History" edition launched in 2016 by the Matica Srpska Gallery with the aim of highlighting the connections between socio-historical circumstances and art. This provided the authors with a broad conceptual framework within which contemporary methodological and interpretative approaches to art history are evaluated and developed. On this occasion, readers will find a book published in co-publishing by Matica Srpska and the Matica Srpska Gallery as the sixth publication of the "Art and History" edition. Previously, in 2018, the same edition published the monograph *Romanovs and Serbs: Reception of the Image of Russian Rulers in the Art of the 18th Century* as a Significant Scientific Contribution by Dr. Vladimir Simić – a full professor at the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Numerous published scientific articles and studies make Dr. Simić a leading researcher in the history of Serbian modern art with an exceptional contribution to the study of the cultural history of the 18th century and the visual culture of the Enlightenment. Such a status of Dr. Simić was definitely established by the book *Portrait of a Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment*, which includes an introduction, four discussion chapters, a conclusion and a summary in English and German.

On behalf of the publisher, the director of the Matica Srpska Gallery, Tijana Palkovljević Bugarski, addressed the readers through the Word in Advance, expressing special gratitude to Simić, emphasizing that the modernly conceived approach that he applied in the book demonstrates the important role of portraits not only in understanding artistic achievements but also broader social phenomena and geopolitical movements. The author writes about the breadth of the concept of the image of an intellectual right at the beginning of the Introduction, thus hinting at a contemporary methodological approach that he then fully defines and illuminates by explaining the remaining key concepts of the book's title. Thus, in the Introduction, Simić provides a possible definition of the concept of an 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, covered by the umbrella term Enlightenment. On this basis, in the following chapters, the author devotes himself

to individual concepts and phenomena related to the physical and mental image of an enlightened intellectual. He does this by interpreting portraits made in different artistic techniques and depicting different personalities whose life spans and structures fit into previously determined methodological frameworks. The chapter Basic Concepts builds on the Introduction through a contextualized view of the key concepts – intellectual and Enlightenment. By verbally sketching the profile of an eighteenth-century intellectual, Professor Simić here creates a kind of basis for the subsequent portrait that he will gradually, but with the methodological precision of a mature researcher, create in the following chapters. In order to understand the reasons for the emergence and development of the Enlightenment in Serbian culture, he conducts his observations from different perspectives, which particularly enriches and makes his contribution to one of the important open questions of Serbian "intellectual history" comprehensive. Thus, he first places the understanding of the Enlightenment in Serbian culture in the cultural framework of the Habsburg monarchy, emphasizing the various intertwinings that varied between Central European and Russian influence, religious and secular worldviews, Roman Catholic and Protestant church circles, but equally the influence that they originally had in Greek culture.

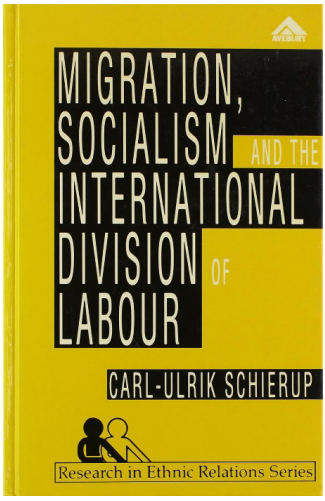
Reading the central part of the book, entitled Portrait of an Intellectual: Typology and Iconography, provides insight into Simić's well-practiced research skills to the end. That this is a scientific achievement that comes only with enviable research experience is evident primarily in the way the research topic is problematized, then in the breadth of literature on which the author builds his conclusions, but no less so in the writing style. Observations on complex humanistic issues are communicated in a manner that is equally accessible to specialists and passionate art history enthusiasts. Professor Simić first examines what the term portrait generally meant during the Enlightenment. Referring to the views of famous eighteenth-century writers on art, Simić contributed to the answer to an important open question of contemporary Serbian art history – what is a modern portrait? Accordingly, the book follows a typological grouping of portraits, which shows how it is possible to simultaneously perceive the mental image of a Serbian intellectual of the Enlightenment era by observing their physical image.

Portrait and Society is the title of the chapter in which the author further elaborates on the examination of the image of Serbian intellectuals, first through a statistical perspective with which he very precisely maps the (small) number and position of people of the pen in society around 1800. By grouping portraits according to the belonging of the portrayed to different social orders (clergy, officials, writers, scholars) and stages of life, Simić contributes to understanding the role and position of intellectual identity in Serbian society at that time. The last discussion chapter – Public memory and forgetting – skillfully announced by the last sentence of the previous chapter, refers to events in society after the death of an intellectual. In a time that marks the beginning of the understanding of the private and public spheres in a way that is implicit to modern man, it is examined how, through the press and the culture of erecting monuments, but also a number of other socio-political circumstances, intellectuals enter the collective memory or oblivion of the Serbian people. Relying also on the understanding of the image as an effigy, this chapter rounds off Simić's research and makes the final, experienced move with which he ends his Portrait of a Serbian Intellectual in the Age of Enlightenment. This is followed by a Conclusion in which the results of the research are convincingly summarized but, which is worthy of special praise, the conspicuous absence of portraits of women is also explained. The book includes 52 illustrations that actually represent the research material from which the writing began. Therefore, the selection and arrangement of illustrations once again confirms that Simić, by creating a publication that future generations of interpreters of art and cultural history will refer to, has successfully achieved his research intention.

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

YUGOSLAVIA AS A DEVELOPMENT LOOP

(Carl-Ulrik Schierup. *Migration, Socialism, and the International Division of Labour. The Yugoslavian Experience*, Aldershot, Avebury 1990, 339 pp)



Author of the latest book on Yugoslavia, *Migration, Socialism, and the International Division of Labour. The Yugoslavian Experience* (Aldershot, Avebury 1990), Carl-Ulrik Schierup, is known to our and the international professional public as the author of numerous studies and monographs on Yugoslavia, primarily from the point of view of studying Yugoslav and European migration flows. A book he published a few years ago, *Will They Still be Dancing*? (presented in *Revija za sociologiju*, Vol. 18, 1987, pp. 123–125), co-authored with Aleksandra Alund, deals with the life of Yugoslav migrants in Sweden. Originally from Denmark, where he completed his studies and obtained his doctorate in the field of social anthropology, Schierup currently works as a sociology professor and researcher at Umea University in Sweden. Schierup differs from numerous other foreign authors who deal with Yugoslavia in two ways. First, he believes that external migrations from Yugoslavia are such a strong emotional current in Yugoslav society that studying them can reveal a lot about the nature of that society. Second, he looks at Yugoslav society through the prism of dependency theory, which is fundamentally neo-Marxist and which in its own way explains why a relatively underdeveloped society must gradually abandon its original ideas and institutions in favor of those found in a developed world environment, but at the same time warns that, paradoxical as it may seem, such a switch is equally difficult, if not even more difficult, than insisting on "original solutions". This dilemma permeates the entire book and also represents its original contribution to sociological Yugoslav studies.



Carl-Ulrik Schierup (1948)

The author starts from the claim that the fate of Yugoslavia was largely predetermined by the development of Europe after the Second World War, more precisely in the period from 1950 to 1973, when the "new agenda", the European migration system, was created. This was a precursor

to the future more extensive integration of labor, capital and knowledge in the European space. In the first period, a large amount of, mainly unskilled, labor force from Mediterranean countries was integrated. In the early sixties, labor force from Yugoslavia also joined it. After 1973, however, due to the penetration of the third industrial revolution, the labor market became bipolarized between intellectual and manual labor. Most developed European countries introduced strict selective criteria, rejecting further influx of unskilled workers and accepting only specialized and highly skilled workers. These countries also asked the underdeveloped countries of emigration to cooperate in programs for the mass return of unskilled workers to their countries of origin. Thus, a great burden was placed on the internal reproduction of migrants and the unemployed in the countries of origin. At that point, Schierup begins with an analysis of Yugoslav problems. One of his main arguments is that "the continuous duration of various forms of primitive accumulation is the key element of the current crisis in Yugoslavia" (p. 7). In doing so, he refers to a specific structure of internal social relations, which he describes as "patriarchally territorialized" regional state bureaucracies that depend more and more on external transnational capital over time. In such a framework, the working classes are politically divided and are renewed within different domestic forms of social relations.

Therefore, the author assumes, future development may have different directions, depending on the parts of Yugoslavia. All parts of Yugoslavia are dependent on external world development, but not to the same degree, which in turn depends on internal historical, ethnonational and developmental specificities. However, the developmental scale, or dependence, is primary and determines the further fate of parts of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia may completely disintegrate due to internal cultural heterogeneity or political antagonisms (which is always difficult to distinguish) — but the developmental problems of its "remnants" will be much more similar than different. Such an approach removes the ideological fog produced by the current actors of political conflicts who largely wage war with an arsenal of cultural and historical myths. At one point, the author speaks ironically about the "new uniform" and "old ghosts", alluding to the mimicry turns of the communist and anti-communist elites towards nationalism. The balance of their maneuverings soon settles on the scale of developmental problems: how to proceed, or how to get out of underdevelopment? Schierup warns of the results of numerous studies on countries with large external migration, which show that the effect of "modernization without development" occurs in them. The ambience of a modern highly developed society is quickly improvised with political moves and symbolic rituals. Until then, high unemployment reigns in the bowels of society, poverty grows, together with an inadequate economic structure, social hopelessness is reproduced, which closes the vicious circle. What's worse, the strongest reactions to such a situation drag even deeper into economic underdevelopment and the cultural-political past. The author then explains in more detail the internal roots of Yugoslavia's underdevelopment in the past, bringing the revolution, industrialization and, finally, the large export of labor power in connection with the roots of backwardness in the past. Despite the large outflow of labor, however, Yugoslavia continued with "primitive accumulation" under the regime of the bureaucratic state even in the 1960s.

Its economic system is not capable of transnational restructuring of the world economy. But this does not mean actual isolation: on the contrary, dependence on the world market grew more and more. Further reactions to such a situation multiplied internal crisis hotspots even more. Due to large financial loans, the sources of accumulation have become almost exclusively foreign. Parallel to this, and perhaps because of this, internal borders and national economies emerged; instead of central planning, monopoly bureaucratic states appear at the republic and local levels. Anarchy and conflicts in the federal state are a necessary expression of the struggle of party-bureaucratic monopoly groups for sources of accumulation. It is also the most important internal aspect of the system. The author proves that a solid bureaucratic-political layer was formed in Yugoslavia before its opening to the outside world, which subordinated all institutional reforms in terms of self-management and economic structure to its own interests in terms of primitive enrichment. Drawing on the analyses of numerous Yugoslav authors, Schierup describes parallel politics and economies, official or formal and unofficial or informal, branching out in all directions and levels. This polyp system corresponded not only to the state and economic bureaucracy, but also to a significant layer of

semi-peasants-semi-workers. Their alliance is based on "increasingly strong and powerful ties between traditional kinship and local networks, and local and regional state apparatuses" (p. 234). The polyp system of primitive accumulation and corruption found its legal expression in the institutional reforms of the 1970s and the 1974 Constitution. Such a system can only offer the international economy an abundance of cheap labor — if there is a demand for it. It does not allow other options and blocks them from within. This was the case with the attempt at liberal-technocratic reform after 1965, and similarly with the attempts at trade union self-organization of workers. The system also blocks change by creating further institutional prerequisites for its own self-reproduction. In this respect, the most significant was the reform of the education system, which Schierup calls "education for the periphery." However, even such an intervention could not reduce the greatest ailment of the system, which is he constant increase in the already high unemployment rate.

The author explains the explosion in Kosovo primarily as a consequence of this very structural contradiction. He believes that the "infernal machine" of high unemployment had to explode first in Kosovo for the simple reason that the percentage of unemployment among the Albanian population is much higher than among non-Albanians. In such circumstances, everywhere in the world in ethnically mixed environments, social dissatisfaction grows into ethno-national rebellion. Serbia's intervention in Kosovo created a "Yugoslav Palestine", and because of this, the entire political landscape of Yugoslavia was soon changed: the polyp was transformed into "territorialized and corporate ethno-nationalism". Such a way of explaining the national question is to a certain extent the same for both Marxist and functionalist structuralism. However, what distinguishes them is demonstrated by Schierup precisely in this approach. Namely, by all accounts, he believes that the political and socio-economic system in Yugoslavia could not have led to any other outcome than a nationalist crisis. The stagnation in development and high unemployment necessarily lead to outdated nationalist concepts and movements. However, Schierup considers the question of further development in Yugoslavia to be open in all directions, the worst and the best, thereby demonstrating both doubt and the "moral-practical optimism" characteristic of a significant part of Marxism from its beginnings to the present day. According to him, it is not excluded that Yugoslavia will surprise the world again with some atypical solution. But this is still one of the possibilities along with others that are typical and probably more dangerous. In the last part of the book, which is also interesting for a wider readership, the author considers three possible scenarios for the further development of Yugoslavia: "technocratic-managerial", "authoritarian-populist" and the scenario of "economic stabilization with the strengthening of civil society".

According to the first scenario, which calls for a quick transition to a market economy, there would be strong social upheavals caused by a further increase in unemployment, deepening of social inequalities and conflicts. These would develop into new ethno-national conflicts and open the way to another scenario. The second scenario is based on political dictatorship either in the old form of Stalinism or in the new form of authoritarian states, which would continue the typically Balkan history of Yugoslavia. Therefore, Schierup concludes, none of these scenarios lead Yugoslavia to a new European context. This implicitly gives priority to the third scenario, which would be realized as a result of the action of mass democratic movements of a non-populist character, and their main part would be trade unionism with a modified concept of self-management. There is no doubt that the author's choice is an expression of his own affection towards the democratic-socialist conceptions of the state, society and work organization. However, it is also the result of a careful analysis of the development of society and the weighing of the most important arguments, which is difficult to reject. Namely, the projects that are now in play in Yugoslavia and which are taking place in the sign of a collision or reflow of the first two scenarios, which in a way personify Marković and Milošević, already prove that Schierup is right when he claims that the first scenario leads to the second. Marković has more and more opponents similar to Milošević and will probably have more and more of them simply because the catastrophic consequences of the transition to a market economy are necessarily transferred to the backs of the population, and they look for an immediate way out in the promises of national leaders. If these fail, then the old scenario of recentralization is involved, and so on in increasingly difficult situations.

Of course, the author does not have any solid arguments that would speak in favor of the third

scenario. Labor unions, alternative movements, professional associations, and business elites are still too weak and under the tutelage of the old forces. Therefore, the "third path" scenario is more the result of a logical deduction from an evolutionary theory that says that society ultimately chooses a less dangerous path of development. This is a correct conclusion, although it is not sufficient because it says "in the end", after a series of still unknown premises. Admittedly, there are a certain number of countries, such as Japan and some Pacific countries, that have inserted themselves into the orbit of developed countries in their own specific way, developing without modernization (in the Western form, so to speak). But analogies are of little help here, not only because these are societies different from Yugoslavia, but also because there is still a disproportionately larger number of countries that have failed in a similar attempt because it is not known how many, in principle, wrong steps need to be taken to make the right one. In this sense, an immanent analysis of the Yugoslav situation, primarily the relationship between politically conflicting actors and the social resilience of the population, represents the only real support for assessing existing tendencies and forecasting outcomes. In this respect, Schierup's book is unique among similar books on Yugoslavia, especially if we compare it with more recent and up-to-date journalistic texts, since it offers an optimistic note on a reasonable basis, and a theoretically interesting epilogue, since less complex studies and writings on Yugoslavia, which as a rule end with the dilemma of "market or not?" "democracy or not?", and a pessimistic message whose justification is obscure, leave not only that Durkheimian "darkness in the heart" but also in the head. It is indeed difficult to thoroughly study a society if the researcher cannot find a single argument in it for its survival and dignified life, but rather absolve it as a "dying patient" and hand it over to the hands of "thanatologists," i.e. domestic and international military-police strategists.

Vjeran Katunarić

THE GUARDIAN OF HISTORY

(Dobrilo Aranitović. *Bio-bibliography of Boško I. Bojović: 1987–2020*, Archives of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 2021)



The work of Prof. Dr. Boško I. Bojović, professor at the Sorbonne, sociologist of religion, specialist in medieval history, philologist, Balkanologist and founder of the Department of History and Society of South-Eastern Europe at the Sorbonne, has been materialized by publishing his bio-bibliography.

A scientist and polyhistorian with varied interests, exceptional knowledge and excellent judgment, he is not only the author of original scientific publications, but he has also collaborated with numerous journals in Serbian, French, Russian, Italian, German, Latin, Bulgarian and English; he has participated in more than 100 congresses and other scientific meetings. He was also the editor-in-chief of the most prestigious Balkanological journal in France, *Études balkaniques*, a member of editorial board of MS Zbornik in social sciences.

A distinguished bibliographer Dobrilo Aranitović compiled bibliography of Boško I. Bojović. The collected material is divided into 20 sections: 1. Monographic publications and separate printed works; 2. Studies, Essays, Articles, Reviews, Interviews; 3. Translation works; 4. Editorial and compilation activities; 5. Bibliography of works on Professor Boško Bojović; 6. Registers; 7. Register of publications in foreign languages; 8. Register of periodical publications; 9. Register of names; 10. Chronology of scientific research and teaching activity; 11. Academic and scientific research CV; 12. Scientific research work; 13. Seminars, specializations and important professional qualifications; 14. Organization of seminars, conferences and guest lectures; 15. Steering of international scientific projects; 16. Coordinator of EHESS working groups in South-Eastern Europe; 17. Congresses, Seminars, Conferences, Scientific Meetings, Round Tables; 18. Supervision of postgraduate studies; 19. Scientific research in archives and libraries, and 20. Public engagement: appearances in the press, radio and television (1991–2020).

Each of the cited chapters contains chronologically arranged elements, respecting the language and writing of the cited works. Aranitović strives, as usual, to include in the bibliography all available elements, using, in this case, the Bibliography of Yugoslavia (Series of books, Brochures, Musical publications. Series A: Social sciences), the Encyclopedia of Serbian Historiography, the Biographical Lexicon: Serbs in the World, as well as the electronic catalogues of the National Library of Serbia, the Matica Srpska Library, the National and University Library in Zagreb and the French National Library in Paris.

The bibliography contains 338 bibliographic entries. Where necessary, the entries are supple-

mented with appropriate annotations, which clarify the content. In each entry, all relevant data is provided (author, translator, writers of forewords/afterwords, etc.). For titles and other elements in foreign languages, a resolution/translation is indicated in square brackets.

Registers, as an indispensable part, complement this personal bibliography.

Diligent, thorough, and systematic bibliographer Dobrilo Aranitović, with this bibliography, successfully illuminates the rich, multi-decade, and studious work of yet another overlooked and sidelined scholar, who is extremely significant for our culture and history. This is, at the same time, a chronology of scientific research and pedagogical activity, but also a testimony to the diversity of interests and breadth of vision of Boško I. Bojović. Additionally, it serves as a valuable resource for researchers of various profiles, given the broad spectrum of topics that Prof. Bojović has been dealing with.

LITERATURE

Aranitović Dobrilo. *Bio-bibliography of Boško I. Bojović: 1987–2020,* Archives of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 2021.

Bašić Vesna. *Rodna reč.* In: *Sveske: Journal for Literature, Art, and Culture.* – ISSN 1451-9976. Vol. 32, № 143 (2022), pp. 105–106.

Nebojša Cvejić, Šabac
Library Advisor, Library of Šabac

AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

TATJANA JOVIĆEVIĆ (Belgrade, 1963) – Full-time research associate at the Institute for Literature and Art. She completed her formal education in Belgrade, graduating from the Faculty of Philology in April 1988 with degrees in Yugoslav Literature and General Literature, and in Yugoslav Literature and Serbo-Croatian Language. During the final years of her undergraduate studies and throughout her postgraduate studies, her research interests initially focused on the poetry of Serbian Pre-Romanticism and Romanticism, and subsequently expanded to include popular literature, literary criticism, and the cultural patterns that shaped literary life during these and subsequent periods. In 1988, she became an external collaborator on the project History of Serbian Literary Periodicals at the Institute for Literature and Art. She continued her collaboration with the project throughout her postgraduate studies, receiving her master's degree in 1999 and her PhD in 2006, as well as throughout her academic career. During this period, she also worked at the Institute for Political Studies (2000–2003) and at the Department of Serbian Literature at the Faculty of Philology and Arts, University of Kragujevac (2003–2009). Since December 2009, she has been a full-time research associate at the Institute, initially working on a project examining the history of Serbian literary periodicals and subsequently on the history of literary criticism and metacriticism.

Major Works: *Epic Poems and Verse Narratives of Jovan Subotić*. Belgrade: Čigoja štampa, 2003. *The Serbian Historical Novel of the 19th Century*. Belgrade: Society for the Serbian Language and Literature, 2007. *Literature and Journalism in (Post-)Realism*. Belgrade: Institute for Literature and Art, 2013. *Literature Beyond Memory: On the Lyric Poetry of the "Age of Dositej"*. Belgrade: Institute for Literature and Art, 2021.

SLOBODAN VUJIĆ (Čerević, Fruška Gora, 1947) – Mining Engineer, Doctor of Technical Sciences, University Professor. He graduated from the Faculty of Mining and Geology in Belgrade in the fields of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering and Surface Mining, and received his Magister's and Doctoral degrees. He specialized and advanced at the universities "Lomonosov" Moscow, AGH Krakow, Imperial College London, Ukraine Project Kiev, etc. He worked at the Faculty of Mining and Geology in Belgrade, and after retirement continued at the Mining Institute Belgrade. In addition to his home university, he taught at faculties and institutes in the country and abroad. He actively participated in or supervised the research of 29 doctoral dissertations and 19 magister's theses. He is the author of more than 400 scientific and professional papers, 32 monographs, 14 textbooks and professional publications, 42 scientific and more than 200 industrial projects and studies, 32 software packages and two professional exhibitions. He re-launched the publication and was the editor of one of the oldest mining journals „Rudarski glasnik" (*Mines Herald*), and is a member of the scientific councils and editorial boards of four international scientific journals. He is considered the founder of the Serbian school of mathematical modeling and systems engineering in mining and geology. At his home faculty, he participated in the establishment of the Department of Surface Mining, and is the founder of the Computer Center, the Department of Applied Computing and Systems Engineering,

and the Laboratory for Computer Integrated Technologies and Systems Engineering. He is one of the founders and first secretary of the Yugoslav Committee for Surface Exploitation of the Union of Engineers and Technicians of Yugoslavia, he founded the Yugoslav Committee for the Application of Mathematical Methods and Computers in Mining and Geology, and initiated the international symposium of the same name. He is the founder of the Balkan Mining Congress and was the president of its Coordination Committee. He is a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republika Srpska, the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, the Academy of Mining Sciences of Russia, a member of the Academy of Engineering Sciences of Serbia, the Scientific Society of Serbia, the Balkan Academy of Mining Sciences (of which he is the founder and president), the Balkan Academy of Sciences for Mineral Technologies, and the Eurasian Academy of Mining Sciences. He is an honorary doctor of the University of Mining and Geology in Sofia. He is the recipient of the Silver Medal, the Order of the President of the Republic for exceptional merits and achieved scientific results in the fields of mining and geology, the Gold medal on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and numerous awards.

MOMČILO ISIĆ (Svileuva, Koceljeva, 1952) – Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia. He completed his secondary education at the Teachers' Training School in Belgrade in 1972 and graduated from the Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, in 1977. He obtained his master's degree in 1983 with a thesis entitled The Peasantry of the Valjevo Region, 1929–1941, and completed his doctoral studies in 1992 with a dissertation entitled The Peasantry in Serbia, 1918–1925. His professional career began in 1979 as a curator and historian at the National Museum in Šabac, where he worked until 1980. From 1980 to 1982, he taught history at a secondary school in Koceljeva. He subsequently worked as a curator at the Memorial Museum in Bela Crkva (1982–1984) and at the Museum of the City of Belgrade (1984–1986). In 1986, he joined the Institute for Recent History of Serbia, where he continued his scholarly career. His research interests focus primarily on the history of Serbia between the two world wars, with particular emphasis on the social history of the peasantry. His master's thesis and doctoral dissertation reflect his sustained interest in the position, social relations, and historical development of the peasantry in interwar Serbia.

Major Works: *The Peasantry of the Valjevo Region, 1929–1941*. Valjevo, 1985, 212 pp.; *Schooling in Azbukovica*. Ljubovija, 1987, 460 pp. (co-author); *The Peasantry in Serbia, 1918–1925*. Belgrade, 1995, 400 pp.; *Material Losses Suffered by the Population of Valjevo during the First World War*. Valjevo, 1996, 116 pp.; *The Social and Agrarian Structure of Serbia in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*. Belgrade, 1999, 400 pp.; *The Peasantry in Serbia, 1918–1941*, Book 1, Volume 1, *The Socio-Economic Position of the Peasantry*. Belgrade, 2000, 262 pp.; Volume 2. Belgrade, 2001, 308 pp.; *Literacy in Serbia Between the Two World Wars*. Belgrade, 2001, 182 pp.; *130 Years of Teacher Education in Serbia*. Belgrade, 2001, 800 pp. (co-authors: Stevan Igić, Slavenko Terzić, Vjenceslav Glišić, and Milan Lazić); *Primary Education in Tamnava, 1820–1941*. Ub, 2002, 450 pp.; *The Population of Svileuva in the 19th Century*. Svileuva, 2002, 310 pp.; *The Fallen in Serbia's Wars in the 19th Century*. Valjevo, 2003, 140 pp. (co-author: Miroljub Jovanović); *Primary Education in Serbia, 1918–1941*, Book 1. Belgrade, 2005, 536 pp.; *Primary Education in Serbia, 1918–1941*, Book 2. Belgrade, 2005, 434 pp.; *Primary Education in Podrinje, 1914–1944*. Belgrade, 2005.; *Livestock Farming in Posavotamnava in the 19th Century*. Belgrade, 2006.; *Primary Education in Posavotamnava, 1914–1944*. Belgrade, 2006, 360 pp.; *Miloš*

Moskovljević: In the Great Russian Revolution. INIS, Belgrade, 2007.; *The Peasant Woman in Serbia in the First Half of the 20th Century*. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade, 2008.; *The Peasantry in Serbia, 1918–1941*, Book 2, *Educational, Cultural and Religious Life*. Belgrade, 2009.; *When and How We Began: The Construction and Opening of the School in Vinča in 1857*. Belgrade, 2009.; *Material Damage to Primary Schools in Serbia during the First World War*. Belgrade, 2010.; *Milan Munjas Primary School, Ub, 1820–2010*. Ub, 2010 (co-author).; *Woman Is the Foundation of the Home: Women and Family in Serbia in the 20th Century*. Belgrade, 2011 (co-author).; *With the People, for the People, About the People: Sreten Vukosavljević, 1881–1960*. Belgrade, 2012.; *Sreten Vukosavljević: Life and Work*. Belgrade, 2012 (co-author).; *Extinguished Before It Could Shine: The Institute for the Study of Villages of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, 1947–1954*. Belgrade, 2014.; *The Serbian Orthodox Church in the Great War, 1914–1918*. Belgrade, 2014 (co-author).; *The Peasantry in Serbia, 1918–1941*, Book 3, *Political Life in the Countryside*. Belgrade, 2015.; *Primary Education in the Kruševac Region, 1914–1941*. Kruševac, 2017, 440 pp.; *Miloš Moskovljević, 1884–1968: Life and Work*. Belgrade, 2017, 690 pp.

SOFIJA BOŽIĆ (Belgrade, 1964) – Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia in Belgrade. She completed her secondary education at the Eighth Belgrade Gymnasium in 1983 and graduated from the Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, in 1989. In 1996, she obtained her master's degree with a thesis entitled Serbian Journal (Serbian Voice) – Gazette of the Serbian People's Party on the Coast, 1880–1904, completed at the Department of Modern National History at the same faculty. In 2007, she earned her PhD with a dissertation entitled Serbs in Croatia and the Yugoslav State, 1918–1929. Since 1996, she has been employed at the Institute for Contemporary History of Serbia, where she has continued her scholarly research career. Her research interests focus on the history of Serbs in Croatia and Serbo-Croatian relations, examined within the broader context of the political and social history of the Serbian people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Her academic work explores the historical position of Serbs in Croatia, their political and social experiences, and their relationship with the Yugoslav state during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Major Works: *Political Thought of the Serbs in Dalmatia: Srpski list/glas, 1880–1904*. Belgrade, 2001 and 2002, 235 pp.; *Serbs in Croatia, 1918–1929*. Belgrade, 2008, 852 pp.; *Serbs in Croatia and the Yugoslav State, 1918–1929*. Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2015, 687 pp.; *One Life at a Time: Notes on Figures from Serbian History*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 2017, 234 pp.; *Serbs in Croatia – Hegemonists or the Oppressed?* Belgrade, 2019, 266 pp.

BOJAN DRAŠKOVIĆ (Subotica, 1980) – History teacher at Jovan Jovanović Zmaj Primary School in Novi Kneževac. He graduated from the Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, and is employed as a history teacher at Jovan Jovanović Zmaj Primary School in Novi Kneževac. He has published scholarly articles and reviews in academic journals, including Synaxa, Matica Srpska Journal of Social Sciences, and National Interest, as well as in edited volumes of conference proceedings.

Major Works: *Njegoš: Diplomat, Statesman, Poet*. Belgrade 2013; *Franz Ferdinand: The Death of an Empire*. Belgrade 2015; *Aloysius Stepinac: Shepherd of a Fallen Flock*. Belgrade 2018, second edition Novi Sad 2026; *The Concordat Crisis and the Death of Patriarch Varnava*. Belgrade 2022; *The Self-Colonization of Serbia and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU)*. Belgrade 2025.

SLOBODAN MALDINI (Ruma, 1956) – Architect, university professor, and writer. He graduated from the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Belgrade in 1980 and pursued specialist and postgraduate studies in Serbia and abroad. In 1977, he specialized in Italian Renaissance architecture in Vicenza, Italy, under Professors James S. Ackerman of Harvard University and Wolfgang Lotz of Cambridge, Massachusetts. He has been a member of the MEČ group since 1981 and of ULUPUDS (the Association of Applied Arts Artists and Designers of Serbia) since 1984, receiving an award from the association. He was one of the earliest proponents of the postmodern movement in architecture in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1980s. Maldini designed a memorial in Klina, Kosovo and Metohija, which was exhibited at the Paris Biennale at the invitation of French Minister of Culture Jack Lang. The memorial was subsequently removed amid the Serbian-Albanian conflict after its artistic interpretation became a subject of political controversy. From 2000 to 2006, he taught architectural design theory at the Faculty of Architecture in Novi Sad, delivering four courses focused on the design of bank buildings, hotels, libraries, and schools. He has authored several books, including his major work, the Illustrated Encyclopedia of Architecture and Urbanism, published in two volumes and comprising more than 30,500 entries and 6,000 illustrations. He has also written on a variety of other subjects, with some of his works available online as non-commercial publications. Maldini participated in the open competition for the Monument to Stefan Nemanja in Belgrade, proposing an abstract figure in the spirit of contemporary art. His exhibition record includes the Paris Biennale and the Venice Biennale, both in 1985, where his work was presented alongside that of prominent contemporary architects such as Aldo Rossi, Tadao Ando, Mario Botta, Norman Foster, Frank O. Gehry, Zaha Hadid, Richard Rogers, Renzo Piano, and others.

Major Works: Architectural Works: *Brotherhood and Unity Memorial Complex* in Klina, Kosovo (demolished in 1991); *Conceptual Design for the Donja Gradina Memorial Center*. Books: *Shadows of the Gods: Ten Essays on Architecture*; *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Architecture and Urbanism* (2004); *Design of School Buildings; Lexicon of Architecture and Artistic Crafts* (2012); *Atlas of Visual Artists, Applied Arts Artists and Designers of Serbia: 21st Century* (co-authored with Sofia Lancoš Maldini, 2014); *History of Serbian Art, 18th–21st Century* (2018); *The Intimate World of an Architect: Drawings and Paintings of Božidar Bata Janković* (2018); *Sculptural Forms; Dictionary of Spirituality; A Winter's Tale; An Entirely Ordinary Story; HAIUPP: Calculation of Architects' Fees*.

WHY SYNAXA?

In an era of growing global interdependence and compression of history, any sort of self-isolation might not only result in provincialization, peripheralization, or self-marginalization, but may also imperil the very survival of nations and their authentic cultures. In the history of mankind, ethno-contact zones have usually represented porous borders permeable to both conflict and cooperation. Unproductive conflict has been, by default, destructive, while the fruitful intersection and intertwining of cultures has strengthened their capacities for creative (self)elevation. During all times, especially desperate and dehumanizing ones, cultural mutuality has opened the doors of ennoblement, i.e., offered the possibility of bringing meaning to the dialectic of the conflict between the universal material (usually self-destructive) *horizontal* and the specific spiritual (auto-transcending) *vertical*.

It would be naïve and pretentious to expect any journal (including this one) to resolve these major issues.

In 2017, Matica Srpska founded *Synaxa* – International Journal for Social Sciences, Arts and Culture.

Synaxa is a scientific journal, whose authors try to contribute to an explanation (and understanding) of long-term phenomena and processes of a structural character and strategic specific weight. Nowadays, tendencies towards knowledge integration prevail globally: therefore, the Journal will be supporting and encouraging a trans- or postdisciplinary (problem-oriented) instead of a narrow specialist approach. Comparative perspective is welcome, while multiperspectivity is, more or less, expected.

This Journal gathers, collects... people and ideas; it is a *place of dialogue*.

It is, therefore, a SYNAXA!

Because: *synaxa* means: gathering, encounter, assembly, convocation.

Some people believe that the Balkans (the "First Europe") are the point where the signs of forthcoming changes first appear. If the Balkans are a "heterotopia," where the Central Global Seismometer is located, then all those who are preparing for the future (and care about it) should be focusing on the Balkans. And reading *Synaxa*. Because, in the *post*-truth era, it still strives to be a "different place," where the truth is sought with monastic dedication.

Editor-in-Chief

SYNAXA
Matica Srpska International Journal for Social Sciences, Arts and Culture

Publisher
Matica Srpska
Matice Srpske Street No. 1
21000 Novi Sad, Serbia
www.maticasrpska.org.rs

For Publisher
Professor Dragan Stanić, PhD
President of Matica Srpska

Matica Srpska Department of Social Sciences
Associate of the department
Nikola Pavlović, MA

Technical editor
Vukica Tucakov

Cover design
Atila Kapitanji

Lay-out
Vladimir Vatić, GRAFIT, Petrovaradin

Print
SAJNOS, Novi Sad

Circulation
300 copies

CIP – Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотека Матице српске, Нови Сад

3(082)

SYNAXA : Matica Srpska International Journal for Social Sciences, Arts and Culture / editor-in-chief Časlav Ocić. – 2017, 1– . – Novi Sad : Matica srpska, 2017– . – 24 cm

Polugodišnje

ISSN 2619-9998

COBISS.SR-ID 322560775