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ARTICLES AND TREATISES

WHEN GOETHE MET VUK… A REVIEW OF SELECTED PAGES IN SERBO–GERMAN RELATIONS

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SUMMARY: This paper views Serbo–German relations in the context of the two nations' unique social and culturo-historical development and interprets these relations within the theoretical frameworks of cultural semiotics and cultural cognition.

The first part discusses dominant trends and spiritual tendencies in German culture beginning with the Humanists' interest in 'the exotic' evolving into Herder's Romantic concept of the nation and Grimm equating folklore with poetics – which, in light of the Serbian liberation wars against the Turks, led to the Serbian way of life becoming the Germans' ideal cultural model during the first half of the 19th century. Thus, special attention is paid to Vuk Karadžić's relationships with the leading minds of the so-called golden age in Serbo-German relations. Also highlighted are the achievements of Talvj, who not only translated Serbian folk poetry into German but adapted it to German sensibilities – and to the dominant European tastes of the time.

The second part of this paper surveys the changes in Serbo–German relations from the second half of the 19th century onward, along with the mostly unfortunate historico-political events which shaped them. Illustrated through the works and actions, impressions, thoughts and feelings of statesmen and warriors, scientists and writers, but commoners, as well – both German and Serbian – these relations are portrayed as ambivalent, yet never severed.

KEY WORDS: Serbs, Germans, Serbo–German relations, Serbian–German relations

I am extremely proud and happy for today's opportunity to deliver my inaugural speech[1] to you, members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Serbia's leading academics and intellectuals. It is an honor to have been elected a foreign member of the SASA's Department of Language and Literature and I sincerely thank you for the respect and trust you have thereby bestowed on me.

[1] This inaugural speech was delivered on May 25, 2009, on occasion of being elected a foreign member of the SASA.

My essay entitled "When Goethe Met Vuk… A Review of Selected Pages in Serbo–German Relations" examines some important aspects of Serbian–German contact, positive and problematic alike.

Much has been written and said on Serbo–German relations, foremost by your country's Germanists, including Bogdan Popović, Milan Ćurčin, Pero Slijepčević, Miljan Mojašević, Miloš Đorđević, Jevto Milović, Zoran Konstantinović, Tomislav Bekić, Slobodan Grubačić and Mirko Krivokapić. All of them deserve our deepest respect. There is as smaller number of German scholars who have also addressed this subject in recent times, including Alois Schmaus, Gerhard Gesemann, Maximilian Braun, Herbert Peukert, Peter Gerlinghof and Stefan Schlotzer. During the 19th century, however, the greatest German philosophers, philologists, writers and historians advocated for the Serbs and the Balkans, including Johann Gottfried von Herder, the brothers (Jakob and Wilhelm) Grimm, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Heinrich Wilhelm Stieglitz, Leopold von Ranke, Felix Philipp Kanitz, Talvj, among others.

Without a doubt, cultural relations are always hinged upon a multitude of factors, motives and circumstances. They represent a complex network of connections, of both positive and negative tendencies. This holds true for Serbo–German relations as well: over time, they have been eventful, complex and frequently complicated. Of course, they have always depended on the political and social situations in Serbia and Germany, vacillating between valuable and multifaceted interaction, on the one hand, and misunderstandings, conflict and, unfortunately, war, on the other. The time allotted for this lecture does not permit a survey of these relations in all relevant detail, but certain crucial stages in Serbo–German cultural relations can be examined, specifically by addressing the following questions:

1. Who initiated them?
2. Where did this take place?
3. What was the motivation?
4. What were the goals? and
5. What were its repercussions on the perception of the *other* and the construction of *self*?

Before I go into specifics, I would like to clarify what *cultural relations* are and how this relates to the case of Serbia and Germany.

I

Generally speaking, the term *cultural relation* refers to all peaceful and non-peaceful contact – including living side-by-side – between two or more ethnic groups which partially or completely differ in language, religion and customs, as well as in their collective, national or regional, and historic self-awareness. Cultural relations influence not only the social actions of the entities in contact, but also their symbolic representation.

Contact between different cultures initially always manifests as conflict – sometimes even violent conflict – where the *self* and *other* clash to a greater or lesser extent depending on a variety of pre-determined factors. As research

into cognition has shown, a person never experiences objects, situations or events as they truly are, but as he or she believes and expects them to be. These expectations always correspond to what one knows and values from one's own culture. And to meet these expectations, people tend to ignore – or, alternatively, to emphasize, generalize, reinterpret, and even imagine – details and events. People tend to view other cultures through a subjective lens, i.e. to judge another cultural model based on their own, without calling theirs into question because they perceive it as natural. As one more closely experiences another culture, this ethnocentrism can either lessen or increase. It can also happen that another culture is idealized, leading one to dislike his or her own culture. Thus, positive and negative prejudice and stereotypes are constant, defining companions to the *self* meeting the *other*. It is important to note, however, that perception of the other is usually neither simply subjective nor simply objective. Rather, it results from the collective construction of the identity of one's own ethnic, cultural, religious or national group under the influence of various factors – political as well as cultural and economic. In this, an important role is also played by the scientific exploration of other cultures. Initially, scientific interest in other cultures served to better grasp one's own. In the 18th and 19th centuries, European culturologists found themselves between the paradigm of Enlightenment and the Romantic idealization of the disappearing noble savage. This changed in the 19th century, when positivism and racial theories gave rise to the notion that not all peoples are equal. As a result, the *self* and *other* were now viewed in terms of superior *vs.* undeveloped. The 20th century's response to this paradigm was the theory of postcolonial discourse, which emphasizes the complexity and intellectual parity of indigenous cultures. From this standpoint, the other is explored as an integral part of the self. While the colonial man still thought ethnocentrically, the postcolonial man began viewing the world as a global village which, depending on political and economic might, had one or more imaginary centers and even more peripheries. All of these intellectual discourses influenced Serbo–German relations.

When viewing Serbo–German relations as a whole, one must recognize that – aside from the two cultures' indirect contact across state borders – they also entailed direct contact within the same state. Overall, however, this contact did not hold equal value or depth to each party, but was, rather, initiated by and served the purposes of one side. The exception to this was the so-called golden age in Serbo–German relations during Goethe's time, when the contact between Serbs and Germans was equally valued and intense on both sides, despite serving different purposes to each – which I will elaborate on later.

II

Until the late 18th century, German–Serbian relations were, in the eyes of the Germans, a venture into the exotic. Following the tragedy of the Battle of Kosovo, when the Balkan peninsula fell under Ottoman rule, the life of Balkan peoples changed fundamentally. While the western and northwestern parts of the peninsula, which remained beyond Ottoman borders, continued their

development within a European context and participated in major European cultural and aesthetic trends, the largest part of the Balkans, isolated from the rest of Europe, suffered upheaval in all areas of life, including cultural development. Roads leading into the interior of the peninsula were unreliable and unsafe. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Europe and Germany grew increasingly fearful of Turkish invasion. Despite this, Germans were highly curious about the life and peoples of this different and mysterious peninsula, so some joined Habsburg diplomatic missions traveling from Vienna to Istanbul. The most prominent Germans to visit the Balkans and Serbia during the 16th century were notable intellectuals and Humanists Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Hans Dernschwam, Stefan Gerlach and Salomon Schweigger. These visitors depicted a hopeless Serbia, a land of dilapidated villages and longhaired, squalid people. Although involving a host of prejudices and stereotypes, these descriptions of ethnographic, historical and linguistic details contributed to the West's knowledge of the Balkans.

The period in between Humanism and Romanticism was stagnant in this respect, as Germany suffered severe religious and political conflict. These include the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, and the political influence of France which began in 1648. In Southeastern Europe, the Habsburg Monarchy waged a difficult defensive war against the Ottomans, in which it prevailed only near the end of the 18th century.

Until the 18th century, Germans knew very little about the Serbs and other Balkan peoples. It was mostly said that the Balkans were a very unstable region, which prompted Germans to all the more enjoy the pleasures of their safe life, as illustrates the following excerpt from Goethe's *Faust* (Part I, Scene II: In front of the City Gate):

On holidays there's nothing I like better	Nichts bessers weiß ich mir an Sonn- und Feyertagen,
Than talking about war and war's display,	Als ein Gespräch von Krieg und Kriegsgeschrey,
When in Turkey far away,	Wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkey,
People one another batter.	Die Völker auf einander schlagen.

III

This state of affairs changed in the second half of the 18th century. Inspired by the French Revolution and Herder's romantic concept of the linguistic and cultural nation, Western scholars developed an interest in the primeval cultures of Southeast Europe, still untouched by West European civilization. This interest became even more pronounced following the political-military events in the Balkans, namely the South Slavs' liberation wars against the Turks. German magazines (*Leipziger Gelehrten Zeitung*, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*) wrote frequently about the Balkan Slavs. In 1828 in Leipzig, Karl Herloßsohn published the first German novel on the subject of Slavs, entitled *Ruler of the Montenegrins* (*Montenegrinerhäuptling*); this was followed by Leopold von Ranke's *The Serbian Revolution in Serbian Documents*

and Reports. Also noteworthy are the writings documenting Otto von Pirch's visit to Serbia (*Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst 1829*, I–II, Berlin 1830) – a travelogue in which the young Prussian ensign idealizes the Serbs. Typifying the Romantics' longing for the exotic, Von Pirch portrays the Serbs as living a life imbued with the spirit of poetry, concurrently fully ignoring their distress and dissatisfaction, as well as Prince Miloš Obrenović's despotism.

In this period of Serbo–German relations, a central role was played by the cities of Weimar and Jena, where cultural models were shaped for Germans and Serbs alike. The reasons for this are manifold. Weimar was the seat of the Grand Ducal Court, which, in the mid-18th century attracted Germany's spiritual elite: writer Christoph Martin Wieland, philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, and poets Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller. Neighboring Jena was home to the University of Jena, a renowned institution founded in the mid-16th century, which boasted lecturers such as Schiller, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Lorenz Ocken, Heinrich Luden, Jakob Friedrich Fries and Johann Wolfgang Döbereiner. The University also included one of the two oldest schools of Protestant theology in the world, the other belonging to the University of Halle-Wittenberg. The opportunity to explore new ideas, especially in the fields of theology and philosophy, made Jena a popular destination for Southeast European students. The University in Halle also attracted foreign students due to its Pietist and Enlightenment teachings. One such student was Serbian educator Dositej Obradović (1739–1811), who attended the University of Halle in 1782 and 1783. Forty years later, Obradović's pupil Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) also came to Halle at the invitation of famous linguist and theologian Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826), to prepare his anthology of Serbian folk songs for print. Since the University of Halle did not allow the promotion of foreign candidates, Vater appealed to the dean of the University in Jena's School of Philosophy, highlighting the prestige of the institution's PhD. On September 24, 1823, the University in Jena awarded Vuk Karadžić an honorary doctorate. This event inspired an even closer cooperation between Vuk[2] and the German intellectual elite of his time – including Jacob Grimm, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Therese von Jakob – Talvj, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Leopold von Ranke and Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, during her stay in Weimar.

Writer and Halle native Therese Albertine Luise Robinson (née von Jakob, alias Talvj), played a special role in introducing Germans to the cultural heritage of the Slavs, and Serbs in particular. Talvj encountered Vuk Karadžić in 1823/24 during his visits to Johann Severin Vater and to her parents. She subsequently acquired the Leipzig edition of *Serbian Folk Songs* and began avidly researching them. On April 12, 1824, Talvj wrote to Goethe, sending him her translations of songs from the Kosovo Cycle and of some unhistorical songs. Highly impressed, Goethe encouraged her to continue her work. Talvj published her translations in 1824 and 1825, dedicating them to Goethe, whom she loved and respected

[2] In Serbian, among laymen and scholars alike, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić is most often simply referred to by his first name – as illustrates the title of this paper (translator's note).

greatly. Superior both in language and literary value, Talvj's renditions captured the spirits of both German and Serbian culture, garnering much attention and setting a literary trend in Germany. Talvj also became a role model to other German translators of Serbian folk songs, including Eugen Wessely, Wilhelm Christoph Leonard Gerhard and his advisor Sima Milutinović, Siegfried Kapper and Ludwig August Frankl. From then on, the folk songs of the Serbs have been a regular subject in scientific literature and have been researched by renowned scholars such as Gerhard Gesemann, Alois Schmaus, Maximilian Braun and Herbert Peukert. An example of more recent translations is Stefan Schlotzer's rendition of *Serbian Songs of Heroes* from Vuk's collection, which was issued in Marburg in 1966.

The German interest in Serbs is closely tied to Herder and his view of folk poetry as the symbol of collective greatness and authenticity. To him, folk songs were the 'mother tongue of humankind' and the most significant expression of a people's character. In 1766, having coined the term *Volkslied* ('folk song'), Herder called for the collecting of the folk songs of every nation, while dedicating himself to the task as well. He published the first part of his anthology of folk poetry in 1778. The volume included four songs Herder labeled Morlachian according to his source, the Italian friar Alberto Fortis. Of the four, the most famous was the *Hasanaginica*[3] – in part because it was translated by Goethe, and in part because, in the years that followed, Goethe himself highlighted it among his work.

Thus, many well-known German minds were drawn to the Balkan Slavs, and especially to the Serbs. In addition to Herder and Goethe, these included the Grimm brothers (particularly Jacob), as well as Wilhelm von Humboldt, Clemens Brentano, Ludwig Uhland, Jakob Burkhart, Leopold von Ranke and many others. What they discovered here had been long forgotten in their native land, yet was in full bloom among the Balkan peoples: a vibrant community of storytellers and a culture of poetry, which to the German reader seemed simple and original yet at once foreign, archaic and mysterious – and in keeping with then literary tastes in Germany. The quest for archaic sources in the spirit of Homer led German authors of the time to, consciously or not, admire the folk poetry of the Balkans, and especially Serbs.

Vuk Karadžić followed in Herder's footsteps, although under different circumstances. He began collecting and publishing folk songs because, in his own words, "they contain the language, character and customs of the people". With the 1824 launch of the *Letopis Matice Srpske* chronicle – the oldest European magazine – Serbian audiences had the opportunity to read many of Herder's texts. Also published in various other periodicals such as the *Danica*, these translations were done by famous 19th-century Serbian authors, including Jovan Hadžić, whose literary work was greatly influenced by Herder.

Without a doubt, this period was the most felicitous time in German – South Slavic – and especially German–Serbian – cultural relations and was time of mutual exchange. Never before or after did writers and philologists

[3] Also known as *The Mourning Song of the Noble Wife of the Hasan Aga* (translator's note).

collaborate so closely and fruitfully beyond the borders of their own countries. With Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar on the Slavic side and the Grimm brothers (particularly Jacob), as well as Herder, Talvj and Goethe on the German side – there was a constant exchange of correspondence, materials for translation, advice and visits. The link between Herder, i.e. his ideas on folk poetry, and Vuk Karadžić was Jernej Kopitar, a Viennese court librarian and censor who greatly admired Herder's work. Kopitar aided and tutored Vuk, introducing him to the many secrets of literary creation along with the majority of Herder's aforementioned views on folk poetry and language. Kopitar also introduced Jacob Grimm to Serbian folk songs and inspired Wilhelm von Humboldt's interest in the Slavs. In the folk songs of the Serbs, Jacob Grimm found confirmation of his own scientific thesis, but he was also deeply impressed by their beauty. Grimm forwarded Kopitar's translations of these songs to Goethe in Weimar and to his friends and acquaintances in Berlin. Goethe, who had translated the *Hasanaginica* before widespread interest in the Slavs began, was taken by these songs and wrote essays about them. Serbian folk songs were read at soirées in the salons of Berlin and Potsdam, where Germany's elite gathered. In 1808, Poet Clemens Brentano published his translations of 19 Serbian folk songs in the *Sängerfahrt* almanac. Goethe's translation of the *Hasanaginica* opened the door for Serbian folk poetry's entry into world literature, leading to translations into numerous languages, both European and worldwide. The song's trochaic pentameter became the standard for German poetry of the time, yet the *Hasanaginica* also influenced the motifs of Goethe's writing. In his poem "Liebliches" (1814), for example, he employs the color white and descriptions of nature similarly as does the opening Slavic antithesis in *Hasanaginica*:

Liebliches
Was doch Buntes dort verbindet
Mir den Himmel mit der Höhe?
Morgennebelung verblindet
mir des Blickes scharfe Sehe.
Sind es Zelte des Vesires,
Die er lieben Frauen baute?
Sind es Teppiche des Festes
Weil er sich der Liebsten traute?
Rot und weiß, gemischt, gesprenkelt,
Wüßt' ich Schönes nicht zu schauen; …

When thoroughly examining the motivation, purposes and repercussions of this period in Serbo–German relations, however, one must note that each side had their own.

While the Germans of Goethe's time saw the folk poetry of the Balkan Slavs as a means of rediscovering the 'primeval' – which had been long forgotten in their society, yet corresponded to their aesthetic and cultural values – the leading cultural minds of Southeast Europe and Serbia had different aims. German Romantics approached folklore without shunning their own artistic

traditions in literature; for South Slavs, however, folklore was the starting point of Romanticism and, during the mid- to late 19th century, it became an essential element of national self-discovery. The language of commoners became a symbol of authenticity; the culture of the people – a sign of continuity. Both allowed local developmental gaps and efforts to make up for lost time to be viewed as positive traits instead of flaws. In fact, Vuk Karadžić's paradigm differed significantly from the paradigm of the German Romantics. Vuk paid little attention to the European literary processes of his time, despite appeasing the demand for the 'romantic' with his collections of folk songs in the manner of Ludwig Achim von Arnim, Brentano or the Grimms. To Vuk, however, folk poetry was a fundamental medium of collective identity – one he used to create a common language for all Serbs. Unlike the Germans, who have had a common language since the time of Luther – and, subsequently, a rich literary tradition – language played a central role in the formation of national awareness in Serbia. At the time, the masses in Serbia were widely illiterate; only the Church and Orthodox clergy had access to writing and the script in use was the so-called Slavonic-Serbian script (*slavenoserbsko pismo*). By declaring the language of the people an absolute – and the foundation of Serbian literature – Vuk dismantled the citadel of Old Church Slavonic literature and introduced a new cultural paradigm: the Medieval-popular model of literature was supplanted by the rhetorical model. Therefore, Vuk's goal was not only a return to the Serbian folk language, but also a change in cultural patterns.

IV

Having so far discussed the contact between Serbian and German intellectuals over the first half of the 19th century, it is now time to address how these two cultures lived side-by-side in Serbia, namely the relations between Serbs and Danubian Swabians. The first German colonists arrived in Serbia in the Middle Ages, during the reign of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321). Mostly miners, which were later followed by other tradesmen, these settlers brought with them knowledge of their trade and mining terminology which was soon assimilated into the Serbian language. Thus, Serbian Medieval miners language includes two words which are today considered part of the Serbian lexicon: *šnajder* and *šuster*. Following the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, many more Germans settled in Vojvodina and southern Hungary, eventually spreading farther into Serbia. These colonists were tradesmen, engineers, shoemakers, glassworkers, printers, loggers, clockmakers, hatters and others; and they, too, introduced a number of German words into everyday Serbian (e.g. *farbati*, *molovati, štirkati*, *tapecirati*, *šlajfovati*, *šrafiti*). Germans were also Serbia's first industrial entrepreneurs and bankers.

Living side-by-side necessitated close relations between both cultural entities. To this day, Serbs speak of 'our Swabians' (*naše Švabe*) when referring to the population of Germans that once lived in Serbia. The phrase was idiomatic and contained connotations of great respect for the Germans' remarkable technological achievements, diligence and discipline. The word 'Swabian'

(*Švaba*) itself, however, held an ambivalent to negative connotation. Expressions which can still be heard today include 'Swabian devil!' and 'Swabian saint'. Clearly critical, these utterances also contain a kind of fear of perfection, of a man who obviously never errs. Even contemporary literary works contain remembrance of Swabians, such as Borislav Mihajlović Mihiz's story "How Feter-Mihel Became a Master" (*Kako je Feter-Mihel postao gazda*, 1989) or Miodrag Maticki's novel *Here Come the Germans* (*Idu Nemci*, 1995). Unlike Swabian men, German women were largely represented in a positive light. Well known expressions include 'diligent and kind like a Swabian woman' and 'pretty and sweet as only a Swabian girl can be'. In his novella *The Swabian Girl* (*Švabica*, 1885), however, Laza Lazarević portrays the unsuccessful love affair between a Serbian man and a German girl from Berlin: due to the differences in mentality and opinions between Serbs and Germans, the Serb concludes he could never take the girl home as his bride.

V

In the second half of the 19th century, the unusually positive German image of Serbs from Goethe's time gradually began to fade. The Romantic paradigm of *Sturm und Drang* along with Herder notion of the Slavs' specialness were both supplanted by Hegel's ideas of logic, the philosophy of nature, and the spirit. According to Hegel, the Slavs lacked a history because, unlike the Prussians, they did not contribute to the rationality of the world. At the same time, Germans also distanced themselves from pan-Slavic ideas.

The Germans' sense of superiority coupled with the Serbs' susceptibility altered Serbo-German relations over the latter part of the 19th century. On the one hand, Serbs highly respected German achievements; on the other, they feared Germans as well. This fear grew following the formation of the German Empire in 1871, once the new power's goals became known. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Otto von Bismarck[4] still supported Serbian interests, yet at once viewed the Balkans as a 'powder keg' not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier.

This imparity was noted, among others, by Ljubomir Nenadović[5], who visited Hamburg in 1870 on account of his health. Nenadović recorded his impressions of the Germans with overt irony: "They see themselves as the foremost nation in the world. No one can deny this. Today they stand at the pinnacle of development and civilization. They are supreme among humans, just as the Bengali tiger is supreme among cats, just as the Erfurt cabbage is supreme among its kind… Whoever values the true development of humankind should wish you all the best; thus do I – illuminated and from childhood warmed by your light – finish my letter by standing and with a kind of piety crying: 'Long live Russia!'"

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[4] German chancellor, who presided over the Congress – called to determine territories of the states in the Balkan peninsula following the Russo–Turkish War of 1877–78 (translator's note).

[5] (1826–1895) Serbian writer, poet, translator, diplomat, minister of education and member of the Serbian Royal Academy (translator's note).

VI

As of 1903, in wake of Belgrade's dynasty change[6] and the growing Yugoslav movement within the Habsburg Monarchy – when it seemed that Serbia would assume the role of Piedmont in the future Yugoslav state – and especially due to the escalating tensions of the Bosnian Crisis[7] in 1907/8, German views on Serbs were formed under the influence of Viennese newspapers and were quite negative. Eventually, they culminated in the form of a battle cry: 'Serbia must die!' (*Serbien muss sterbien!*)

Momčilo Selesković, a Serbian witness to these events, complained: "Of everything the Serbs have ever done, Germans remember only the murder of crowned rulers. The Germans have deemed these historic events an inherent trait of the Serbian people". In the early 20th century, German satirical papers *Kladeradatsch* and *Simplicissimus* published comics which commonly represented Serbs as robbers, thieves or pig thieves. King Peter Karađorđević I (mostly called 'Black Peter') was claimed to rule a "country of king slayers", "tavern politicians", a "nest of criminal conspiracies" in which "the people are bored, awaiting the next bloodletting and murder".

VII

Following the Balkan Wars[8], Germany strengthened its presence in the Balkans. In 1914, Germany stood with Austria-Hungary against Serbia and Emperor Wilhelm II fulfilled his duty as a member of Triple Alliance by declaring war[9] on Serbia. Germany's campaign in the Balkans and Serbia in 1915 was critical in crushing the Serbian resistance and removing Romania from the war, while also providing essential support to both the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary. The war was horrific and devastating. It cost Serbs a quarter of their overall population, not just due to combat, but also to disease, retribution and shortages of every kind. Through direct contact with German soldiers, however, Serbian opinion underwent change. In his essay "Under the Germans" (*Pod Nemcima*), art historian Božidar Nikolajević writes about experiencing German soldiers as people who helped and protected Serbs in 1915. At the same time, this contact influenced the Weimar Republic's[10] politics toward Yugoslavia. Hermann Wendel, a publicist and former member of parliament (the Reichstag), played a significant role in creating a positive German image

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[6] The May Coup (*Majski prevrat*) was a coup d'état in the spring of 1903 in which Serbian King Aleksandar Obrenović and his wife, Queen Draga, were assassinated inside the Royal Palace in Belgrade. This act ended the House of Obrenović and the throne was passed on to the rival House of Karađorđević (translator's note).

[7] The Bosnian Crisis of 1908–09, also known as the Annexation crisis or the First Balkan Crisis, erupted in early October 1908 when Austria-Hungary announced the unilateral annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, territories formerly within the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire (translator's note).

[8] Two wars in 1912 and 1913, which caused the Ottoman Empire to lose the bulk of its territory in Europe, and liberated Serbia, among other countries, from Ottoman rule (translator's note).

[9] Thus initiating the First World War (translator's note).

[10] The unofficial historical designation for the German state from 1918 to 1933 (translator's note).

of Serbs. Wendel was the first to present the German public with a factual interpretation of the Yugoslav movement for liberation and unification. He also penned what are likely the most beautiful essays on Serbs and Serbian literature ever written, presenting Serbs as democratic in feelings and thought. Even Generalfeldmarschall August von Mackensen, the commander-in-chief of the German troops in Serbia, as he sailed down the Danube toward Thessaloniki a defeated prisoner of war, stated: "We knew each other so little… There is something both poetic and heroic in the Serbian people. You must live on, and the future Germans will judge you more fairly". In his war journal, entitled *The City and Fortress of Belgrade* (*Stadt und Festung Belgrad*, Hamburg 1936), Josef Magnus Wehner, too, wrote about his pleasant personal contact with Serbs during the war, as did notable German Slavist Gerhard Gesemann, who, in his journal entitled *Escape* (*Die Flucht*, München 1935), modeled his image of the heroic man on the example of Montenegrins. Until the outbreak of the war in 1914, Gesemann had worked as a teacher of German language at Belgrade's First High School for Boys (Prva muška gimnazija). As a volunteer medic, he personally witnessed the retreat of the Serbian Army through Kosovo, Montenegro and Albania.

Following the First World War, Serbs remained ambivalent toward Germans. This is best illustrated by notes written by famous Serbian writers and intellectuals, such as Dragiša Vasić, Stanislav Vinaver and Miloš Crnjanski. These authors expressed their admiration for the Germans' outstanding discipline, yet noted it went hand-in-hand with a willingness to submit this unconditional discipline to the will of a single leader. These records describe circumstances in Germany in the wake of the war, the difficult aftermath of defeat, the weight of starting anew, but also the people's strong attraction to the extremist national movement[11].

In his book *Impressions from Today's Germany* (*Utisci iz današnje Nemačke*, 1923), Dragiša Vasić writes: "Overall, I understood the Germans before as well. But what I really wanted to know was – where did it come from? That blind, unconditional and lifeless submission to those who led them during the war?" Vasić is far from impressed by the German mentality, stating: "The German [man]… works, is always in a hurry: he never wastes time and is as serious as a machine… Sometimes, it is true, he will go out and dance… [but] he dances in the same way he works… He holds a woman in his arms as if holding a technical, dead thing… for he is a man for work, not a man for dancing."

Miloš Trivunac, a famous Germanist from the University of Belgrade, was a brilliant scholar of German language and literature and possessed a thorough knowledge of German customs and habits as well. In his studies on Germans from 1912, Trivunac was also rather critical in his assessment: on the one hand, he noted the idiosyncrasy of the German soul as expressed by word *Gemüt*, a term and concept unique to the German language; on the other, he wrote of the German tendency toward particularism and their distance not only from their neighbors, but from their own kin as well.

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[11] I.e. the Nazi party, founded in 1920 (translator's note).

Renowned Serbian writer Miloš Crnjanski was also well-acquainted with Germany, due both to his knowledge of German literature and his personal visits to Germany. His first stay took place in 1928 and 1929, while his second visit lasted from December 1935 to March 1938. Crnjanski recounted his first sojourn in *A Book of Germany* (*Knjiga o Nemačkoj*), a travelogue published in 1931 whose central and largest segment is entitled *The Iris of Berlin* (*Iris Berlina*). Strolling through the metropolis, Crnjanski is besotted with Berlin's industrial progress and colorful modern life. At the same time, however, he feels insecure and threatened. The poet yearns for the lost quiet of nature, writing: "Rushing forth by car, with soundless speed or the clamor of wheels, the body is transported into nature yet the effect is nothing like a life spent amidst fields and hills, herds and ants; instead, there is the impression of something lost and artificial, melancholically bucolic." Comparing Germany during the Weimar Republic to the Germany of the past, Crnjanski notes loss; the disappearance of everything that was once familiar and appealing: "To see that old, long gone Germany, which lived around its churches, in an empathy between the instincts of spring and autumn, in concern over sprouting and harvests, births and deaths. A peaceful and, later, romantic and liberal Germany. In a word – happy; before its reigns were taken by them, the Prussians." The hypermodern world of technology, the "new madness of industrial and mechanic vitality" of people concentrated solely on their jobs and constantly chewing gum – all this seemed unnatural and corrupted to Crnjanski, who stood for traditional gender roles and was critical of the decline of traditional moral values. During his second stay in Germany in the 1930s, Crnjanski's attitude toward the country and its people changed. While his reports of the social and political changes in the Third Reich were favorable, however, it should be noted that Crnjanski penned them as an official of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, at the time a country with friendly relations with the Third Reich.

When Ivo Andrić was appointed a minister plenipotentiary and extraordinary envoy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's diplomatic mission in Berlin[12], Hitler was already in power. Andrić served in Berlin until 1941, acting as ambassador during a period of highly complex and difficult official relations between Yugoslavia and Germany. On March 25, 1941, under German pressure, Yugoslavia signed the Tripartite Pact, but a mere two days later a coup was staged in Belgrade, removing the government and Prince Paul from power. Hitler retaliated by invading Yugoslavia on April 6. With 24 hours to leave Berlin, and after a forced stay in Konstanz, Andrić returned to Belgrade. He rarely spoke of this period in his life. Likely, this was because he felt immeasurable awe for the German language, culture and literature, yet had bitter experiences with German politics during a decidedly difficult time. In a note from November 3, 1946, entitled "G[ermans]", Andrić writes the following: "Germans and Germany! This is the greatest pain of my life, a breakdown which in a man's fate constitutes either a turning point or death. This is a problem Europe will suffer from for another one hundred and fifty years. And even then, I see no

[12] I.e. spring 1939 (translator's note).

solution…" This note clearly shows how bitter and disappointed Andrić was with Germany following the end of the Second World War.

The darkest phase in German–Serbian relations – the German Wehrmacht's attack on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – began with the bombing of Belgrade on April 6, 1941. The Second World War campaigns on the territory of Yugoslavia were vicious and caused high casualties to the Serbian people. It was during this time that the positive connotations of *Swabian* transformed into negative, as can be seen in Serbian writer Dobrica Ćosić's novel *A Time of Death* (*Vreme smrti*), which revisits the war. For Serbs, many events from the period remain the bleakest of memories. Nenad Stefanović's book *A World on the Danube* (*Jedan svet na Dunavu*, Belgrade 1996), however, offers a different perspective; one where Danube Swabians were largely friends to Serbs. Josef Schultz, a German corporal from Wuppertal, was executed for refusing to shoot hostages in Smederevska Palanka during the war. There were also Serbian *Volksdeutsche* who joined the Partisans; a book on them entitled *Germans Among Tito's Partisans from 1941 to 1945* (*Nemci među Titovim partizanima 1941–1945*) was published in 1997. And then there was Johannes Weidenheim, who was expelled from Yugoslavia, yet in his books called for reconciliation and defended his former Serbian neighbors from the village he symbolically called *Marezi*.

VIII

After the end of the Second World War, Serbo–German relations were dominated by commercial interest. Both sides strived to forget the events of the past. Germany was one of Yugoslavia's[13] most important economic partners. During the 1970s, many Serbs went to work in Germany, while many Germans visited Yugoslavia as tourists. Many Serbian youths studied at German universities. In 1986, Siegfried Lenz wrote the highly-empathetic novella *The Serbian Girl* (*Das serbische Mädchen*).

Serbs of the time displayed a notable admiration for the enormous energy Germans poured into rebuilding their devastated country; at the same time, there remained skepticism over whether the unfortunate past was truly overcome. For nearly half a century after the Second World War ended, the fate of the Germans was defined by the division of their country. The tragedy of this divide was described by Vuk Krnjević, among others, in his *Berlin Ballads* (*Berliner Balladen*, 1960).

The reunification of Germany, the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the fall of Socialist governments necessarily precipitated a redistribution of power in Europe and Yugoslavia. The Socialist system proved inefficient. The tragic events surrounding the dissolution of Yugoslavia[14] and Germany's role in what unfolded led to further distance between Serbs and Germans: one of

[13] Following the Second World War, Yugoslavia was no longer a monarchy. It changed names twice between 1943 and 1963, before it finally assumed the title of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (a.k.a. SFR Yugoslavia) – which existed until 1992 (translator's note).

[14] I.e. the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s (translator's note).

the first foreign policy decisions made by the newly united Germany was to recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia in December 1991. Widely called 'the Christmas present', this move caused an uproar among Serbs, but drew criticism within Germany as well.

The armed conflicts on the territory of former SFR Yugoslavia had a very negative impact on how Serbs and Germans view each other. A large role in this was played by the media: during this period, personal contact between the two peoples was supplanted by media reports, which were frequently one-sided and selective. Unfortunately, both Germans and Serbs formed opinions of each other based on such information. These views resurrected previous historical clichés and prejudice. The foreign sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro in 1992 dealt another harsh blow to Serbo–German relations. The embargo affected scientific and cultural relations as well, halting the import of Serbian books to Germany and vice versa. However, even though the official relations between the two countries remained distant, there was unofficial contact between Germans and Serbs, including humanitarian aid for Serbs. Germany's participation in the NATO bombing of Serbia in March 1999 coupled with Germany's recognition of Kosovo's unilaterally declared independence in 2008, did little to bring the two peoples closer together. On the other hand, Germany invested great effort in providing Yugoslavia and other Balkan countries with material aid.

Admittedly, given that they live in a society ruled by media, even well-meaning Germans today have difficulty forming an objective perspective on current events and Serbs. The German public's understanding, especially of Serbia, still remains quite limited, despite the fact that now, more than ever, Serbs need understanding and trust on their journey to a new democracy. Future ties between the two peoples will greatly depend on whether their mutual misapprehension and resentment can be replaced by an understanding for each other's cultural, economic and national idiosyncrasies. As the door opens to a European future for Serbia – an outcome the current German government strongly supports – there are grounds to hope that Serbo–German relations will develop favorably. This hope is something Zoran Konstatinović captures in his description of Vuk Karadžić's visit to Goethe:

"On October 13, 1823, Goethe's coach arrives before an inn where his guest has lodged awaiting a ride to Frauenplan. Lame in his left leg since his youth, it is with difficulty that the guest moves from step to step – a wooden peg under his knee and crutch under his arm – up the stairs to Goethe's study, where even then a large statue of the goddess Juno stood. His host awaits, inviting him in with a wave of his arm, pointing to a settee where a bundle of papers lies: Grimm's recommendation to Goethe to meet with Vuk, Grimm's review of Vuk's *Grammar*[15] and the translation of one Serbian folk song along with Goethe's outline for an article on these songs published in the magazine

[15] Orig. *Pismenica serbskoga jezika*. Published in Vienna in 1814, this was the first prescriptive grammar of the Serbian language, heralding the transition to the use of the language of the people for official purposes and literature, rather than Slavonic-Serbian, which was Vuk's goal (translator's note).

Kunst und Altertum. Thus, this Olympian – as was reported in a letter about this meeting – shall say: 'Look, this is not the first time you are a guest under my roof. You've been staying with me for some time now.' With that, the two are quickly immersed in conversation… I have always felt this meeting was symbolic of true Serbo–German relations… This beautiful scene lives within me like a utopia written in the past, as Max Weber called images which are born out of the desire to return to the past so as to envision the future."

EUROPEAN MAPS OF KOSOVO AND METOHIJA AS THE PRIMARY CORE OF OLD SERBIA FROM THE 16TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY

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SUMMARY: The aim of this paper is delimitation and territorial origin of Old Serbia with its primary core Kosovo and Metohija in the historical, ethnic, cultural, geopolitical and national respect from the time of the Turks' invasion of the Balkans, as well as their withdrawal. This was accomplished by analysis and comparison of geographic, ethnographic, historiographic, memorial, political, military and other maps of the leading European cartographers from the 16th to the 20th century, who had high government titles, such as "the Cosmographer of the Republic", "The Royal Geographer", "the Imperial Geographer", or were military architects, high-ranking General Staff officers, princes, consuls, professors, scientists, etc., which implies the high level of their knowledge and great seriousness in the authorization of their map. Forty historical and historiographical maps of the Dutch, Venetian, French, Austrian, German and Serbian cartographers were analyzed, which were collected, systematized and published in the form of an atlas in 2007, *An Atlas of Old Serbia – European Maps of Kosovo and Metohija* by M. Vemić and M. Strugar.

It is clearly and indisputably shown on all analyzed maps that Kosovo and Metohija have always been Serbian territory, and never Albanian. These two geographic areas are represented on the maps only in the natural historical and ethnical boundaries of state creations of the Serbian people, even over a long period of decline of the medieval Serbian state under Turkish rule, in 1459. Until the middle of the 19th century, the main separate boundary, that is, ethnographic border between fixed Serbian and Albanian settlements was on the rivers of Valbona (Crnica) and Crni Drim (northern Albania) that were considered both geographical borders of Albania and (Old) Serbia, but also a language-speech line that divided the Albanians of northern Albania from the Metohija Serbs.

KEY WORDS: Old Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija, Serbs, Albanians, atlas

Old Serbia, with its primary core Kosovo and Metohija[1], is the historical, geographical, cultural and political term describing the territory of Serbia

[1] Kosovo and Metohija (10 887 km²) are the two neighboring regional entities that are very different in structural, anthropo-geographical and functional regards, but have been politically and

before the Turkish invasion of the Balkans and its fall under Turkish rule (1459). It is linked to the reign of Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan (1331–1355), when Serbia was at its peak and represented the strongest regional Balkan state, and for the period immediately before Emperor Dušan, for the Kingdom of Serbia under King Milutin (1282–1321) and Stefan Dečanski (1321–1331). After the partial liberation of Serbia from the Turks and the autonomy, in the 1830s, the term Old Serbia (Old Servia, Vieille Serbie, Altserbien) was increasingly used, and signified those areas of Serbia which remained under direct Ottoman rule, outside the borders of the new Serbian state. According to Vladimir Stojančević, the unliberated areas in the 19th century, or "Old Serbia was taken as a country of the ethnic core and centre of the medieval Serbian state of the Nemanjić period," and consisted of "the regions: Stara Raška, Kosovo[2], Metohija[3], the confluence of the Binička Morava and the northern Vardar valley with Skoplje" [Stojančević 1997]. The term Old Serbia, which had already become common in the local geographic, historiographic, travel, military, political and other literature, in the first half and middle of the 19th century, was also introduced by foreign authors into their works[4], especially travel writers, reporters, missionaries, diplomats and scientists, who very objectively presented and vividly captured the ethnic, religious, social and political conditions in these areas, still under Turkish rule.

Kosovo and Metohija have immense significance in Serbian history and tradition. The Battle of Kosovo against the Turks in 1389 crucially influenced the formation of national ethics and thus stamped its mark on the spiritual and ethical being and the historical memory of the Serbian people. After the Battle of Kosovo, another way of counting time was adopted in the folk tradition of the Serbs – "before Kosovo" and "after Kosovo" and a great cycle of epic national songs was written, called "the Kosovo cycle." Kosovo and Metohija are the most valuable part of Serbia, not only because of the Battle of Kosovo, but as the cradle of Serbian statehood and a center of religious and cultural life.

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administratively united since 1945 as an autonomous region of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and under the 1963 Constitution as the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija. In 1968, the name Metohija was formally expelled from the name of the Province, and was again returned by the Serbian Constitution of 1990.

[2] The name Kosovo is etymologically linked to the blackbird (Turdus merula). According to Atanasije Urošević, the name "appeared after the battle between the Serbian and Turkish armies in 1389. For medieval Serbia, until the said battle, this area with a suspicious exception, not even once mentioned under the name Kosovo" [Urošević 1965]. Foreign writers and cartographers translated the word as Campus merulae, Champ de merles or Amselfeld, while older titles that preceded the name Kosovo, were in fact the names of certain parts of Kosovo, such as Lipljan, Sitnica, Lab, Obica, Nerodimlje and others.

[3] The name Metohija derives from the Greek word "metoh"– monastic property or at first monastic agricultural cooperatives, and "given the extraordinary density and concentration of the monastery and church appendages (Metohija) referred to in the royal charters (official documents with gold seals) from Stefan Nemanja to the last Nemanjić, as well as the charters of princes, despots and great noblemen Hrebeljanović, Lazarević, Branković and others, the whole area of the Metohija-Prizren valley got the name Metohija" [Radovanović 2004].

[4] Among the major ones are Ami Boué (France), Joseph Müller, Johann Georg von Hahn, Petar Kukolj (Austria), Alexander Hilferding, Ivan Yastrebov (Russia), A. P. Irby and Miss Muir Mackenzie, and writer William Forsythe (England) and others.2

Priština, Prizren and Vučitrn were the capitals of King Milutin, Emperors Dušan and Uroš, as well as great nobleman Vuk Branković, while Bodin, the King of Zeta, was crowned Emperor in Prizren.

Close to 1,500 Christian, Orthodox churches were built in this province around the Peć Patriarchate as the seat of the Serbian Patriarch, among which the monasteries widely known for their spiritual significance, antiquity and architecture were the monasteries of Gračanica, Visoki Dečani, Our Lady of Ljeviš, Banjska, St. Archangels and others. Many churches and monasteries were destroyed during Turkish rule, but to this day they are still being systematically, en masse, destroyed by Albanian separatists, despite the presence of the United Nations peacekeeping forces. Albanians, however, not at all spontaneous in their impetuosity, but on the contrary, quite systematic, are doing this in an effort to completely erase the marks of existence of the Serbian people on its holy land.

The old Serbian kingdom, with Kosovo and Metohija at its center, was shown throughout history on all major European maps, even at the time of the Turkish presence in the Balkans. Western and Central European geographers and cartographers (Dutch, Venetian, French, Austrian, German, British) and local authors wrote on their maps the name Serbia (Servia, Zevia, Servien, Serbie, Serbien), by which along with other cartographic content: rivers, mountains, settlements, borders, coats of arms, etc. they marked the existence of the medieval Serbian state, and in this way continuously, to the present day, preserved the memory of the territories that had belonged to it, making these maps Serbian deeds of sorts of Kosovo and Metohija.

MATERIALS

The paper analyzes 40 old (historical) and historiographical maps, which M. Vemić and M. Strugar found, thematically processed, systematized, unified and published in 2007 in the form of the atlas entitled *An Atlas of Old Serbia – European Maps of Kosovo and Metohija*. These maps were made by leading European cartographers with high state titles, such as "the Cosmographer of the Republic," "the Royal Geographer," "the Imperial Geographer," as well as military architects, General Staff officers, princes, consuls, professors, scientists, etc., which assumes a high degree of their knowledge and seriousness in the authorization of the maps. The same line includes a number of maps that were done by the local geographers and cartographers in the country or in European workshops, for example, Jovan Cvijić, Spiridon Gopčević et al. The mentioned premises confirm a very high scientific, historical and social value of the selected maps. They provide a very clear view of mutual territorial, ethnic, demographic, religious and cultural relations between the Serbs and the Albanians and determine their mutual border in historical, ethnic, cultural, geopolitical and state terms during the Turks' invasion of the Balkans, and their withdrawal.

Maps in the atlas are placed in chronological order. They are mostly small scale, meaning that they show space beyond the territory of Serbia, with Serbian,

Slavic and other neighboring lands in the Balkans and the Pannonian Basin. In addition to their general purpose of detecting and displaying the different geographical content of the framed area, older time layers were presented on many maps, which generally increases the content and highlights their historical layer of meaning, and which generally reveals the real intentions, interests, aspirations and objectives for which they were made. The purpose and method of their preparation is often mentioned in the title of the maps or in specially decorated cartouches, in various titles, emblems and inscriptions, or in information about the publisher, printer and the time of publishing of the map. Certain maps were dedicated to individuals, for example "to true aristocrat by birth, education and clarity of mind," while most were made for general purposes, for example (intended to) "soldier, mathematician and friend of cosmographic association," for a detailed military geographical description or quite specifically "for the purposes of the present war".

The atlas consists of maps from seven European countries: the Netherlands (3), Venice (2), France (2), Austria (8), Germany (9), Great Britain (3) and Serbia (13), their main cartographic, state and publishing centers. All maps, although published in different places, are very similar and consistent in content, because they relied on each other as cartographic sources, as evidenced by the similarity seen in the data recorded on most of them. This generally harmonized cartographic spatial continuity evolved relatively uniformly over the time period from the 16th to the 20th century. By collecting and adding new data and geographic knowledge of the Balkan countries and their addition to the maps, with the correction of old errors, there has been significant progress in raising their geographical authenticity. Also, their geometric accuracy increased by introducing mathematical map projections, which greatly improved the general quality of maps. These maps, systematized by source of origin, stating the chronological ordinal number in the atlas are:

Dutch maps

Abraham Ortelij: *Map of Pannonia and old Illyricum* [1:2,000,000]. Atverpen 1590. – *Pannoniae, et Illyrici veteris Tabvla* / Ex conatibus geographicis Abrahami Ortelij Antverpiani [1:2.000.000]. Antverpiani 1590. (1).

Gerard Mercator – William Blau: *Wallachia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Byzantium*, [1:2,150,000]. Amsterdam [1648]. – *Walachia, Servia, Bvlgaria, Romania* / Per Gerardum Mercatorem. Guljelmus Blaeu excudebat [1:2.150.000]. [Amstelaedami], [1648]. (3).

Johan Blaeu: *Today's Illyricum …* [1:915.000]. Amsterdam, [1662–1665]. – *Illyricvm Hodiernvm, Quod Scriptores communiter Sclavoniam, Itali Schiavoniam nuncupare solent, in Dalmatiam, Croatiam, Bosniam, et Slavoniam distinguitur. Sed cum ejus majorem partem Turcæ optineant in Præfecturas eorum more Sanzacatus dictas divisum est, reliquum aut*em *Veneti, Vngari, et Ragusini tenent. Sanzacatus sunt Bosna, Residentia Baßæ; Poxega; Cernik; Bihak; Lika et Carbava; Clissa; Herzegowina*. / Ioannes Blaeu [1:915.000]. [Amstelaedami], [1662–1665]. (4).

Venetian maps

Maria Vincenzo Coronelli: *The course of the rivers Drim and Bojana in Dalmatia*, [1:315,000]. Venice 1688. – *Corso delli fiumi Drino*, *e Boiana nella Dalmatia* / descrito Dal Padre M[a]r[ia] Coronelli Cosmografo della Seren[issima] Republica di Venetia, [1:315.000]. 1688. (5).

Giacomo Cantelli from Vignola: *The Kingdom of Serbia, otherwise known as Rascia* [1:470,000]. Rome 1689. – *Il Regno della Servia detta altrimenti Rascia* [1:470.000], descritto Su l'Esemplare delle Carte piu esatte e, con la diretione delle pui recenti notizie da Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola. Suddito; e Geografo del Sereniss: Sig: Duca di Modena e dato in Luce da Gio; Giacomo de Rossi dale. Sue Stampe in Roma alla Pace con priu. Del. Som. Pont, 1689. (6).

French maps

Nicholas Sanson: *The course of the Danube from its source to its mouth* [1:1.950.000]. Paris, 1693. – *Le cours du Danube Depuis sa Source jusq'à ses Embouchures.* Dreseé sur les Memoires les plus Nouveaux du P. Coroneli et autres, Par le Sr. Sanson Geographe du Roy, [1:1.950.000]. Paris: chez H. Iaillot, 1693. (7).

[*Serbia*] [1:2.250.000]. Paris [the end of the XIX century]. – [*Serbie*], [1:2.250.000]. Imprimerie générale de C. Lahure Paris. (28).

Austrian maps

Carl Schütz: *New map of the Kingdom of Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia and Slavonia together with the border provinces…* [1:1,1000,000].Vienna 1788. – *Neueste Karte der Koenigreiche Bosnien, Servien, Croatien und Slavonien samt den angrœnzenden Provinzen Temeswar, Dalmatien, Herzegowina, Ragusa, Steyermark, Kœrnthen, Krain, Friaul, Gradiska, und Istrien, einem grossen Theil von Ungarn, Siebenbűrgen, Walachei, Bulgarien, Albanien, Macedonien, und einem Stück des Kirchenstaats und Kreichs Neapel* / Nach den besten Originalzeichnungen Charten, und Beschreibungen entworfen von Herrn Carl von Schütz, [1:1.1000.000]. Vienna: Artaria, 1788. (15).

Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly: *The Kingdom of Serbia*, [1:1,440,000]. [Vienna] [1791]. – *Das Koenigreich Serwien*, Nro. 5. / Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly. In: Schauplatz der fünf Theile der Welt, [1:1.440.000]. [Wien], [I. Albrecht sculpsit], [1791]. (16).

Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly: *The northern part of the Kingdom of Albania with the District of Montenegro* [1:400,000]. [Vienna] [1791]. – *Der Noerdliche Theil des Koenigreichs Albanien mit dem Distrikte Montenegro*, Nro. 21./ Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly [1:400.000]. [Wien] 1791. (17).

Meyer Herman Julius: *The European Turkey*, 1:3,000,000. Leipzig–Vienna, 1864. – *Die Europaeische Turkey* / Meyer Herman Julius Meyer, 1:3.000.000. In: Meyer's Hand Atlas, Leipzig–Wien 1864. (21).

Carl Sax: *Ethnographic map of European Turkey and its provinces, at the beginning of 1877.* Vienna, 1878. – *Ethnographische karte der Europäischen*

Türkei und ihrer Dependenzen zu Anfang des Jahres1877./ von Carl Sax k.u.k. österreichisch-ungarischer Consul in Adrianopel. Wien, 1878. (23).

Political division, nationalities and religions. Appendix № 3 for a detailed description of Sandžak, Pljevlje and Kosovo vilayet, 1:750.000. Vienna 1899. – *Polit. Eintheilung, Nationalitäten und Religionen 1:750,000. Beilage № 3. zur Detailbeschreibung des Sandžaks Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo* (Mit 8 Beilagen und 10 Tafeln). Als Manuscript gedruckt. Wien. 1899. (27).

Karl Peucker: *Macedonia, Old Serbia and Albania*, 1:864,000. Vienna 1912. – *Makedonien, Altserbien und Albanien* / Bearbeitet von Dr. Karl Peucker, 1:864.000. Wien 1912. (33).

Ethnic and linguistic map of Central Europe, with Italy and the Balkan Peninsula, 1:3,000,000. Vienna, [1917]. – *Völker – und Sprachenkarte von Mittel-Europa nebst Italien und der Balkanhalbinsel*. Nach den neuesten statistischen Veröffenflichungen bearbeitet. / G. Freytags. 1:3.000.000. Wien: Druck und Verlag der Kartogr. Anstalt G. Freytag Berndt, Ges. m. b. H. [1917]. (38).

German maps

Martin Waldeseemüller: *Modern map of Bosnia, Serbia, Greece and Slavonia*. Strasbourg 1513. – *Tabula moderna Bossinae, Serviae, Graeciae et Sclavoniae* / Martin Waldeseemüller, 1513. (2).

Johann Baptist Homann: *The Danube Rivers (shown here as it flows from the city of Belgrade, through the Black Sea to Constantinople) the lower course, where Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and Bessarabia are shown with neighboring areas* [1:2,000,000]. Nuremberg [1710]. – *Danubii Fluminis (hic ab urbe Belgrado per Mare Nigrum usque Constantinopolim defluentis exhibiti) pars infima in qua Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Servia, Romania et Bessarabia cum vicinis Regionibus ostenduntur* / à Ioh. Bapt. Homanno [1:2.000.000]. Norimbergæ [1710]. (8).

Johann Matthias Hase: *Map of Hungary in the broad sense and the old or methodical complex of kingdoms: Hungary in a narrower sense, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Cumania; principality: Transylvania; despotisms: Wallachia, Moldavia…*, [1:2,500,000]. [Nuremberg] 1744. – *Hvngarie ampliori significatu et veteris vel Methodicae complexae Regna: Hungariae propriae, Croatiae Dalmatiae, Bosniae, Serviae, Bulgariae, Cvmaniae, Principatum: Transsylvaniae, Despotatus: Walachiae, Moldaviae [exclusis ab eadem alienatis Galitia et Lvdomiriria] in suas Provincias ac partes divisae et quoad Imperantes ex Avstriacis, Tvrcis et Venetis distinctae* … Tabvla exrecentissimis pariter et antiquissimis relationibus et monumentis concinnata ac secundum leges Projections Stereographicae legitimae descripta a I. M. Hasio M. PP. Curantibus Homannianis, 1:2.500.000, [Norimbergæ] 1744. (9).

Peter Conrad Monath: *Dalmatia and the surrounding regions, Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia, Serbia, Albania accurately described,* [1:1,200,000]. Nuremberg [1750]. – *Dalmatia et regiones adjacentes, Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia, Servia, Albania accurate descriptae* [1:1.200.000]. Normembergæ Petr Conr[ad] Monath excudit [1750]. (10).

Johann Baptist Homann: *Turkish Empire in Europe*, *Asia and Africa* [1:12,000,000]. Nuremberg [1750]. – *Imperium Turcicum in Europa, Asia et Africa, Regiones Proprias, Tributaries, Clientelares sicut et omnes ejusdem Beglirbegatus seu Præfecturas Generales exhibens*. / Sumtibus Io. Baptista Homanni, [1:12.000.000]. [Norimbergæ] [1750]. (11).

August Gottlieb Boehm – Homann's heirs: *The latest map of the Danube with the surrounding kingdoms, as well as whole Greece and the archipelago* [1:44,000,000]. Nuremberg 1766. – *Totius Danubii cum Adjacentibus Regnis nec non Totius Græciæ et Archipelagi*. Novissima Tabula ex recentissimis supsidüs concinnata et ad Leges Projectionis Stereographicæ legitime / reducta ab Augusto Gottlob Boehmio electoris Saxoniæ Cohortis Architecton … , [1:44.000.000]. Norimbergae …, 1766. (12).

Tobiæ Conrad Lotter: *New Greece and the Aegean Sea with Archipelago* … [1:1,650,000]. [Augsburg], [1770]. – *Graecia Nova et Mare Ægeum s. Archipelagus in qua Mappa Macedonia, Albania, Epirus, Thessalia et Morea cum circumjacentibus Insulis Corcyra, Cephalonia, Zacynthnos, Stalimene, Metelino, Chios* / distinctæ exhibentur, opera et sumtibus Tobiæ Conradi Lotteri, Geographi Augustae Vindel. [Augsburg] [1770]. (13).

Homann's heirs: *Map of current Northern Greece* [1:1,300,000]. Nuremberg 1770. – *Mappa Geographica Græciæ Septentrionalis hodiernæ sive Provinciarum Macedoniæ Thessaliæ et Albaniæ, in qua ultima Provincia Habitationes sitæ Gentis Montenegrinæ in Comitatu Zentanensi expressæ sunt,* unacum finitimis Regionibus atqu Insulis, ex recentissimis novissimisque Subsidiis secundum normam legitimæ Projectionis in usum belli præsentis delineata, [1: 1.300.000]. Norimbergæ Cura Homannianorum Heredum, C.P.S.C.M. 1770. D.A. Hauer sc. Norimb. (14).

Heinrich Kiepert: *General map of European Turkey* [1:1,000,000]. Berlin, 1853. – *General-karte von der europäischen Türkei* / Nach allen vorhandenen Originalkarten und itinerarischen Hülfsmitteln bearbeitet und gezeichnet von Heinrich Kiepert, [1:1.000.000]. Berlin 1853. (20).

British maps

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METHODS

The maps in the atlas were analyzed from several aspects in order to determine the boundaries and territorial affiliation of Old Serbia with its primary core of Kosovo and Metohija in the historical, ethnic, cultural, geopolitical and national respect from the time of the Turkish invasion of the Balkans, as well as the Turks' withdrawal. In this sense, the analysis carried out includes:

- Competences of authors and publishers (cartographic centers, institutions);
- Motives of making and purpose of the maps, as well as the time and place of their publication;
- Territories covered by the maps, with the geographical position of Kosovo and Metohija on them;
- The theme of mapping, regardless of whether the maps are general geographic or various thematic maps: ethnic, linguistic, religious, confessional, political, military, etc.;
- Classification of content by elements, thematic layers and internal hierarchy;
- Dimension of maps with inset maps, sketches, etc.;
- Composition of maps with more layers: natural presentation (hydrography and relief), settlements, ethnic, linguistic, religious, confessional, state and administrative boundaries, toponyms, additional content (panoramic drawings, emblems, flags, cartouches) and the like.

In addition to a multilateral analysis of the maps, they were also compared in spatial and temporal terms, whereby the following can be determined:

- Similarities and differences in approach, motives and goals of mapping,
- Perspectives on territorial units shown on the maps from different angles: the continental (Central European and Southern European), coastal (Mediterranean, Adriatic, Aegean, Black Sea), from the flow of major rivers (the Danube, the Sava, the Vardar, the Drim, the Bojana), the regional linking of countries, state status, provincial or local position, etc.
- Repetition of the contents of maps for the same territories over time with successive addition of new ones, retaining the previous cartographic layers,

- Correspondence of statistical numerical data with sign, graphic, cartographic presentation,
- Stability of natural, ethnic, linguistic, religious, confessional, state and administrative borders,
- Preservation of macro-, meso- and micro-toponyms in the territorial range of maps for the studied time period, etc.
- Constancy (or slow variability) of ethnic, linguistic, religious, confessional, cultural, political, military and other relations between peoples and countries for the observed period.

All maps in the atlas are analyzed in detail, which is in the form of short text put with every single map on a separate atlas page, together with the original and translated title. Comparison of maps and the final synthesis of the established historical and geographical data, facts and conclusions are presented in the wider text found at the beginning of the atlas.

RESULTS

The analysis and comparison of 40 atlas maps of the territory of Serbia and its Balkan and Pannonian surroundings, from the period 1513–1918, have shown that most of them have several historical layers: ancient, medieval and a layer from the time of publication of the map. The ancient layer shows the ancient Greek or provinces of the Roman Empire, the medieval all old kingdoms, principalities, despotisms, duchies as well as their immediate areas that existed at that time in the Balkans, while the modern layer mainly shows the current state of the presence of the Ottoman Empire through a division of the territories into dependent states, which paid tribute to the Empire, as well as their prefectures. On almost all maps, the most instructive is the middle – medieval layer.

All the maps show the territory, with the name of the old kingdom of Serbia inscribed (Zevia, Servia, Serviæ Regn., Servien, Das Königreich Serwien, Serbie, Serbien) and Raška (Rascia, Rassa, Rasia, Rassia, Raxia, Rascien) and the Serbian Empire, either in the wider or narrower territorial range. In the same line with the presentation of Serbia, other Serbian, Slavic and other neighboring countries are shown such as Bosnia (Bossina, Bosnia, Bosnien, Bosnie, Bosna) with Herzegovina of St. Sava (Herzegovina S. Saba, Herzegowina) or Duchy (Dukat) of St. Sava (Dvc. S. Saba), Zeta (Zenta), Montenegro (Montenegro, Zrna Gora), S(k)lavonia (Sclavonia, Schiavonia, Slavonien), Bulgaria (Bulgaria), Wallachia (Walachia, Walachei), Hungary (Hvngaria, Hungaria), Byzantium (Romania), Greece (Greacia) and the like. In addition to these countries on these maps, the territories of certain countries which retained their ancient names are presented with equal significance, for example, Macedonia (Macedonia, Macedonien) or Dalmatia (Dalmatia, Dalmatien). On the maps, which cover a narrower territory, besides the name of Serbia, its particular areas are also inscribed, such as: Kosovo Polje (Campus merulae, Merlinius Campus et Cassovius, Champ Merlin, Champ de merles, Amselfeld) or Kosovo (Cassova provincia), Metohija (Metoja, la Métochie, Metochia) or Podrima (Podrima, Podrima Provincia), as well as Toplica (Topliza), Sitnica (Sitimza), etc. The name

Albania does not appear on all maps in the atlas, and if it does it is not in the same rank as other countries, but more as an area within the existing countries, notably Greece and Macedonia.

Geographic position and natural boundaries. The geographical location of the old kingdom (empire) of Serbia, on older maps of either wider or narrower geographic range, is bounded by natural geographic boundaries, primarily relief and hydrography, although there are detailed maps with borders drawn on them. This is particularly expressively shown in respect to the position of Serbia and Albania. Thus on the Waldeseemüller map from 1513, which is part of the revived and modernized Ptolemy's map, the Balkan Peninsula is shown with natural and geographic territorial division between countries (Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Modern map of Bosnia, Serbia, Greece and Slavonia*

(*Tabula moderna Bossinae, Serviae, Graeciae et Sclavoniae*) [Waldeseemüller 1513]

"The mountain ranges of the central ridge, known as *Catena mundi* (Latin for 'the chains of the world'; Serbian 'verige sveta'), separate Serbia (Zevia) and Bosnia (Bossina) from Slavonia (Sclavonia), Dalmatia (Dalmatia) and Greece (Graecia) on the map. The territory of Greece is divided into several areas: Thessaly (abbreviated Thessalo.), Achaia (Achaia), Athens (Ducat Athenie) and

Morea (Morea). Among the Greek regions, the toponym Albania is placed in the area of northern Epirus, south of the Crni Drim River with the source from Lake Ohrid" [Vemić and Strugar 2007].

Strabon (62 BC – 23 AD), a long time ago, on the threshold between the old and the new era, found that the natural division or natural boundary between countries and peoples was the best. In this sense, it logically follows that the earliest maps show the orographic separation of Serbia and Albania, as it has long been known that two major mountain ranges stretch and face one another in that area: Prokletije (2694m) and Šar Mountain (2748m) which are mutually connected by a series of small mountains: Bogićevica (2366m), Đeravica (2656m), Junička Mountain (2305m), Paštrik (1986m) and Koritnik (2393m). The orographic boundary is continuously shown on the maps as follows: 1) in the ancient layer, between the Roman provinces of Upper Moesia (with Dardania) and Macedonia, north and south in relation to the aforementioned mountain range, 2) in the medieval layer, between Serbia (Raška) and Zeta or Greece and 3) in the present, between Serbia and Albania.

Figure 2. Part of the map *The Course of the Rivers Drim and Bojana in Dalmatia* (*Corso delli fiumi Drino, e Boiana nella Dalmatia*) [1:315.000]. [Coronelli 1688]

The cartographers who tied their presentations to the river basins, for example, M. V. Coronelli, "the cosmographer of the republic" of Venice, or N. Sanson, a French "royal geographer", in addition to orographic also drew borders on rivers, confirming completely the aforementioned truth by Strabon. Thus on Coronelli's map, The Course of the Rivers Drim and Bojana in Dalmatia (*Corso delli fiumi Drino, e Boiana nella Dalmatia*) [1:315.000] (1688) boundaries are drawn in dashed lines between all the territories that had some kind of self-government in pre-Ottoman time (kingdoms, duchies, parishes, cities, republics),with noble coats of arms depicted on them. On this "map Albania is not mentioned anywhere, although the names of some Albanian tribes are mentioned" [Vemić and Strugar 2007], which are located on the left bank of the Drim River. In this part of the territory, the boundary is drawn between the parts of the territory of the Kingdom of Serbia and Zeta and it is on the rivers Valbona (Crnica), the Drim and the Crni Drim (Figure 2).

The boundary on three rivers is also repeated later on maps by G. Cantelli, N. Sanson, P. C. Monath, J. B. Homann, T. C. Lotter, etc., and appears as an ethnographic boundary between Serbian and Albanian settlements, as well as the language line, on thematic, ethnic and linguistic maps from the end of the 19th and early 20th century.

Toponyms. In addition to natural, orographic structure and hydrographical lines that define the affiliation of territories at a macro level, a large number of settlements with the toponyms is presented on the analyzed maps, which confirm and complete the affiliation of a territory, at a meso level. On the Waldeseemüller map from 1513, on the territory of Serbia, a small but significant number of toponyms is written, of which three in Kosovo and Metohija: the medieval mining town of Novo Brdo (Nouomont), then Lake Svrčinsko, that is, Sazlijsko and Robovačko mud, where Svrčin was (Suercegino), the castle of the Serbian Nemanjić dynasty and the third, the area of Sitnica (Sitimza), shown as a settlement. These Serbian toponyms are usually repeated on maps from the early period, and are becoming more numerous, especially on larger scale maps. Thus Coronnelli's map (1688), in addition to Novo Brdo (Novo Monte), shows all of today's larger cities in Kosovo and Metohija: Mitrovica (Mitrouiza), Vučitrn (Wciterna), Priština (Pristina), Suva Reka (Suha Riesca), Peć (Pechia), Dečani (Deciani), Đakovica (Iacoua, Iacouizza) and Prizren (Prisrendi, Prisren), as well as other settlements: Gušterica (Gusteriza), Janjevo (Iagneuo), Vragolija (Vragolia), Ribare (Ribare), Krajmirovce (Kraimirouc), Graždanik (Grasdanico), etc. On Cantelli's map (1689) Trepča (Treppcia) appears with Mitrovica, Hoča (Hocia) with Suva Reka, and Ljubižda (Iubossida) with Prizren, Graždanik (Grasdanico), Gorožup (Gorosupi) etc. It should be noted that all the maps place all the major peripheral Metohija cities, Peć, Dečani, Đakovica and Prizren in Serbia, and never in Albania, which indicates that the European cartographers have known that fact for the last five centuries.

Ethnic, linguistic and other maps. A more detailed analysis of the position of territory and borders of Old Serbia, near Kosovo and Metohija in the studied period, can be conducted on the basis of thematic maps in the atlas with ethnic,

religious and confessional and linguistic contents, such as maps by the following cartographers: C. Sax (1878), D. Žegligović (1885), V. Karić (1887), S. Gopčević (1889), J. Cvijić (1906, 1913, 1918), A. Stead (1909), A. Evans (1916), R. W. Seton-Watson (1917), followed by *The Ethnic and Linguistic Map of Central Europe with Italy and the Balkan Peninsula* (1917) published by the Vienna-based cartographic house Freytag and the like (Figure 3). These maps were created as a result of detailed research and collection of data (knowledge) of European travelers and explorers in the territory of the Balkan countries (H. Pouqville., A. Boué, J. Müller, J. G. von Hahn, A. Grisebach, H. Kiepert et al.), and had a great impact on European scientific and political opinion in the 19th century. Special attention was paid to the presentation of ethnic relations. One of the indicators is usually represented on them, but there are maps with more complex representations. Thus, for example, C. Sax, the Austrian consul in Constantinople, identified and presented the ethnic groups using a "combination of features:" language, confession and national consciousness. The map legend shows that he presented 8 major ethnic groups, 11 subgroups and three mixed categories, which are classified into three existing confessions– Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Mohammedan– so that the map has a total of 21 thematic units. Similarly, S. Gopčević (1889) distinguished 13 ethnic groups, Cvijić (1913) 12 of them with 23 entities, of which 7 multi-confessional.

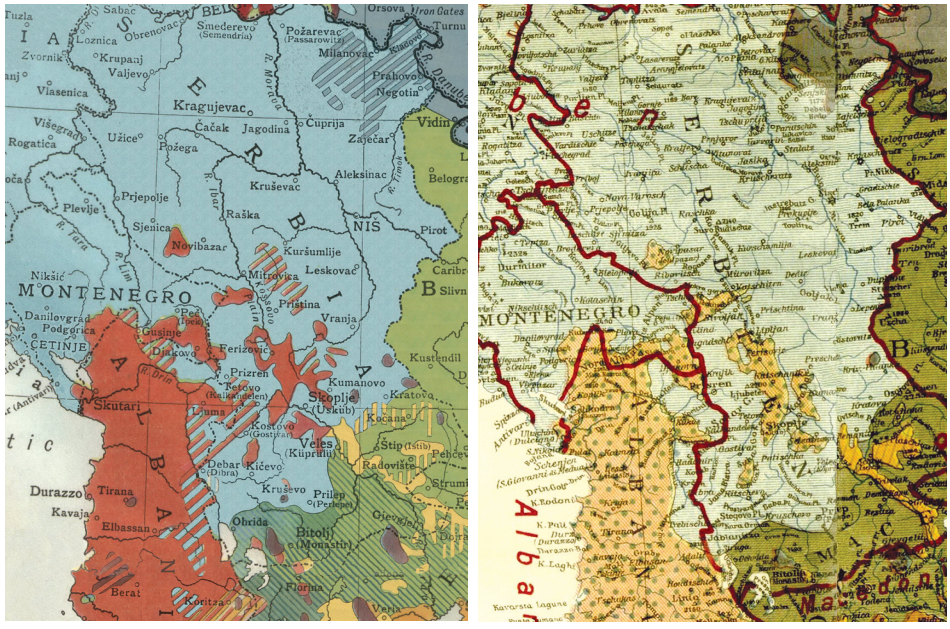

Figure 3. Part of the map *The Race of the Balkan Peninsula* [R.W. Seton-Watson 1917), left; part of the map *Ethnic and Linguistic Map of Central Europe with Italy and the Balkan Peninsula* (*Völker – und Sprachenkarte von Mittel-Europa nebst Italien und der Balkanhalbinsel*), [Freytags 1917] to the right.

Since this is about thematic maps, which by their origin represent an achievement of modern cartography from the end of the 19th and early 20th century, and cannot be found for the preceding centuries, for a more detailed and thorough analysis, the historical maps of M. Pešikan, M. Macura and A. Urošević are also placed in the atlas, which are based on the Turkish censuses from the early 16th century. The territory of Kosovo and Metohija with its surroundings is covered by several such censuses (*defterleri*), from 1452, 1455, 1485, 1489, 1571, 1566–74. The settlements are classified in them according to *nahias*, but the basic data relate to individual men, women, widows (as the heads of the families), as well as monks and unmarried adult males, i.e. to all taxpayers. Defterleri are transcribed from the old Turkish to the Serbian language and are a very accurate and reliable historical source for the reconstruction of the ethno-demographic circumstances at the beginning of Turkish rule in Serbia.

Analyzing a unique record of personal names by settlements, according to linguistic affiliation, Pešikan compiled a variety of maps showing the territorial distribution of population of old Serbian and old Albanian type who lived in a broader regional framework of today's southwestern Serbia, southeastern Montenegro and northern Albania, where the general ambivalence of these two people can be seen, with very few mixed areas. Although the map was drawn in a simplified way, with hatches, it clearly shows the full extent of the old Serbian type of names in Old Serbia, that is, in Kosovo and Metohija, except for slight

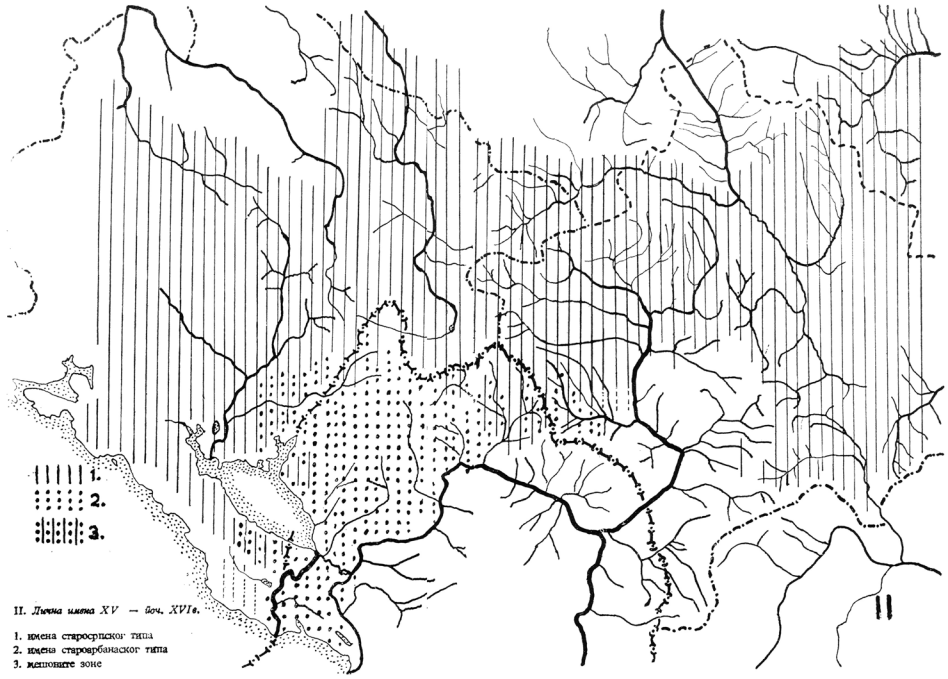

Figure 4. *Map of personal names in the 15th and early 16th century* [Pešikan 1982]

mixing near Đakovica in the territory of present-day Serbia, but also across the border in old Altina in the territory of Albania. A similar situation existed in the territory of today's Montenegro, except for a small mixing of names around Lake Skadar.

Synthesizing the data for seven consecutive Turkish defterleri covering a hundred and twenty years, from 1452 to 1574, Pešikan gave a very comprehensive and complex map titled *The Kosovo Personal Names of the XV–XVI Century*, which presents all the settlements of that time in Kosovo and Metohija. The settlements are divided into two categories: settlements with the Serbian type of names and the Albanian type of names (Figure 5). On this much more concrete map by Pešikan, in terms of ethnic affiliation of settlements, the absolute presence of the Serbian settlements is visible, with a partial mix with the Albanian ones only near Đakovica, in a slightly higher percentage than on the previous map, which shows some settling of Albanians from Albania and their gradual infiltration in Metohija, which would gradually increase in the following cen-

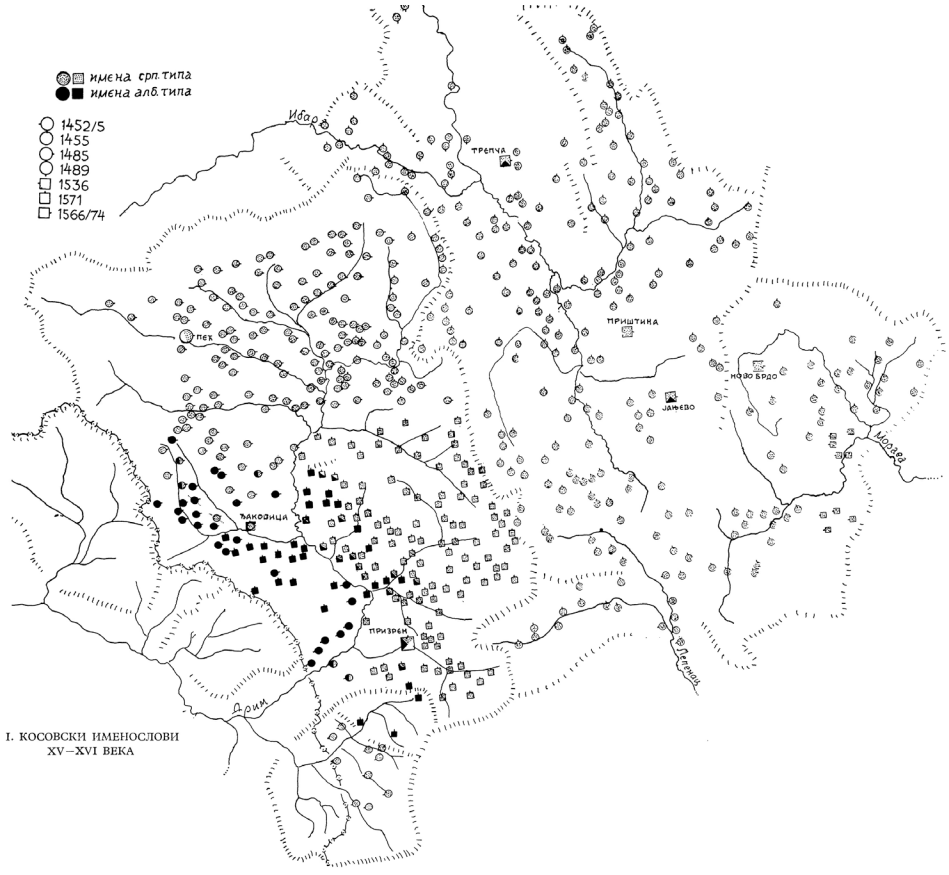

Figure 5. *The Kosovo Personal Names of the XV–XVI Century* [Pešikan 1986]

turies. The Turkish conquest of Kosovo and Metohija damaged permanent settlements the most, as established by the 1455 census analysis by M. Macura, who found that there were 32 destroyed villages probably during the Battle of Kosovo, 42 deserted villages, from which the people were exterminated or fled. In other words, out of a total of 599 villages recorded, 74 or 12% were unfit for human habitation. In addition to the above noted, as many as 142 tiny (up to 5 houses) and small villages (6–10 houses) were recorded, indicating that the whole structure of the villages was damaged by the Turkish occupation [Macura 2001].

In this ethno-demographic situation, where they lived mixed – majority Serbian Christian population to minority Albanian – of Islamic and, to a much lesser extent, Catholic confession, there is a frequent descent of the Albanian cattle-farming *fis* population (Malisors, Mirdita, Feni) from the mountainous areas of northern and central Albania, who individually or collectively began to occupy the gentle plains of Metohija, continuing to exert tremendous pressure on the native, mostly Serbian farming population. Thus the Albanians seized Serbian estates, continuing to violently push out and persecute the remaining Serbs from Old Serbia, throughout the period of Ottoman rule in the region, and due to religious reasons, i.e. their majority confession being Islam, the Albanians were privileged in the Turkish Empire. "The Turkish authorities tolerated many cases of violation of public order, in some of them they were participants or accomplices in the extortions and executions particularly of Serbian leaders in the villages. Ransom called 'tally' and abductions of women were a special kind of persecution of non-Muslim subjects …" [Stojančević 1994].

The ethno-demographic situation during early Ottoman rule in Kosovo and Metohija, which was successfully reconstructed by Pešikan, Macura and others, continuously changed with the permanent colonization of Albanians, for a long time, but was never reversed in favor of the Albanians until the 20th century. This is confirmed by a travelogue by Miloš S. Milojević entitled *Travels through a Part of Real (Old) Serbia*, which was published in three volumes in 1871, 1872 and 1877. Milojević was the first Serbian travel writer who traveled around Old Serbia and directly in the field collected and published data on population and settlements in these areas. Based on original data from Milojević's travels, M. Vemić produced a map entitled *Ethnic Map of a Part of Old Serbia 1:300,000*, which is in the atlas with other historiographical maps. It shows that the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija, with visible marks of Albanian colonization, were still the majority at that time, and the Albanians the minority.

The ethnic picture of mutual relations between the Serbs and Albanians shortly before the Serbian–Turkish wars of 1876, 1877/78 is shown on this map using the diagrammatic map method by settlements, by national and religious and confessional criteria. There are 895 settlements represented out of a total of 1,140 recorded in the travelogue by Milojević, with 123 unreconnoitred and 122 repeated settlements, which are classified in seven categories according to

the number of houses. Of the total number of represented settlements, 483 were Serbian, 92 Albanian and 230 mixed. All big cities, Prizren, Priština, Peć, Đakovica and Kuršumlija, were over 90% ethnically Serbian. Of the smaller ethnic groups, five Circassian villages are mapped, Ottomans in a mixed village (Mamuša, 80 houses) and Prizren (120 houses), and Gypsies in 7 mixed settlements. More precise indications are given in the table below:

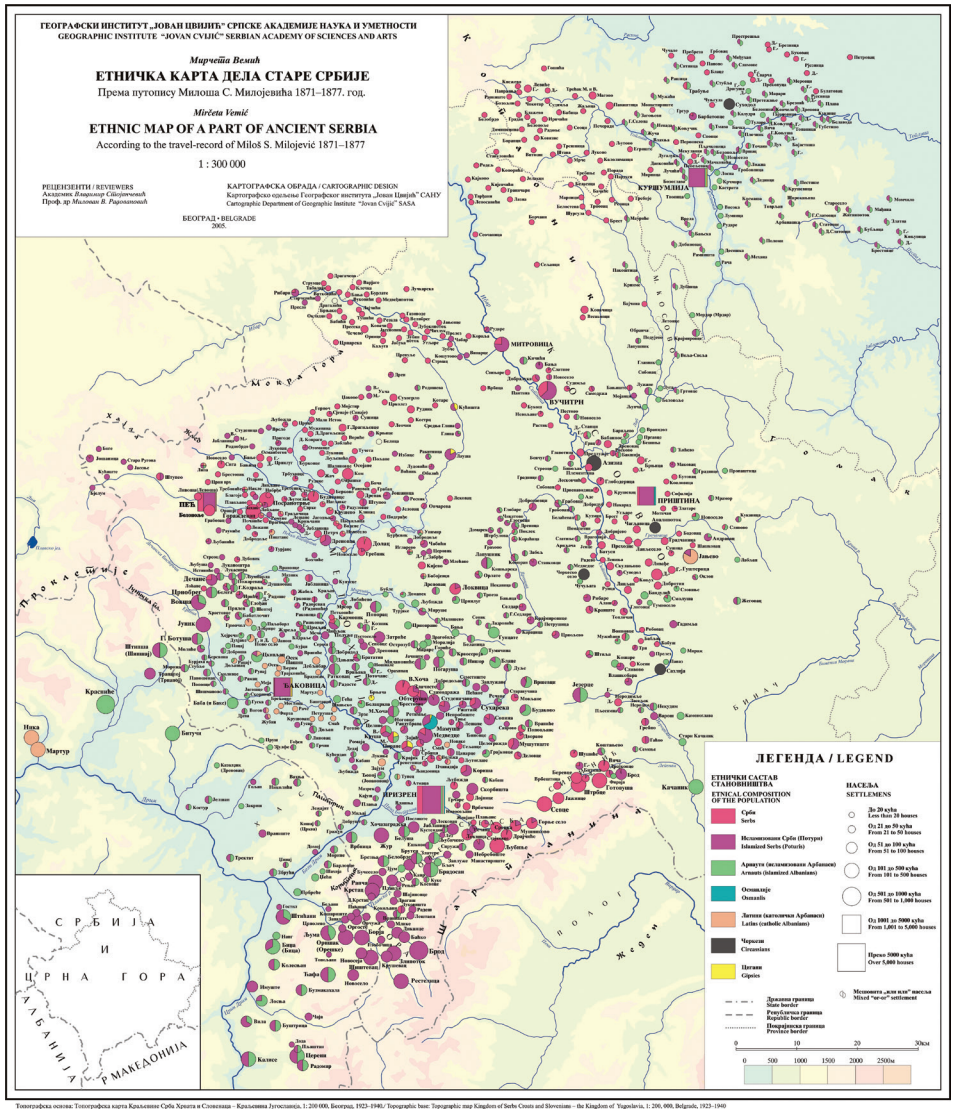

Figure 6. *Ethnic Map of a Part of Old Serbia* [Vemić 2005]

Table 1. Distribution of ethnic groups by settlements [Vemić 2011]

Ethnic groups	Settlements
Serbs (Orthodox Christians)	244
Islamicized Serbs (converts)	130
Serbs – Islamicized Serbs	109
Total:	483
Major urban settlements – Serbs being the majority	5 settlements in all
Arnauts (Islamicised Albanians)	69
Latins (Roman Catholic Albanians)	21
Arnauts – Latins	2
Total:	92
Serbs – Arnauts	18
Serbs – Latins	15
Islamicized Serbs – Arnauts	152
Islamicized Serbs – Latins	4
Total:	189
Serbs – Islamicized Serbs – Arnauts	22
Serbs – Arnauts – Latins	1
Islamicized Serbs – Arnauts – Latins	2
Serbs – Islamicized Serbs – Arnauts – Latins	5
Total:	30
Serbs – Gypsies	1
Islamicized Serbs – Gypsies	2
Serbs – Islamicized Serbs – Gypsies	1
Serbs – Arnauts – Gypsies	1
Islamicized Serbs – Osmanlis – Gypsies	1
Total:	6
Islamicized Serbs or Arnauts	77 “either-or” settlements in all
Circassians	5
Settlements without data on the ethnic situation	8
Total of	895 settlements

It can be concluded from these figures that at that time there were three times more settlements populated by the Orthodox Serbs than Islamicized Albanians (244:69), and nearly twofold more settlements with Islamicized Serbs than with the Islamicized Albanians (130:69), and compared with only 21 settlements of Roman Catholic Albanians (Catholics) there are then 11, i.e. 6 times more Serbs. However, the Albanians were mixed more with the Islamicized Serbs due to confessional similarity (in 152 settlements) than with the Orthodox Serbs (in 18 settlements), while the Roman Catholics were mixed more with the Orthodox Serbs (in 15 settlements) than with the Islamicized Serbs (in 4 settlements). The Serbs of both confessions were mixed in 109 settlements.

The Albanian state was created in 1912, when its borders were temporarily defined. Demarcation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was made only after the First World War (1920). The negotiations in Paris were led precisely

on the subject of the natural, historical, ethnic and linguistic boundaries in the river valleys of the Drim and Crni Drim, in the north of present-day Albania. There were two proposals: by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (from 14/1/1920) and the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 20/1/1920), which were slightly different. However, instead of one of the presented suggestions being accepted or an intermediate solution being established, the boundary was shifted in favor of the Albanians far in the north, i.e. from the valleys of these rivers on the orographic borders of mountain ranges of the Prokletije and Šar Mountain (Figure 7).

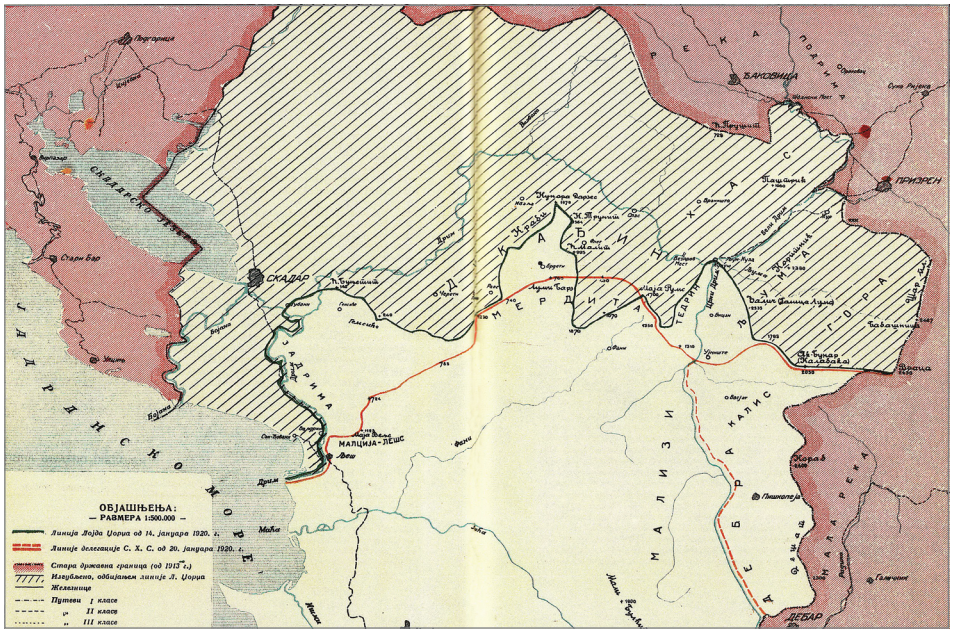

Figure 7. *Two proposals for demarcation between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Albania at the Paris Conference in 1920* [Slukan-Altić 2006]

THE MAIN CONCLUSIONS

The analyzed maps in the atlas were made by the best European cartographers who in addition to the indisputable cartographic competence had high government and scientific titles and occupied high positions in their respective societies. The maps were made over a long time period from 1513 to 1918. They were made for the general, educational, scientific, cultural, political, military (war) and other purposes. In their time they had a great impact on scientific and political opinion, but also permanently, not only in their own countries but in Europe, too.

All analyzed maps have shown that the area of Old Serbia, which included Kosovo and Metohija, has always been considered an integral part of Serbia.

The maps directly show that the selected European and national authors, geographers, cosmographers and cartographers did not recognize the Turkish conquest of the Balkans and by their representations on the maps preserved awareness of the fact that these territories belonged to Old Serbia. The maps show that these two geographic areas existed only within the natural historical and ethnic boundaries of the state creations of the Serbian people, despite traces of gradual Albanian settlement over a long time period from the Turkish invasion of the Balkans, the Turks' withdrawal, to the present day. Kosovo and Metohija were never particularly singled out from the wider context and environment of Old Serbia, so neither territorially nor thematically did their separate cartographic representations ever exist. This has clearly and indisputably shown that Kosovo and Metohija have always been Serbian territory, and never Albanian.

Most of the maps confirm that the main division border, i.e. ethnographic boundary between Serbian and Albanian settlements, until the mid-19th century, was on the rivers Valbona (Crnica), Drim and Crni Drim, which were regarded as both the geographical border between Albania and (Old) Serbia, as well as a speech and language line dividing the Albanians of northern Albania from the Metohija Serbs. In this sense, with the creation of Albania in the 20th century, the Serbs and Albanians have already once made a historic compromise regarding demarcation when they raised the new age historical, ethnic, linguistic and natural boundary from the aforementioned rivers onto the highest peaks of the mountain range.

The selected maps compiled in the *Atlas of Old Serbia – European Maps of Kosovo and Metohija* undoubtedly have great scientific, historical and social value. Because of their documentary, they now represent special Serbian deeds (document on the right of governing, certificate of ownership) of Kosovo and Metohija.

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FOREIGN CAPITAL IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1941–1991

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SUMMARY: The subject matter of this essay is the destiny of foreign capital invested in Yugoslavia form 1941 to 1991.* The changes of legal system in Yugoslavia during and after the World War II prevented the presence of foreign capital in its economy. Foreign capital was negatively affected by the restrictive property measures both during the German occupation of Yugoslav territory, within the system of war command economy, and in the first years after the liberation, within the centrally-planned economic system. During the war, that was the capital owned by Allies of Yugoslavia, while after the war that was the capital owned by Axis powers. Then, in socialist Yugoslavia, within the self-managed economic system, the only legal possibility to obtain large sums of foreign capital to meet ambitious investment plans was to take foreign loans. Since Yugoslavia was unable to repay regularly the external debt, foreign creditors had to settle for the reduction of their claims.

KEY WORDS: foreign capital, restrictive property measures, war command economy, centrally-planned economy, self-managed economy, external debt, Yugoslavia

I

With the German occupation of Yugoslavia on April 17, 1941, the structure of pre-war capitalist market economy was razed to the ground, to be replaced by a command economy. The latter system persists on the territory of former Yugoslavia to this day, filling all nooks and crannies of economic life. Foreign capital, between the two world wars one of the key sources of financing economic development, was also victimized by this politically directed, central control.

A command economy began destroying Yugoslav liberal market as early as the world economic crisis of the 1930s. After revenue from the export of

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agricultural produce and raw materials was halved, the state was forced to impose strict regulations on the circulation of foreign currency. Trade remained free until Yugoslavia was forced to implement clearing agreements with a host of countries which were its most important trade partners[2]. Clearing agreements providing for trade *via* barter were, essentially, the last line of defense against a chronic lack of foreign currency that occurred in many countries as a result of a worldwide trade slump, initially involving only agricultural produce but later expanding to include all other goods. This clearing system abolished international competition. Decisions by producers to select a foreign market based on most favorable prices and best quality were replaced by administrative measures which directed exports to those countries from which goods were imported. Free forming of foreign currency exchange rates on the money market was annulled by strict regulations and administrative decisions which prescribed mutual currency parity between the signatories of clearing agreements.

If the Great Depression was an immediate reason for the introduction of certain clearly recognizable elements of command economy, the shift to a war economy marked a complete suspension of all economic freedoms. All production was subjected to war effort. Instead of wages and prices being formed by the market, an upper limit was set up on them. Money and capital markets were gradually disappearing due to blocked international banking deals and the introduction of prescribed foreign currency exchange rates. Rare free capital began finding placement outside the war industry ever more difficult. The risk of investing in countries affected or threatened by war steadily grew. Black market speculations acquired proportions unheard of before. Movable and immovable property of enormous value belonging to local and foreign persons caught in the war fell victim to destruction, devaluation, looting and black market speculations.

Foreign capital present in Yugoslavia at the outset of the occupation shared the fate of capital in other occupied countries. Gold, foreign currency and securities found in banks were seized and plundered. Machines and plants bought in Germany and installed on the eve of the war were dismantled and sent back to where they came from [Reparaciona komisija … 1945: 25]. Factories, mines, railways, and roads were purchased under duress by occupational authorities. But, were these purchases genuine? That is, when purchasing capital goods, as when purchasing merchandize in other occupied countries, the occupiers used clearing accounts. But Axis powers took from the countries they occupied disproportionately more goods and capital than they were ready to offer in return. Moreover, what they actually offered was mainly meant to serve their own needs in the occupied territories.

Clearing, which until WWII meant settling of claims and liabilities in payment operations between the states by paying imports with exports, during the war actually became a free exploitation of the occupied countries' natural and material resources. Everything that Germany and its allies seized there was duly registered as debt in Reichsmarks with the German Clearing Bank,

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[1] Before World War II Yugoslavia concluded bilateral clearing agreements with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, Switzerland, France, and Germany.

with a promise that the debt will be paid as soon as the Third Reich wins the war [Pevac 1945: 41–45]. At the same time, money-issuing institutions in the occupied countries were instructed from Berlin to print as much fiat money as was needed to immediately pay the suppliers. Thus the National Socialist Germany, which had no gold, no foreign currency and no merchandize for export, forced the occupied countries to finance all its war expenditure: the purchase of factories and mines, the exploitation of railways and roads, the import of raw materials and food, the maintenance of occupying forces and their administration. By registering the debt on their clearing accounts in Berlin, the occupational forces had in fact legalized state plunder. For seizing the property of Jews no legal camouflage was needed, while the Independent State of Croatia also treated Serb property as available for confiscation on racial, religious and ethnic grounds.

When it capitulated, Germany's debt to the countries it had occupied amounted to 20 billion Reichsmarks [Arnoult 1951: 218]. Of that, Germany owed 1.2 billion Reichsmarks to Serbia alone [Documentation of the National Bank of Yugoslavia].

II

All property of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia fragmented by occupation was treated as a specific type of foreign property. Namely, according to the Third Reich's plans for the New World Order made well in advance, Yugoslavia was supposed to disappear as a state, a nation and as a concept. Anticipating the outcome of the war as Germany's victory, as early as April 18, 1941 Hitler revealed in Berlin his plan for the territorial breakup of Yugoslavia. On his birthday, April 21, 1941, in Hotel Imperial in Vienna, Ribbentrop and Count Ciano coordinated German and Italian positions on the new organization of the Balkans [Čulinović 1970: 62]. The very fact that according to Hitler's plans Yugoslavia was to disappear meant that the states to be awarded the parts of its former territory were to be treated as acquirers and not inheritors. Legal continuity of the Yugoslav state was to be abolished once and for all, while Germany, Italy in personal union with Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Independent State of Croatia were designated as acquirer states. The status of Serbia, which Hitler considered incorrigible (*das der Führer für unbelehrbar hielte*) and which never again should be allowed to become a hotbed of revolt, was to be determined at a later date [Čulinović 1970: 62].

The fragmentation of Yugoslavia's territory raised the problem of resolving the issue of proprietary-legal relations within the former Yugoslav Kingdom. Naturally, that could be done only once the basic principles of the country's state property distribution have been established. Thus, immediately after the capitulation of the Yugoslav army, the German government formed a steering committee for the proprietary-legal division of Yugoslavia, with 17 sub-committees, each with its own area of jurisdiction. Later on, a similar committee was formed in Italy [Pretner 1945: 14].

The beneficiary states had been wrangling over the division of booty until the very liberation of the country. The division involved a reassignment of the former state's and its nine banovinas' (provinces') property consisting of state-run companies, financial and insurance organizations, public funds, state-owned properties and goods, as well as state-guaranteed shareholdings. For the purpose of establishing "mutually acceptable basic principles for conducting a proprietary-legal division of the Yugoslav state" and after a number of meetings of German and Italian steering committees as the representatives of the Axis beneficiary states, on December 11, 1941 a protocol was signed in Rome by the representatives of German and Italian governments. Bulgaria accepted the text of the Rome Protocol on April 23, 1942, Hungary on April 30, 1942, and the Independent State of Croatia on May 14, 1942. The agreement with Bulgaria was signed in Berlin, with Hungary in Budapest, and with Croatia in Zagreb [Pretner 1945: 14]. No special agreement was signed with Serbia as, because of its occupation, its international status remained undefined. Governed by a Military Commander for Serbia, all the country's foreign policy matters were under Germany's jurisdiction.

Not even after the signing of the Rome Protocol had the beneficiary states stopped quarrelling over their booty. For that reason Germany initiated the signing of an agreement whereby they were to regulate their proprietary-legal relations. A meeting of the representatives of German, Italian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Croatian governments was held in Berlin on July 22, 1942, resulting in the signing of "An agreement on the proprietary-legal division of the former Yugoslav state and certain other related financial issues" [Sporazumoimovinsko-pravnomrazdvajanjubivšejugoslovenskedržave…1943]. The Agreement stipulated the percentage of the former Kingdom's assets to be assigned to each signatory, as well as entailing obligations.

III

The Agreement signed in Berlin thus also included the former Kingdom's internal and foreign debts. All of them were to be acknowledged four months from the day of the signing, and converted from the currencies of beneficiary states into Reichsmarks at a fixed rate. Thus the internal and foreign debt of former Yugoslavia acquired, at least nominally, new debtors: Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Italy and the territory administered by the German Military Commander for Serbia. Also, their amounts became expressed in new monetary units: Reichsmarks, levs, pengöes, kunas, liras, and Serbian occupation dinars. Jacobus Zengen, a commissioner of the Berlin-based Reichsbank, and other German financial experts who in the spring of 1941 took office in Belgrade's state institutions, did not have to prepare a list of all Yugoslav internal and foreign debts. The National Bank and the Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had kept a precise registry of all the country's financial obligations and those guaranteed by the state. German clerks did not even have to convert foreign liabilities into former Yugoslavia's dinars. For, as the rate of the dinar had been stable for years, the National Bank and the Finance Ministry

were able to keep up-to-date accounts of all Yugoslav foreign obligations in the creditors' currencies, as well as in Yugoslav dinars. Yet, though no technical obstacles existed, the beneficiary states were in no rush to service the former country's foreign obligations. In their view, these debts were not inherited but acquired, and they felt no necessity to acknowledge them unless it suited their interests.

Unsurprisingly, the Berlin Agreement could not provide solutions for all matters of contention that would arise during the division of the booty among the new owners of the former country's property. Because of that, the German steering committee for the proprietary-legal division of former Yugoslavia was tasked with scheduling a new series of plenary sessions. Yet, not even after September 3, 1943, when new directives for splitting the former state's assets were issued in Vienna, were the beneficiaries satisfied. Hungary and Croatia objected to some directives thus initiating additional negotiations [Pretner 1945: 15]. The war, however, raged on, the Red Army kept advancing, and, eventually, Yugoslavia was liberated. The negotiations between the defeated beneficiary countries could not be brought to a successful end, though all the protocols and agreements remained duly registered in state archives. A reunification of the Yugoslav economic area, torn apart during the occupation, followed. The task was difficult, but was alleviated by the order and system that existed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's pre-war, capitalist economy.

IV

The final wartime and post-war assault upon foreign property in Yugoslavia began on November 21, 1944, when the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia decreed that all enemy property was to become state property and that all foreign assets the occupation authorities had appropriated by force were to be sequestered (confiscated)[3]. This resulted in confiscation of all property owned by the German Reich and its citizens. By international law, Yugoslavia was also authorized to make decisions on seizing the property of Hungary, Italy, Austria and Bulgaria, These decisions were passed based on the signed peace treaties, leading to the liquidation of the property of Hungary, Italy and Austria – but not of Bulgaria[4].The occupational creation "Independent State of Croatia" had never been internationally recognized and was therefore spared from suffering international legal sanctions.

To liquidate remaining foreign property in Yugoslavia, the new authorities had to draft explicit local laws. One of these stipulated that all Yugoslav prisoners of war captured as part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's army, but who refused

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[3] Конфискација непријатељске имовине, Одлука АВНОЈ-а од 21. новембра 1944, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 2, 1945, № 39, 1945, № 63, 1946, and № 74, 1946.

[4] Закон о преласку италијанске имовине у државну својину ФНРЈ на основу Уговора о миру с Италијом, од 4. маја 1948, Službeni list FNRJ, № 38, 1948; Уредба о прелазу мађарске имовине на територији ФНРЈ у државну својину по Уговору о миру са Мађарском, од 1. августа, 1948, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 91, 1948; Одлука СИВ-а о ликвидацији аустријске имовине на основу државног уговора о успостављању независне и демократске Аустрије, од 30. јануара 1957, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 6, 1957.

to return home after Germany's capitulation, were to be stripped of their Yugoslav citizenship, thereby forfeiting all their property in the new, Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia[5].

Further, the decision to confiscate all foreign property that the occupation authorities had illegally and forcefully appropriated, created conditions for an overall nationalization of the country's economy. For, in addition to agrarian reform, nationalization was one of the most efficient measures for the withdrawal and limitation of ownership rights in communist-governed Yugoslavia after World War II.

Owing to laws passed on December 5, 1946 and April 28, 1948, a host of local and foreign private companies in 42 branches of economy, excluding agriculture, became national property[6]. The system of unlimited private ownership was finally abolished, with only restaurants and artisan shops employing a small number of people left to constitute the private sector. The owners of companies nationalized according to the laws of 1946 and 1948 were promised by the state "a subsequent regulation of the proceedings for determining compensation." But, since such regulations for determining compensation were never passed, nationalization only served to further legalize state plunder.

Nationalization seriously affected the interests of foreigners in post-war Yugoslavia, in its pre-war liberal economy one-half of invested capital being of foreign origin. True, a significant portion of these investments fell under the regulations on the confiscation and liquidation of property of the former enemy countries, but that did not diminish the dissatisfaction of the allied and neutral Western countries. Though their governments realized that they had to accept the effects of nationalization, they demanded to be fully compensated for their confiscated property. Given that no such regulations had been passed, the federal government began signing bilateral compensation agreements with the owners of the nationalized property. Within a relatively short period, from 1948 to 1960, Yugoslavia paid over 100 million U.S. dollars in compensation to Argentina, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, the U.S., Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, Great Britain and Greece [Documentation of the Federal Secretariat of Finance]. For a country which during the same period had to set aside between 30 and 60 million U.S. dollars from its budget to pay foreign debt interest, compensating foreigners for their nationalized property was an enormous burden. Still, the federal government managed to service its obligations. In doing so, it showed due respect for proprietary-legal relations considered to be an internal matter of any country, thus turning the key to one of the two foreign financial capital treasuries. The

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[5] Закон о одузимању држављанства официрима и подофицирима бивше југословенске војске, који неће да се врате у отаџбину и припадницима војних формација који су служили окупатору и одбегли у иностранство као и лицима одбеглим после ослобођења, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 64, 1945 and № 86, 1946; Члан 3, став 4. Закона о изменама и допунама Закона о национализацији приватних привредних предузећа од 28. априла 1948, and Обавезно тумачење става 4, члана 3 цитираног закона, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 63, 1948.

[6] Закон о национализацији приватних привредних предузећа, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 98, 1946; Закон о изменама и допунама Закона о национализацији приватних привредних предузећа, *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 35, 1948.

issue of compensating the owners of nationalized property on the other hand, remained unsolved only in respect to former Yugoslav owners. True, in 1957 and 1964 two decisions were issued on the "payment of an advance to former owners of nationalized companies"[7]. These regulations, however, stipulated that "a compensation advance for nationalized property be payable only to those former owners who have no other means of livelihood."

V

Nationalization affected all domestic and foreign shareholdings, including the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – a shareholding enterprise enjoying state privilege of having the exclusive right to issue the domestic currency. But, before disowning the National Bank's shareholders, the gold used to back the value of the dinar had to be returned to the country. That is, a significant part of the Bank's property was saved during the war and the occupation owing to its managing board's timely moves. From the outbreak of WWII until the bombing of Belgrade on April 6, 1941, 73,871 kilograms of gold, i.e. 87 percent of the Bank's gold stock, was transferred to foreign banks [Documentation of the National Bank of Yugoslavia]. The remaining gold, which after April 6, 1941 was left in the Bank's branch offices and shelters, was looted by the Croat Nazi Ustashe, Italians, and Germans. According to international legal norms, after the war Yugoslavia had the right to demand the restitution of gold from Italy and Germany, which both countries complied with without objection. The Croat fascist authorities were at the head of an internationally unrecognized state, and no international restitution measures could be applied in their case.

In accordance with international regulations on foreign property in occupied countries, the Bank's gold stored abroad was blocked throughout the war. In order to get hold of it, the new communist government had to recognize the continuity of the Yugoslav state, the National Bank of Issue and the national currency. For, in 1941 when German occupation forces were about to urgently liquidate the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a Yugoslav National Bank in Emigration was formed abroad. Only a quarter of a century since a similar move was undertaken during World War I, the administration of the Bank of Issue traveled the world together with the members of the Yugoslav Government in Exile – first to Jerusalem and then, *via* Cairo, to London. Once again, the legitimacy of the most important shareholding institution of the destroyed state was preserved, to enable international recognition of the Bank's legal continuity under the new authorities.

Still, the Bank's gold and foreign currency reserves remained blocked in the allied and neutral countries even after the war ended. The National Bank's temporary administration, appointed on February 8, 1945 by the directive of the Trustee for Finance of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, had to prove its right of ownership to the reserves. Left with no other

[7] *Službeni list FNRJ*, № 54, 1957, and № 5, 1963.

option, the Communist Party and its government decided to simulate the return to previous circumstances. On November 27, 1945, the Trustee's directive on the forming of the Bank's temporary administration was annulled, and a new one issued reinstating the pre-war Law on the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The presence of the still uncontested royal regents in the country allowed for the issue of a decree on the appointment of the National Bank's standing management – with a new governorship and new managing and supervisory boards. The Law on the National Bank and its pre-war statutes were followed to the letter. Better to convince the foreign guardians of Yugoslav gold of the Bank's continuity, evidence was provided that it still had shareholders, and the Bank's previous name – the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – was temporarily reinstated. As early as December 23, 1945, the shareholders were invited for their first post-war extraordinary session, and on March 31, 1946 for the 22nd regular such event, which also proved to be the last [*Narodna banka Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije 1941–1945* 1946]. At that meeting they were promised reimbursement for their dividends as soon as conditions allowed and informed that the Bank was to be nationalized.

The two meetings held inside the Bank itself raised the shareholders' hopes that things were returning to normal. As they debated, it never occurred to them that on the outside, at that very moment, a final showdown with the last remnants of the capitalist civilization in Yugoslavia was taking place. Carried away by what used to exist, both the shareholders and foreign financiers were deceived. The continuity of the National Bank of Issue was internationally recognized and the process of unblocking its gold begun. No reason remained, either at home or abroad, to further maintain the public image of the National Bank as a shareholding institution. So, on September 25, 1946 a decree on the buyout of the Bank's shares was issued [Službeni list FNRJ, № 78, 1946]. According to the Decree, the State was to pay the shareholders the nominal value of their shares but no purchase ever took place. By the end of 1949 the shares were classified as suitable or unsuitable for purchase, and only the value of those suitable was determined. Yet, upon realizing the full quantity and the value of the shares to be bought, the state changed its mind. Its decision stated that "on principle, and because of other important reasons,the purchase of the shares of the National Bank will not be made", and the capital stock was duly taken over by the state.

VI

By recognizing the continuity of the Yugoslav state, however, according to international law the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia inherited all internal and foreign debts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as well. Yet, in 1946 domestic creditors had to satisfy themselves with amalgamation of all internal state debts and their conversion in a new loan which was to be paid to them in installments and under changed conditions over the next thirty years. The pre-war Yugoslav internal debt amounted to over 10 billion dinars but was, owing to conversion, reduced to 700 million dinars [Ekonomske informacije, *Finansije*

1946: 46]. In other words, the holders of state internal loan bonds who survived the war got back, over the next thirty years, only a fourteenth part of the nominal value of their initial capital.

In 1946 the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia also recognized, in principle, all of Yugoslavia's pre-war foreign debts and promised to "open negotiations for their gradual settling as soon as the economic situation in the war-ravaged country improves." [Кравић 1960: 40].The economy, however, was deteriorating. The next year, 1947, was one of the most difficult not only for Yugoslavia but also the entire Europe. Upon his return from Moscow, in a speech at Harvard University, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall described the economic conditions in the European countries as dire [Kindleberger 1987: 99] and urged the Americans to help in their reconstruction. The U.S. Congress immediately backed the initiative to economically assist Europe, and U.S.–French–Soviet negotiations on the matter were organized in Paris. The Marshall Plan, as the Western solution was called, proposed opening up of Europe through economic multilateralism and a return to free international trade, and was rejected by Soviet Minister Vyacheslav Molotov for clashing with the self-sufficiency of the communist bloc's economies. Molotov said he would support the Plan if each beneficiary was empowered to independently decide how to use the donated money, but the U.S. and French representatives were of the opinion that "beggars can't be choosers" and the Paris talks resulted in strained relations between western and eastern wartime allies.

On proposal from the U.S. and France, a conference on the reconstruction of Europe was held in Paris on July 12, 1947, attended by representatives of 16 of the 24 invited countries. Yugoslavia joined those that refused to participate: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Romania [Кравић 1960: 40]. That is, wanting to realize its first Five-year Plan, Yugoslavia began importing raw materials, machinery and installations from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on credit, but after it parted ways with the Soviets in 1948 these credit lines were abrogated. Thus the country which only a year before refused U.S. assistance through the European Recovery Program was suddenly left without coal, coke, machinery, installations, steel pipes, locomotives, train cars, as well as four-fifths of steel and fertilizers, and three-fifths of the oil it needed [Payer 1974: 119] all of which made its turning toward the West inevitable. But, while the Soviet blockade halved Yugoslavia's exports, its imports did not suffer as much, for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's National Bank's gold and foreign currency reserves were partially unblocked and returned to the country. Yugoslavia used them to begin paying compensation for nationalized foreign property: in 1949 and 1950, during the period of its greatest hardship, 12 million dollars and 4.5 million pounds in compensation were paid to sundry U.S. and British nationals, respectively [Payer 1974: 119]. At the same time, however, Western loans proved modest and scarce, since the financiers tied the granting of more favorable loans, as well as of greater financial assistance, to the settling of the former country's pre-war obligations.

In the fall of 1951 a Yugoslav state delegation visited the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington to inform its president

of the amount the country was capable of setting aside from its foreign currency reserves to pay off the old debt [Гњатовић 1991:176.]. The calculation of this amount could only be made by consulting the records of the remaining outstanding foreign loans of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Annex 2 of the October 11, 1951 loan agreement between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development thus repeated the list of foreign debts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that Addendum №2 of the July 22, 1942 Berlin Agreement listed in connection with the proprietary-legal partition of the former Yugoslav state. Settling orderly listed debts in an addendum of an agreement involving a modest loan thereby became subject of confidential negotiations. It involved the continuation of paying off the loans, the bonds of which were publicly quoted in all the major capital stock markets of the inter-war period, in keeping with the ruthless criteria of international competition. Although the confidential negotiations with the creditors of old state debts lasted until 1958, the list of pre-war obligations accepted in the 1951 international agreement was sufficient to turn another important key, guaranteeing access to other treasuries holding the much-needed foreign financial capital.

Within a ten-year period, from 1951 to 1961, because of its having left the Soviet Block, Yugoslavia received 2.3 billion dollars in foreign assistance, mostly from the U.S. In addition to economic aid, the U.S. granted Yugoslavia 695.4 million in military aid [Adamović, Lempi, Priket 1991: 62]. In other words, during the decade of biggest economic growth in its history, Yugoslavia annually received about 300 million dollars of foreign assistance, while its average yearly export was worth some 350 million dollars. That is how much in foreign currency it would have spent on imports, were it not for foreign aid. Owing to the latter, however, the country imported twice the amount of raw materials, semi-finished goods, machinery and installations than it could afford.

Moreover, taking into account the process of the population's adjustment to life without private property, political wisdom demanded that it be spared the comparison between the presence of foreign capital in the domestic economy, and the pre-war order. Thus, as early as 1952, Cabinet Minister Milentije Popović declared that the glaring disparity between imports and exports should not be mistaken for a danger of foreign capital's intrusion into the Yugoslav economy "because no capital exists in our country, but only enterprises owned by the workers, within an economic system that cannot tolerate foreign capital. The workers certainly will not accept it – who'd wish to be exploited by it? And, there are no capitalists!"[8]. In other words, foreign capital, which in the 1950s flowed into Yugoslavia like a river of gold, was transformed as soon as it crossed the border into yet another nameless, non-obliging gift, and no criteria of investment effectiveness, efficiency or profit were to be applied in its use. With the passing of time, the words of Popović, the great theoretician of self-management, began to appear to be true indeed, because, as if through some pleasant

[8] This quotation from Milentije Popović's article which holds the place of honor in his book *The Social Economic System* (*Друштвено економски систем*, Култура, Београд 1964, 52) was cited several times in the works of foreign economists. See, for instance, David A. Dyker, *Yugoslavia – Socialism, Development, Debt*, Routledge, London 1990, 49.

budget automatism, foreign assistance kept regularly pouring into Yugoslavia. But, at the outset of the 1960s, that assistance gradually began to dry out, because according to key international economic indices Yugoslavia could no longer be considered a poor country. And while West European countries used the Marshall Plan to help their economies regain independence by restoring production, in order tofind buyers in the international market, the only concern of the Yugoslav communist authorities was whether aid-dependent enterprises would successfully fulfill the production plans prescribed for them.

The state and Party leadership, however, was in for an unpleasant surprise. The fulfilling of ambitious investment plans at the beginning of the 1960s became inconceivable without the import of large quantities of raw material, machinery and installations. The size of Yugoslavia's exports did not allow for the payment of imports it needed, and its trade balance began suffering from chronic deficit. For, how could the deficit be covered with no more gold from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's National Bank, or aid from abroad? The way out was found in taking foreign loans, but not for long. From 1961 to 1965 Yugoslavia's foreign debt doubled, rising from 633 million dollars to 1.2 billion, with loan payments amounting to almost one-third of the annual foreign currency export revenue [Documentation of the National Bank of Yugoslavia].

At the beginning of 1965, far from the public eye, representatives of foreign creditors were urgently summoned with the aim of reaching an agreement on a major deferral and prolongation of debt payments [Payer 1974: 132]. As a condition for such a change of the initially agreed terms for issuing loans to Yugoslavia, the creditors asked for stronger ties between the Yugoslav economy and the capitalist world. At home, this was dubbed "economic reform", and the ensuing liberalization of foreign trade and credit deals enabled new credits and enhanced import. As of 1967, joint investments of domestic and foreign entities also became possible. Also as a result, Yugoslavs began streaming out of the country to work in the West. Soon, they began sending home considerable amounts of their foreign currency savings. Instead of foreign assistance – again as if through some unhindered budgetary automatism –the "guest workers"' remittances were providing a budgetary cushion for the state. From 1971 until 1980, they amounted to a total of 15 billion dollars net [Narodna banka Jugoslavije, *Bilten*, № 4, 1974 and № 8, 1982]. In the same period, Yugoslavia exported 30 billion dollars' worth of goods to countries which paid in foreign currency, not through clearing arrangements. Owing, therefore, to workers' remittances, imports of the 1970s were twice higher than the country's actual export capacity.

Moreover, during these same 1970s, the supply of loans in the foreign financial markets soared and money became cheaper. What was needed in such circumstances was to change legislation and enable companies to take loans through domestic banks individually. Thus, as early as the spring of 1972, a law on credit relations with foreign countries granted the companies wide possibilities to that effect, on condition that their foreign currency loans were converted into dinars [Službeni list SFRJ, №36, 1972].In this manner, the expensive foreign money became an inexhaustible source for covering dinar

expenditures at home. Foreign capital served to pay salaries, the interest on storing unsold goods, redundant workers, finance company losses, and the construction of luxury buildings housing commercial and administrative offices. Owing to workers' remittances and foreign loans, the never-truly-developed economic system – deprived of its capacities for growth – continued vegetating in the state of coma, while "politically correct" self-management theoreticians once again managed to side-step offering pertinent answers to the issues of company independence, and of the relationship of ownership to the economy. Not surprisingly, the consequences of converting foreign currency loans into dinars proved devastating, definitely sealing the fate of the Yugoslav economy. That is, while in the six-year period – from 1965 to 1971 –the country's foreign debt increased by 2 billion dollars, in the next six-year period it went up by 6.3 billion, reaching 9.5 billion dollars in 1977 [Narodna banka Jugoslavije, *Bilten*, № 2, 1972 and № 7, 1978].

In addition, changes in legislation pertaining to foreign loans were not to the liking of federal, republican and provincial governing bodies. The 1972 law neglected their budget interests and the error had to be corrected urgently, especially since Yugoslav republics and autonomous provinces were granted certain features of true statehood via the 1971 constitutional amendments and the 1974 Constitution. Further, at the beginning of 1977, the new Law on foreign currency operations and loan arrangements with foreign states granted the republics and autonomous provinces full independence in all economic and financial foreign deals [Službeni list SFRJ, № 15, 1977]. The implementation of the provisions of the 1977 law – and all other laws whereby the concept of "Consensual Economy" was formally introduced – transferred the control of economic life from a single, federal center to eight, thereby realizing Hitler's plan of tearing apart Yugoslav, unified economic space.

The Law on foreign currency and foreign credit relations upheld the right of the republics and autonomous provinces to negotiate loans abroad, but not their obligations in paying them off. It also provided for agreements on the limit of indebtedness of individual units of the Yugoslav federation, but made no mention of the sanctions for exceeding such limits. Opportunistically, no one respected these agreements and, in only three years, from 1977 to 1980, the Yugoslav foreign debt doubled, from 9.5 billion dollars to 18.4 billion [Narodna banka Jugoslavije, *Bilten*, № 8, 1982]. Expensive foreign money was used to pay off previous loans, construct ostentatious public edifices, and buy thetrust and connivance of local business and municipal officials.

For, the republics and autonomous provinces had begun quarreling over the distribution of rights to foreign loans as early as 1976, when the new law on foreign currency operations and credit relations with foreign countries had not yet been passed. As there was no agreement on the distribution of these rights, temporary agreements were adopted in 1976, 1977, and 1978, while the final "Agreement on the Distribution of Rights on Taking Foreign Loans Among the Republics and Autonomous Provinces for the Purpose of Realizing the Agreed-on Development Policy in the Period from 1976 to 1980," was

adopted only on July 20, 1979. The text of this Agreement was never published in the Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

VII

It is quite possible that the uncontrolled growth of Yugoslavia's foreign debt would have continued during the 1980s as well, had not the country faced the problem of paying its debts. Namely, already on July 31, 1979, mere 11 days after the adoption of the above-mentioned Agreement, a new "Agreement on Determining the Right to Contract New Loans Abroad in 1979 and 1980 to Finance Investment and the Distribution of These Rights among the Socialist Republics and Provinces" was adopted. This Agreement too was never made public, also remaining unpublished by SFR of Yugoslavia's Official Gazette. The intention of contracting major new financial loans to cover the extremely high foreign trade deficit was hidden behind the document's cumbersome title. For, in mere two years,1979 and 1980, Yugoslavia imported goods worth 13.3 billion dollars more than the value of the goods it exported [Narodna banka Jugoslavije, *Bilten*, № 8, 1982].

In the spring of 1983, the Yugoslav government invited international creditors for another round of urgent negotiations on the deferral and prolongation of loan payment deadlines. Creditor representatives asked for an up-to-date list of all foreign obligations of Yugoslav companies, banks, republics, provinces and of the Federation itself. Neither the Federal Secretariat for Finance nor the National Bank of Yugoslavia could provide such information. Annoyed, the creditor representatives had to dispatch their financial experts around the world – at the expense of the Yugoslav government – to determine just how much various international financial institutions had lent to Yugoslavia. This time around, not even the most security conscious members of the Yugoslav government were able to hush up the ensuing scandal. The gathering of data lasted several months and in October 1983 the Yugoslav authorities were told to make public the country's inability to payoff its foreign debt.

After Yugoslavia publicly admitted its loss of credit rating, an international operation of salvaging the interests of its creditors was launched [The World Bank, *World Debt Tables*, 1987–1988].The International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Bank for International Settlements, the representatives of a consortium of 64 foreign banks and 15 countries that were Yugoslavia's biggest creditors all joined the operation. Their interests were salvaged by deferment and rescheduling of Yugoslav foreign debt and the country was issued a new loan to continue paying off what it owed. The Federal State was to guarantee the payment of all loans, regardless of who had used them. Thus, in 1983, an expensive operation of reprogramming the debt began, which by the end of 1990 had cost Yugoslavia 8 billion dollars of its foreign currency inflow [Narodna banka Jugoslavije, *Godišnji izveštaj*, various years]. Meanwhile, the debt's principal was reduced to 15 billion dollars, but at the end of 1991 Yugoslavia's foreign debt, with the interest and commissions included, stood at 25 billion dollars.

With the salvaging of the foreign creditors' interests, those of the republican and provincial authorities were also salvaged: once again parting with the politically commanded economy was put off and the reunification of the Yugoslav economic space prevented.

VIII

In the 1980s, the political authorities of the federal, republican and provincial units, displeased with losing the privilege of uncontrolled borrowing abroad, found a way to satisfy their inexhaustible appetites by printing dinars without coverage. And though not even in the worst days of the post-World War II period were significant measures to maintain the national currency's value taken, and while in the early 1980s the catastrophic drop in its value was prevented only by the still available foreign loans, during the rest of the decade the national currency was finally destroyed.

The high rise in prices became the synonym for overall economic instability, and the Yugoslavs working abroad lost trust in domestic banks and began withholding their remittances. By 1989, this last source of foreign capital used to finance spending out of all proportion to national productivity also started drying up, and those Yugoslavs who failed to withdraw their foreign currency savings again fell victim to state plunder. For, just like their grandfathers and fathers less than half a century before, they were promised by the state that their capital was to be returned to them come better times. Simultaneously, the economy was left without funds needed for the raw materials, semi-finished goods, machinery and technology from abroad. Production stopped in many factories, workers were left without salaries, obsolete machinery could no longer perform, and an eruption of social and ethnic unrest followed. Torn apart economically, an exhausted Yugoslavia was easy prey for acquirer states, designated as such long ago. In January 1991, it stopped paying its debts, except those to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The key international economic indices – income per capita, the production drop rate, the number of unemployed – all confirmed that Yugoslavia in 1990 joined the group of poor countries – the same that rejected the Marshall Plan in 1947 [Gnjatović 1990: 3–9]. That 40 years later Yugoslavia qualified for foreign economic aid once again was missed by the domestic public enchanted by the lies declaring its local currency convertible. Starting January 1, 1990, the Yugoslav dinar, by a decision of the Federal Government, was tied to the strongest European currency, the Deutsche Mark. Desperate for stability and security, Yugoslavs failed to understand that in a devastated economy with a constantly dropping output, in a state lavishly wasteful both of the money earned and the money printed without coverage, in an economic system of increasingly dissatisfied and indigent workers, it is impossible to have genuine, stable money. Those citizens who were well-off rushed to buy, sell, travel, and praise the federal government. The situation was much like that described by the renowned Serbian professor and historian Slobodan Jovanović, to illustrate similar moments in Serbia's economic history: "All the celebration and festivity

much resembled a feast thrown by a strapped merchant, to deceive his customers and the general public about his true material condition." [Јовановић 1934: 42].

IX

In 1991, at a conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, the Yugoslav federal units are being offered, as in 1941 conferences in Vienna and Berlin, a grab heap of uncovered currencies and a mutual trade clearing system. Anticipating the current civil warof ending up in their favor, the authorities of some of the petty states formed on the territory of former Yugoslavia – again as in 1941 – are gearing up for a further division of Yugoslav state property that has not been plundered yet.

Why are the foreign creditors silent concerning the danger of Yugoslavia finally being fragmented, half a century after the publication of Hitler's plan to divide it? If at least one of these fiefdoms on its territory is internationally recognized as independent, they would lose the only guarantor – the state of Yugoslavia– able to insure the collection of their huge claims. And though that state itself is no longer capable of settling its thrice rescheduled debts neither will, upon gaining independence, any of its federal units be economically strong enough to take care of its share of the debt.

It seems that the foreign creditors are prepared to turn their backs on Yugoslavia, by offering it the most shameful of possible solutions: the debt forgiveness.

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GERMAN MINORITY IN YUGOSLAVIA AS A SUBJECT OF GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (1945–2015)

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SUMMARY: This paper discusses the history of the German minority in Yugoslavia as a subject of German historiography since the end of World War II. Unlike German academic historiography, which did not pay much attention to this issue, it is prevalent in the circles of so-called native history of the Danube Swabians. The strong ideological influence and personal experiences of contemporaries that marked its approach have been gradually overcome over the past two decades, with the expansion of interest of German academic historiography in the history of German minorities in Eastern Europe. A part of this process is the revision of history of the German minority in Yugoslavia.
KEYWORDS: German minority, historiography, Germany, Yugoslavia

A prominent characteristic of modern German historiography since its formation in the first half of the 19th century has been a focus on the phenomena of the German state and nation – mainstream historical scholarship dealt with the history of the medieval empire and 'the rise of Prussia', simultaneously providing a sort of legitimacy to the so-called *kleindeutsch* (Lesser German) concept of national unification. Thus German scientific historiography expressed a disinterest in the past of the German population that had remained outside the borders of 'Bismarck's Reich' [Iggers 1971]. Even after the end of World War I, when more than eight million Germans found themselves in a position of national minority, it paid almost no attention to this problem, leaving the research of German minorities in Eastern and South East Europe to so-called *Volksgeschichte* (folk history). Having begun its development in the 1920s, racist *Volksgeschichte* cultivated close ties with the political circles of the Weimar Republic focused on revising the Treaty of Versailles, and then, during the Third Reich, it established institutional ties to state institutions, i.e. institutions of the Nazi Party. Unlike academic historiography, *Volksgeschichte* was not based on the concept of state, rather its core laid in researching different

aspects of 'folk life' – culture and ethnic territory (*Kultur- und Volksboden*), material conditions, customs, beliefs, ethnogenesis, demographic trends and 'racial problems'. Having also accepted the fundamental terms of Nazi ideology, *Volksgeschichte* placed itself in the service of the future rearrangement of Europe and the construction of a German New Order by obtaining 'scholarly argumentation' in proving the German right to *Lebensraum* expansion [Oberkrome 1993; Haar 2000; Beer and Seewan 2004]. Among the numerous works created within *Volksgeschichte,* some of which also pertain to the German population in South Slavic lands [Haller 1941; Meynen 1942; Kellermann 1942], the most important work is *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums* (*Concise Dictionary of Borderline and Foreign Germanhood*) [Petersen et al. 1933, 1936, 1938][1]. This ambitiously conceived work, which more than 700 collaborators worked on, was to synthesize knowledge of the German diaspora in Europe and the world. Although it was never finished, entries in the three published volumes of the dictionary (Aachen–Massachusetts) also contain highly detailed articles devoted to the German population in certain parts of then Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Bačka, Banat, Baranja and Bosnia). Furthermore, the journal *Südostforschungen*, launched in 1936 by renowned historian Fritz Valjavec, as part of its focus on the various aspects of the history of South East Europe, also provided content dedicated to the history of the German people in this area[2]. Thanks to these efforts, which bore a strong political and ideological connotation, solid grounds for studying the history of the German diaspora in both South East Europe and Yugoslavia were laid in the interwar period.

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World War II conditioned the onset of the most traumatic period in relations between Germans and South Slavic peoples and practically the disappearance of Germans from the areas they had inhabited for two centuries. After the military breakdown of Yugoslavia in the April War, the German population, with some exceptions, expressed support to the policy of the German occupation forces, but ahead of the liberation of Yugoslavia, fearing the arrival of the Soviet Red Army in the early fall of 1944, left their settlements and sought refuge within the borders of the Reich. On the other hand, the new Yugoslav authorities applied the principle of collective responsibility to the remaining German population, stripping it of its civil rights and property, sending it to the Soviet Union for forced labor and imprisoning most Germans in camps organized for that purpose [Geiger and Jurković 1993; Geiger 1997; Geiger 2002; Janjetović 2000; Janjetović 2009].

The experience of World War II marked the views and subsequently memories of contemporaries, both on the German and on the Yugoslav side, largely determining the framework of historical interpretation, too. Unlike Yugoslav historiography, which, in line with the official ideological assessment,

[1] For a critical evaluation of the edition see [Oberkrome 1997].

[2] On Valjevac and the ideological context in which 'research of the South East' of Europe was conducted during the Third Reich see [Beer and Seewan 2004: 215–274].

stressed the 'traitorous attitude' of members of the German minority, the focus of German historiography was on the 'expulsion' of the German population from Yugoslavia, as well as its 'destruction' in labor camps during the first three post-war years (1945–1948). This subject had until the mid-1980s almost completely eluded the interests of academic historiography. The only exception was the voluminous official edition *Documentation on Expulsion* (*Dokumentation der Vertreibung*), devoted to the persecution of the German population from Eastern Europe after World War II [Schieder 1954–1963]. The publication was edited by a group of prominent historians headed by Theodor Schieder, by request of the German Federal Ministry for Displaced Persons [Schieder 1960]. The publishing of the collection of documents had a clear political objective – the West German government aimed to scientifically document the expulsion of the German population from Eastern Europe and thereby secure arguments for a potential peace conference in the future [Beer 1998; Faulenbach 2002: 47–49]. Volume five of the edition is dedicated to 'the fate of Germans in Yugoslavia' with a special *curiosum* being the fact that the author of the introductory study was Theodor Schieder's then young assistant, Hans-Urlich Wehler, who would later become the founder of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* 'historical social science' [Schieder 1961]. Despite the fact that the editors, through the selection of documents and accompanying studies, strove to provide a scientifically substantiated and objective overview of the historical circumstances that conditioned the expulsion of the German population from the area of Eastern and South East Europe [Schieder 1960], reception of the entire project by the German public, particularly within the German refugee community, was negative, with an assessment that 'in its essential points it turned out to the persecutors' taste' [Faulenbach 2002]. Historical scholarship, focused on methodological innovations and on overcoming the legacy of classic historism which had up until the 1960s reigned supremely over mainstream German historiography, no longer paid much attention to the history of Germans in Eastern Europe [3].

Neglected in academic circles, the past of German minorities became a subject of particular interest of a kind of 'alternative historiography' that developed among the German population that had fled and/or had been expelled from Yugoslav territory [Schödl 1995]. German refugees from Yugoslavia undertook a sort of historization of memories of the old country, by founding numerous old country associations and engaging in fruitful publishing and historical activity. In such circumstances, during the entire Cold War period, the so-called native historiography of the Danube Swabians achieved outstanding development. Created in the early 1920s by the academic circles of the Weimar Republic, the term *Donauschwaben* (Danube Swabians) was very quickly accepted in the German language, denoting members of the German people who inhabited the Hungarian part of the former Habsburg Monarchy and who, after its dissolution, ended up as a diaspora in the newly formed successor

[3] On the development of historiography in the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II, see [Faulenbach 1974]; [Schulin and Müller-Luckner 1989].

states[4]. Although the foundations of Danube Swabian historiography were laid back in the second half of the 19th century [Krischan 1993], the outcome of World War I and the creation of states based on the national principle incited the shaping of their nationalism, also expressed as a sudden rise of interest in their own past. However, the full development of historiography on German minorities happened only after the end of World War II. Building on the traditions of the ideologically right-leaning *Volksgeschichte* [Oberkrome 2003], this 'historiographic renaissance' of sorts originated in the circle of Germans who had fled Eastern and South East Europe and had found refuge in Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as, in part, on the American continent. Given that, despite all their differences, they shared almost in unison an extreme loathing of Communism, considering the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe directly responsible for their departure from the old country, the refugee setting with a predominant political ideology of conservatism and Christian socialism, the so-called 'gateway to right-wing extremism', was the social and conceptual context in which Danube Swabian historiography developed and operated [Beer 1998; Janjetović 2009: 24].

The historization of memory of the old country was expressed in a large number of historiographic works, different in volume and quality, the common denominator of which was their belonging to the genre of so-called native historiography, as well as the fact that, in most cases, their authors were not professional historians. The most frequent historiographic genre are the so-called "native books" of the Danube Swabians (*Donauschwäbische Heimatbücher*). Along with the so-called "genealogical" or "family books" (*Ortsippenbücher*, *Familienbücher*), which contain detailed lists of families colonized during the second half of the 18th and in the first few decades of the 19th century in certain settlements, the 'native books' with their quantity account for the bulk of Danube Swabian historiography. Seeing as there is almost no place in the Pannonian Basin that, at some point, was not home to a German population, and which has not been monographically covered, their multitude is not surprising. In the absence of a complete bibliography of native books, it is still possible to state, with relative certainty, that their number is no less than 900 titles which deal, in different ways, with the history of some 400 German settlements in Banat, Bačka, Baranja, Slavonia, Srem, Bosnia and present-day Hungary and Romania [Beer 2010][5]. Written in the form of monographs, which besides historical data most often also include ethnographic and philological themes devoted to the population's specific customs and beliefs, the architectural plan of settlements, folk culture and the particularities of local German dialects, as a rule native books deal with the history of certain German settlements. While in some cases they resemble picture books with the necessary accompanying text, native books are sometimes extensive monographs based on a rich original background and diverse literature. The education, writing skills and personal

[4] The first to use this term were German geographer Hermann Rüdiger and his colleague from the University of Graz, Robert Sieger, in 1922/1923. [Tafferner 1973a: 74–77].

[5] There is no complete list of native books. It can partially be found in: [Tafferner 1973], [Flacker 1983] and [Scherer 1966–1974].

interests of certain writers determine the structure of the works and the dominance of historical, ethnographic or linguistic themes. Nevertheless, an unavoidable part of every native book is a short history of the given settlement from the time of German colonization which, as a rule, ends with departure from the old country in the early fall of 1944. Some books also contain brief notes on the fate of the German population that saw the establishing of Yugoslav government and which was then subjected to repression in the form of retorsion, seizure of property, imprisonment in camps and deportation to the Soviet Union. Almost without exception, the assessment of the Yugoslav revolution is highly negative and boils down to the condemnation of crimes committed against the German population by 'Tito's Communist authorities'. Conversely, the political turmoil among the German population in the 1930s and the expansion of Nazi ideology, as well as the behavior of the German minority during the World War II years and its participation in war operations, most often cannot be found on the pages of the Danube Swabian native books[6].

Among the synthetic reviews of Danube Swabian history published in the decades after World War II, works by Matthias Annabring, Josef Volkmar Senz and Valentin Oberkersch represent 'classic works' of native historiography. Aside from nurturing awareness of the old country among their refugee compatriots, the works of the aforementioned authors aimed to document, albeit with varying success, the German presence in the Pannonian Basin since the late 17th century. Despite not being professional historians, Annabring, Senz and Oberkersch managed to offer a relatively complete presentation of German history from the 'heroic' time of colonization to the end of World War II. Oberkersch's history of Germans in Srem, Slavonia and Bosnia particularly stands out with its qualities and, with its approach and method, to a considerable extent comes close to the postulates of scientific historiography. Although they had no apologetic intentions, what the three aforementioned authors have in common is condemnation of the collective punishment of the German population applied by the Yugoslav authorities [Annabring 1955; Senz 1990; Oberkersch 1982; Oberkersch 1989]. A comprehensive monograph by Senz devoted to German education in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia may also be included in this group of works. In the conclusion of his work, assessing the position of the German population that remained in Yugoslavia after World War II, Senz found that 'based on racially discriminatory motives, they were deprived of property and rights, expelled from their homes and communities and interned in camps', while ethnic German children were 'later placed in Communist children's and educational institutes where, alienated from their nationality and faith, they were to be raised for Communism' [Senz 1969: 164]. In that way, Senz pregnantly expressed a view that was commonplace in Danube Swabian native historiography.

The memoir literature created within the circle of the Danube Swabians constitutes a separate historiographic genre. Some of the leading figures of the

[6] See, for Srem and Slavonia: [Bischof 1958], [Oberkersch 1978], [Schreckeis 1990] and [Stolz et al. 1987]. For Bačka: [Senz 1966], [Zollitsch 1957] and [Scherer 1990]. For Banat: [Beer and Diplich 1980] and [Rödler 1985].

Nazified Kulturbund during the World War II years, such as Sepp Janko, Josef Beer and Johann Wüscht, published their memoir and autobiographical writings [Janko 1982; Beer 1987; Wüscht 1966, Wüscht 1966a], whereas Hans Rasimus put together a collection of press articles testifying to 'the Kulturbund and the former German ethnic group' [Rasimus 1989]. What characterizes their writing is extreme tendentiousness and engagement focused primarily on denying their own ties to the institutions of the Third Reich and shrugging off the fact that they once adhered to the National Socialist ideology. Said authors share the claim that the German population in Yugoslavia was indifferent toward Nazism and that during the entire interwar period it had maintained a loyal attitude toward the Yugoslav state. Striving to 'edit' their biographies and deny their membership of Nazi organizations, Janko, Beer, Wüscht and Rasimus at the same time condemned the post-war Yugoslav regime due to its repressive treatment of the German minority in Yugoslavia.

Besides the aforementioned historiographic genres, it is also necessary to mention two magazines launched in 1950s that focused on the history of Germans in South East Europe. *Südostdeutsche Heimatblätter* was launched in 1952 in Munich (as of 1958 it was called *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*). It offered various works from the domain of native history of the Danube Swabians. *Südostdeutsches Archiv* was founded in 1958. It had a more scholarly approach – although its focus was also on the history of the Germans in the former Habsburg Monarchy and Eastern and South East Europe, the magazine chronologically covered subjects from the Middle Ages to contemporary history, while also paying attention to the history of the other peoples in these territories.

* * *

Coinciding with the breakdown of Communist systems in Europe and the end of the Cold War, as of the late 1980s German academic historiography renewed its interest in the history of the German diaspora in Eastern and South East Europe. A strong incentive for this turnabout was the founding of several scientific institutions. The Federal Institute for Culture and History of the Germans in Eastern Europe (*Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*), was founded in Oldenburg in 1989. The direct goal of the Institute was to 'support the government of the Federal Republic of Germany in all matters' in these domains through academic research of history, literature and language, ethnology and art history. At the same time, the Institute of European Ethnology of the Germans of Eastern Europe (*Institut für Volkskunde der Deutschen des östlichen Europa*), financed by the government of the province of Baden-Wurttemberg, has been operational since the mid-1960s. Given that Eastern Europe is the primary focus of these two scientific institutions, they pay little attention to the history of the German population in the former Yugoslavia. Where the territory of the former Habsburg Monarchy is concerned, the Institute of Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies (*Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde*), founded in Tübingen in 1987. The numerous works by Institute fellows (Mathias Beer, Marta Fata, Gerhard Seewann, Karl-Peter Krauss, Carl Bethke), created over

the past three decades, are primarily characterized by an approach that looks at the past of the German ethnic group in the context of totality of historical processes in South East Europe from the Middle Ages to the present day. The works focus on studying 'medium-term' processes (*histoire conjoncturelle*), such as the economy, social structures, demographic trends, migration, and cultural and legal institutions. Significant attention is also given to a multiethnic approach – keeping in mind the ethnic diversity of South East Europe, the history of ethnic Germans is observed as an element within the complex national structure of this area which, for the most part, leads to avoidance of the national narrative typical of earlier, not just German but almost all European historiographies [Beer and Dahlmann]. The same applies to the works of fellows of the Munich-based Institute for South East European Studies (*Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas*). The anthologies edited by Gerhard Grimm and Krista Zach alongside political history also problematize economic and social relations, legal institutions and language, as well as the migration processes of the German population towards South East Europe in a wide timeframe, from the late 17th to the middle of the 20th century [Grimm and Zach 1995–1996; Zach 2005; Bešlin 1998].

Besides the aforementioned authors, a special place within German academic historiography is occupied by the voluminous edition titled *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas* (*German History in Eastern Europe*), initiated by influential Heidelberg professor Werner Conze. Having gathered a circle of renowned historians, Conze, who himself had once belonged to the circle of *Volksgeschichte*[7], incited research into the history of the Germans in Eastern Europe. The project was based on the postulates of social history which he personally advocated and which also dominated German academic historiography as of the early 1970s. Conze's concept of social history marked the entire edition which was finally made complete in the 1990s with the publishing of all planned 10 volumes. The volumes, according to the geographic and historical criterion, covered the history of the Germans in East and West Prussia, the Czech Republic and Moravia, the Baltic countries, Silesia, Galicia (Poland), Bukovina and Moldova, the Danube Basin, Slovenian lands, Poland, Pomerania and Russia. Under the editorship of renowned professor Günter Schödl, *Land an der Donau* (*The Land on the Danube*) was published as volume six of the edition, which provided a complete and methodologically firmly grounded view of the past of the German people in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. in its successor states [Schödl 1995a]. It is important to stress the fact that, in line with the intention of the entire edition, relatively little space was given to the traditional history of political events, as certain contributors put the focus of their presentations on the general characteristics of social development which served as grounds for explaining the phenomena of political history. The author of a chapter on the German minority in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, Holm Sundhaussen, a doyen of German historiography,

[7] Conze's ties to Nazism and his activity during World War II have been presented only at the turn of the centuries [Aly 1999].

approached the topic from the standpoint of social history, using, besides German, Serbian, i.e. Croatian sources and literature. Because of that, Sundhaussen managed to provide a complete overview of the social and political processes that determined the development of the German minority up until the end of World War II. Despite being the first scientifically based synthesis of history of the Germans in the Pannonian Basin, the book was extremely negatively received among Danube Swabian historians, who said it was characterized by bias and ignorance [Scherer 1997]. The approach taken by Schödl can also be seen in a monograph edited by Arnold Suppan, which offers a complete picture of the German presence in the territory 'between the Adriatic and the Karavankas' from the Middle Ages to the middle of the 20th century [Suppan 1998]. Apart from the aforementioned works, the history of the German minority in two Yugoslav states attracted the attention of several authors of the younger generation, primarily Carl Bethke, Thomas Casagrande and Michael Portmann. Their approach is characterized by a strong presence of social and political theory in the interpretation of historical phenomena and processes. Basing his work on the theory of "ethnic mobilization" of the German and Hungarian national minorities in interwar Yugoslavia, Bethke provided a comparative analysis of the social and political processes that marked their development [Bethke 2009]. Besides this erudite and fascinatingly written historical monograph as well as the study devoted to the relations of Germans and Jews in Croatia during the first half of the 20th century [Bethke 2013], Bethke authored a considerable number of papers about various aspects of the history of the Germans in the former Yugoslavia [Bethke et al. 2015]. Michael Portmann, however, in his synthetic work devoted to the "Communist revolution" in Vojvodina, presented the processes of political, economic, social and cultural changes that happened in the years after the end of World War II. Analyzing these processes, he also paid some attention to the post-war fate of the Vojvodina Germans, considering it in the broader context of the war and revolution [Portmann 2008]. Contrary to Bethke and Portmann, Casagrande focused his analysis on the political history of the German population in Banat during World War II. Trying to explain the problem of structure and continuity of ethnic conflicts between the Germans and their neighbors he accepted some concepts of social psychology. Despite the fact that Casagrande interpreted historical factography in accordance with a priori categories of psychological theory, in his relatively complete historical synthesis he did not present members of the German people exclusively as victims of the post-war Communist terror, but also as active perpetrators of crimes during the war years. Examining the national mobilization of sorts of the German minority in Yugoslavia before and during World War II, Casagrande found it to be a form of 'National Socialist ethnomanagement' [Casagrande 2003].

The expansion of interest of German academic historiography to include themes of history of the Germans in South East Europe did not, however, result in overcoming tension between academic and native historiography, as shown by the highly negative reception of the synthesis edited by Günter Schödl. Whereas former approaches the past of German minorities in Eastern and

South East Europe by using social sciences' theoretical and methodological postulates, the Danube Swabian native historiography still insists on traditional narrative history in which, besides the 'heroic age' of colonization, the plight of the German population after World War II occupies the central place. However, the 1990s saw a gradual end to the domination of native historiography in the research of history of German minorities. This development was determined by the aforementioned tendencies of German academic historiography and a natural generation shift among the members of the Danube Swabians. The generation born in the 1920s and 1930s, whose members had directly experienced World War II and who had left their mark on Danube Swabian native historiography, in the late 20th century found that both their creative and physical strength was waning.

The most important works of Danube Swabian historiography created over the past two decades, which also represent a synthesis of its earlier research efforts, are the (still unfinished) four-volume synthesis titled *Donauschwäbische Geschichte* (*History of Danube Swabians*) and the voluminous anthology of testimonies called *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien 1944–1948* (*The Golgotha of the Germans in Communist Yugoslavia*). Like in previous cases, the authors of these collective works, with rare exceptions, are not professional historians, but rather experts of various profiles whose common denominator is their descent, i.e. ties to the old country. Furthermore, there is a clearly visible function of documenting the German presence in South East Europe through the most detailed possible narrative history and thereby preserving the Danube Swabians' collective memory of their particular identity, shaped by a particular historical experience. Among the three volumes of *History of Danube Swabians* published so far, the book devoted to the Germans in the Habsburg Monarchy during the19th century, edited by Ingomar Senz, especially stands out in terms of quality [Senz 1997; Feldtänzer 2006]. Unlike the first two books, volume three devoted to the history of the German minority in the period from the end of World War I to the end of World War II, edited by Georg Wildmann, contains a polemic tone and a 'showdown' with the interpretations and assessments of post-war 'Communist' historiography in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania. The interpretative framework is set up in the very subtitle of the work – *The Tragedy of Self-Preservation in the Field of Action of Successor States' Nationalism* [Wildmann 2010]. In spite of that, the work as a whole is a complete historical review not only of the political development of the German minority in the successor states, but also of its economic, social and cultural development. It is important to underline that Oskar Feldtänzer and Georg Wildmann, authors of the section dedicated to 'the Danube Swabians in Yugoslavia in 1918–1944' did not miss the opportunity to point out the influence of the Third Reich on the German diaspora, as well as on the spreading of the Nazi ideology among the German population, which most often was not the case in the native historiography works in the previous period. They also dismissed the notion of the German minority as the 'fifth column' during the April War, declaring it a legendary story of 'Communist historiography'. Similarly, Feldtänzer and Wildmann denied the German population's

accountability in the implementation of anti-Semitic measures in Banat, whereas they reviewed the participation of the Germans in the SS Division Prinz Eugen in the context of the Third Reich's war efforts. Finally, the authors consider the accusation of the German population's hostile attitude toward the Kingdom of Yugoslavia wholly unsustainable, underscoring that the Yugoslav Germans when choosing between 'loyalty to the state and loyalty to the people, chose the latter alternative, while Tito's movement could not prove its state and legal, and for a long time neither its international legitimacy, and played a terrorist role' [Wildmann 2010: 750].

Authors from the same Danube Swabian circle (Josef Beer, Georg Wildmann, Karl Weber, Valentin Oberkersch, Ingomar Senz, Hans Sonnleitner and Hermann Rakusch) edited the four-volume edition *The Golgotha of the Germans in Communist Yugoslavia (1944–1948)* which on more than 4,000 pages provides testimonies about the actions of the new Yugoslav authorities in German-populated areas (volume I), the memories and personal accounts of the events' contemporaries (volume II), data on murders, 'destruction camps' and the fate of the German children (volume III) and a list of human casualties after the post-war period (volume IV) [Beer et al. 1991, 1993, 1995]. Despite the conscious intention of documenting facts about Germans solely as victims of the Communist regime, the main value of this work lies in its narrative structure and rich factography on the position of the German minority in Yugoslavia after World War II, on which, apparently, there are not sufficient preserved sources in Serbian, i.e. Croatian archives. It is also important to point out that a summary of this edition was also published in the Serbian language, under the highly problematic title *Genocide against the German Minority in Yugoslavia* [Prokle et al. 2004]. As is evident in the title itself, the main argument of the authors is that the Yugoslav authorities' policy on the German minority bore the marks of genocide, i.e. its deliberate destruction. The anthology authors aimed to back their opinion by citing 'Serbian Pan-Slavism', considering it 'a partial reason for the elimination' of the German minority. The editors also linked the traditions of 'Greater Serb nationalism' to the aim of the new Communist regime to 'reward Tito's Partisans' and 'secure the means necessary to establish a socialist *planned economy*' by confiscating ethnic German citizens' property. Thus the authors attempted to highlight the alleged continuity of the anti-German policy that existed in both Yugoslav republics and which, ultimately, led to 'genocide against the German minority'. Moreover, instead of a detailed and multilayered analysis of complex political, national and social relations, and the war events and revolutionary processes in Yugoslav territory as the historical framework that determined the activities and position of the German minority, the authors reached for stereotypical assessments (which noticeably correspond with the uncritical views seen in a portion of the German public on the subject of the dissolution of the SFRY during the first half of the 1990s), blaming only 'Greater Serbian chauvinism' and 'Tito's regime', which was 'the perpetrator of genocide', for its post-war fate [Prokle et al. 2004: 47–59].

Bearing in mind these most characteristic works of Danube Swabian historiography in the past two decades which, by the look of things, are also

its 'swansong', there is no doubt that the framework of its interpretation on an ideological level is still marked by extreme anti-Communism, as well as a kind of national martyrology grounded in the post-war fate of the German minority in Yugoslavia[8]. Nonetheless, due to the generation shift that took place at the break of the century, the part of native historiography that has scientific aspirations gradually 'flows' into official currents of German academic historiography [Schödl 1995]. This opinion is also backed by the fact that the traditional media of native historiography at the start of the new millennium changed not only their names (as of 2005, *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* was called *Spiegelungen – Zeitschrift für deutsche Kultur,* while *Südostdeutsches Archiv* in 2007 changed its name to *Danubiana Carpathica*) but their concept, too, and respectable scholarly, i.e. publishing institutions started to appear as their publishers. Despite existing differences between these two magazines, what they have in common is the joint widening of the thematic view to include all sorts of issues of the history of Central and South East Europe, which are analyzed from a standpoint of scientific discourse, and that undoubtedly leads to overcoming the aforementioned flaws of Danube Swabian historiography. At the same time, the Center for the Study of German History and Culture in South East Europe at the University of Tübingen (*Zentrum zur Erforschung deutscher Geschichte und Kultur in Südosteuropa an der Universität Tübingen*), founded in 2012, is characterized by an interdisciplinary approach and respect for the interethnic context and cultural diversity of this historical region. In that way, by professionalization of native historiography and expanding the academic historiography's interest into the past of the German minority in Yugoslavia, earlier historiographical assessments are revised and grounds are created for objective – *sine ira et studio* research into the problem.

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[8] Although it formally does not belong to the circle of Danube Swabian native historiography, the closest to it, by its overall characteristics, is a monograph by a German historian from Romania, Johann Böhm, devoted to 'the German national group in Yugoslavia' during the interwar period [Böhm 2009].

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AMERICAN PLAYS ON THE REPERTORY OF THE NATIONAL THEATER IN BELGRADE 1920–1970

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SUMMARY: Between 1920 and 1941 out of eight American plays it was only *Anna Christie* (1927) that was put on stage, because of O'Neill's international reputation, with the emphasis on his Irish, not American origin. The other seven plays: *Peg o'My Heart* (1926), *Fair and Warmer* (1926), *The Trial of Mary Dugan* (1929), *Broadway* (1929), *Abie's Irish Rose* (1929), *This Thing Called Love* (1931) and *Roxy* (1931) were staged as Broadway and European theatres' "hits," offering attractive roles for the "stars."

In the post-war period (1945–1970) the National Theater performed nine American plays, namely: *The Little Foxes* (1948), *Dream Girl* (1954), *The Country Girl* (1955), *Caine Mutiny Court-Martial* (1956), *Bus Stop* (1958), *The Rose Tattoo* (1959), *Dark at the Top of the Stairs* (1960), *A Touch of the Poet* (1960) and *Period of Adjustment* (1961). They were, in the first place, played because of challenging roles for the leading actors, and not as representatives of American Drama. Most of these performances were significant artistic achievements.

KEY WORDS: American plays, National Theater, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1920–1970

Since the start of this century, there has been a growing effort in the National Theater in Belgrade to modernize its artistic creative spirit, which was most noticeable in the Europeization of its repertory with increasingly rich dramatic works representing a broad spectrum of creative trends and artistic messages on European theater stages. This orientation, one might say, was a natural emancipatory evolution in the life of this important Serbian cultural institution.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the National Theater (celebrated with a delay on January 16, 1923), Branislav Nušić underscored, among other things, that during the aforementioned period 1,100 plays had been played on its stage, 800 of them translated, or specifically: 380 from French literature, 180 from German, 42 from Russian, 30 from English, 26 from Italian, 23 from Hungarian, 18 from Scandinavian, 17 from Spanish, 15 from Polish, eight from

Czech, two from ancient Greek and Indian each, and one each from Romanian, contemporary Greek and Bulgarian literature. There is not a single American play among the listed translations of foreign plays, not even placed in the English language group. This piece of information is not surprising, in view of the fact that until World War I American dramatic literature had been in the shadow of the acclaim of English drama and that, with modest success locally, it was still searching for its own artistic expression, so it was not interesting to European theaters, through which foreign plays arrived on the Belgrade stage.

In the period between World War I and World War II, a total of eight American plays were performed on the National Theater's stages (the main one, and at Manjež). The first one was *Peg o'My Heart* by Hartley Manners, after major success on Broadway, followed by the performances in England, France, Italy and Spain. This comedy, in tune with the fashion of "theater stars," was added to the repertoire because of a role for Ljubinka Bobić. It premiered on January 2, 1926 at Manjež and was directed by Yuri Rakitin. The comedy remained on the repertory for seven consecutive seasons and saw 53 performances in total. Todor Manojlović translated the script from Italian.

Avery Hopwood's *Fair and Warmer* is a comedy that had its Belgrade premiere on November 18, 1926, again at Manjež and again directed by Yuri Rakitin. Critics disputed the comedy's originality and highlighted its exclusively entertaining character. The staging of this comedy served critic Živko Milićević as an occasion to fiercely attack the placement of such plays on the repertory… because it marked "the date when the Royal National Theater abdicated and with the last of its artistic aspirations went backwards 50 years," while Dušan Krunić recommended that the Management "take their eyes off the till and raise them to the heights, too… offering something of true and great art as well." Nevertheless, this comedy stayed on the repertoire for two seasons and was played a total of 24 times. The play was renewed "as a premiere" again on the Manjež stage on February 26, 1941. The script was translated from German by Ranko Mladenović.

Anna Christie by Eugene O'Neill, directed by Mihailo Isailović, had its Belgrade premiere on the National Theater's grand stage on October 19, 1927. Critics welcomed the performance of this play as a sign that the National Theater had headed down the right path, because it had begun introducing the audience to contemporary foreign writers. The starring role was played by Nada Riznić at the premiere and by Dara Milošević at the second performance. However, despite favorable reviews, this successful presentation of the most valuable part of American dramatic literature staged at the National Theater between the two wars had the shortest repertory lifespan – just four performances. It was taken off the repertoire for "theatrical reasons," rather than due to a lack of interest on the part of the audience. *Anna Christie* was translated from the "American original" by Aleksandar Vidaković.

Bayard Veiller's *The Trial of Mary Dugan* premiered on January 18, 1929, directed by Mihailo Isailović and with Desa Dugalić in the lead role. The play was a part of the repertory for two seasons, with 25 performances in total. The script was translated by Josip Kulundžić, most likely from German.

Broadway by Phillip Dunning and George Abbott, announced in the dailies as "a sensationalist American play… which has sparked great interest in all European theaters," premiered on March 30, 1929 at Manjež, directed by Yuri Rakitin. Žanka Stokić had the lead role, while the male roles were played by Bogić, Dragutinović, Marinković, Novaković and Mata Milošević. The comedy did not achieve the success that had been expected and was taken off the repertoire after eight performances. Živojin "Bata" Vukadinović translated the script, most likely from French.

Abie's Irish Rose by Anne Nichols, another in a line of popular comedies, had its Belgrade premiere on December 12, 1929 in the building "at Vračar," directed by Josip Kulundžić. Critics positively assessed the particular brand of humor in the play, while Ranko Mladenović stressed the successful psychological treatment of the Jewish joke on stage. The starring roles were played by Dara Milošević and Mata Milošević. The play remained on the repertoire for two seasons and had 21 performances in total. The script was translated from German by Branko Gavela.

Edwin Burke's *This Thing Called Love*, a play that was a combination of melodrama and vaudeville, premiered "at Vračar" on January 31, 1931, directed by Yuri Rakitin and with Desa Dugalić in the starring role, which is counted among her best acting achievements. The play was performed 20 times. The script was translated from German by Nikola Polovina.

Roxy by Barry Conners, announced as a humorous comedy that saw great success in European centers, was put on stage at the National Theater because of a role suitable for Ljubinka Bobić. The premiere was held on March 2, 1932 in the building "near the Monument" and was directed by Yuri Rakitin. Critics described the play as new accusatory material against the National Theater's repertory policy. It had no success with the audience. It was performed only seven times. The script of the comedy was translated from German by Radoslav Vesnić.

By 1941, no other American plays were performed on the National Theater's two stages.

Between World War I and World War II, the National Theater had 251 premieres and 11 restages of dramatic works by foreign writers. Among them, American drama was hardly present. None of the eight plays performed was added to the repertoire as a representative of the dramatic art of its own environment. Even *Anna Christie* was staged only because O'Neill had gained world renown as an important contemporary writer, with an emphasis on his Irish descent and the fact that his plays were on the repertoire of Europe's leading theaters.

In general, the American dramatic opus on the two National Theater stages between World War I and World War II was a reflection of accidental selection from the foreign repertory of plays attractive to the audience, mainly because of suitable roles for the "stars," whose appearance on stage guaranteed financial success. The conclusion may be drawn that American plays are not among the important repertory achievements of the National Theater either artistically, except maybe *Anna Christie*, or as memorable theatrical and artistic productions.

During World War II, i.e. during German occupation, not a single American drama was put on stage in the National Theater.

After World War II, the National Theater in Belgrade, like all the other theaters in the country, continued to work in completely altered political circumstances, which defined the creative climate in all areas of culture. Dramatic works meant for the "elite" or plays belonging to the light, popular genre aimed at entertaining a wide audience, or plays offering attractive roles for the "stars" as their greatest value no longer had access to the theater stage. This was a time of plays with a thesis, because the theater repertoire was also intended to serve political and educational ends. In line with such ideological directives, in the first post-war years the National Theater predominantly put plays by Soviet authors on its stage, whereas out of Western European and American it chose only those that had previously been performed in Moscow.

That was precisely the route by which the first American play reached the National Theater stage. It was *The Little Foxes* by Lillian Hellman. The play was added to the repertoire as a representative of progressive Western dramatic literature, which critically deals with certain problems characteristic of the capitalist world. The premiere took place on October 9, 1948 and was attended by the author herself, which was also the case in Moscow. The play was directed by Hugo Klajn, while the script was translated by Jelisaveta Marković. The leading actors were Marica Popović, Dara Milošević, Boža Nikolić and Raša Plaović. This play, performed 28 times over the course of two seasons, is counted among the successful artistic accomplishments of the National Theater.

The changed political circumstances of the 1950s resulted in the revitalization of the repertories of all theaters, including the National Theater, which aimed to establish harmony between a classic and a contemporary repertoire on its stage, while respecting artistic criteria. As part of such efforts, the National Theater in the sixth decade of the 20th century presented 31 foreign plays, including seven American ones.

Elmer Rice's *Dream Girl* was the first American play put on stage at the National Theater in the altered creative climate, actually in honor of a visit by this American playwright, considered "progressive," to Belgrade. The play was not among his most representative works, but as a light, entertaining comedy written in the spirit of tardy Expressionism, reaped considerable success on Broadway. The premiere in Belgrade, in the presence of the writer, was held on May 22, 1954. The director was Hugo Klajn and the script was translated by Vera Stojić. The starring roles were given to Nada Škrinjar (alternating with Miroslava Bobić) and Severin Bijelić. The play was pretty well received by both the critics and the audience. It stayed on the repertory for two seasons and was performed 25 times.

The Country Girl by Clifford Odets was added to the National Theater repertoire due to a role suited to Ljubiša Jovanović. What also played a part was Odets' reputation as a progressive U.S. playwright, who in this play deviates from the theme of social criticism and tackles the psychology of an actor in a theatrical environment. The play was very successful on Broadway. The Belgrade premiere took place on March 11, 1955. Directing was entrusted to Hugo

Klajn, based on a translation by Vera Stojić. Ljubiša Jovanović, the lead in the play, according to critics experienced stellar moments of his artistic career, as testified to in exhaustive analyses by Eli Finci and Velibor Gligorić, whereas Braslav Borozan dedicated an entire study to the role. The play was performed 26 times over the course of two seasons and was eventually taken off the repertory because the role of Frank Elgin had exhausted Ljubiša Jovanović so much that he couldn't play it anymore.

Caine Mutiny Court-Martial by Herman Wouk was a dramatization of the last chapter of the eponymous novel, done by the author himself. The play was performed due to its subject being current during McCarthyism in the U.S. and the moral and political dilemma related to the "witch-hunt." This play was also highly successful on Broadway. The premiere in Belgrade took place on January 13, 1956. Hugo Klajn directed the play based on a translation by Nada Prodanović. Among all the well-performed parts, Ljubiša Jovanović's performance as Captain Greenwald stood out as an exceptional achievement. This play is counted among the best artistic accomplishments of the National Theater ever. Over the course of five consecutive seasons, it was performed 52 times.

William Inge's *Bus Stop* was put on the repertoire as a contemporary play depicting the lives of ordinary people, entertaining but with a message, which was very successful on Broadway. The premiere was held on January 10, 1958. The play was directed by Milenko Misailović, based on a translation by Aleksandar Aranicki. Olivera Marković, who played the lead role under the burden of Marilyn Monroe's highly praised performance in the eponymous movie, received great compliments from critics as "an honorable victor" in solving her artistic task. Severin Bijelić as the male lead also received praise, and critics also noted the part played by Milena Dapčević. During its first season, *Bus Stop* was performed 48 times, and another nine times after its restaging on February 12, 1963, which adds up to a record number of 57 performances of an American play at the National Theater.

The Rose Tattoo by Tennessee Williams was added to the repertory as the work of an important contemporary American playwright, in which the female starring role was suitable for Nevenka Urbanova. The premiere took place on April 26, 1959. The play was directed by Braslav Borozan according to the script translated by Ileana Ćosić. This was, in fact, Nevenka Urbanova's play, who, with the role of Serafina, added another outstanding pearl to her spectacular acting career. The play was performed 30 times over the course of four consecutive seasons.

After its success on Broadway, *Dark at the Top of the Stairs* by William Inge was put on the National Theater repertory as a current American drama, in which the writer touches on certain issues typical of the American society, especially dealing – in an unimposing way – with the problems of racism, religion and sex festering below the surface in a small town environment. The premiere took place on March 20, 1960. Nada Prodanović translated the script and Braslav Borozan directed the play. The starring role was given to Vuka Marković, whom critics lauded for a successful interpretation of the character of Lottie. Critics were amazed by the acting done by the young boy Dušan Zagorac,

who played Sonny Flood. His performance even inspired Rade Konstantinović to write an entire study on him and on child actors in general. The play was very successful with audiences and was performed 31 times over the course of three seasons.

A Touch of the Poet by Eugene O'Neill was put on the repertoire thanks to the writer's renown and a role suitable for Ljubiša Jovanović. The premiere took place on September 27, 1960. Ileana Ćosić translated the script, while Hugo Klajn directed the play. This is the least successful staging of an American play at the National Theater, because neither the director nor the actors were too happy with this play and it was taken off the repertory after 11 performances.

Period of Adjustment by Tennessee Williams, as the writer's sole "serious comedy," was added to the repertory due to his reputation, but also because the characters were attractive to actors. The premiere took place on November 4, 1961. The play was directed by Braslav Borozan, based on a translation by Ileana Ćosić and Dragoslav Andrić. The female lead was Nada Borozan. Her performance rose above the averageness of the other acting accomplishments and the entire play. The audience, however, received the play somewhat better than the critics. Over the course of two seasons it was performed 23 times.

Over the next nine seasons, up until 1970, the National Theater did not perform a single new American play. Only *Bus Stop* was restaged in 1963.

Therefore, in the period 1945–1970 the National Theater staged nine American plays, among which, primarily due to the actors' successful performances, the plays *Caine Mutiny Court-Martial*, *The Country Girl* and *The Rose Tattoo* stood out. The others, except *A Touch of the Poet*, are counted among the standard stage achievements that are acceptable and appealing to a wide audience, enriched by enthusiastic performances by actors, whom American drama scripts always suit in their basic concept as grounds for building a character in line with individual artistic inclinations and capabilities.

Keeping in mind the fact that American drama in the 1950s and the 1960s took the place of a dominant artistic challenge that seized the stages of both the New and the Old Continent and attracted all talent that found its way to affirmation in the adventure that is theater, one cannot help but conclude that the National Theater chose a small and oftentimes insufficiently representative portion of the existing abundance. However, the National Theater should not be the only one held responsible for that because its foreign repertory has always been oriented first and foremost towards classic and European drama. On the other hand, it often could not satisfy its interest in contemporary American drama, as the leading drama in the world in the given period, due to fierce competition in the form of the Belgrade Drama Theater. Specifically, that young, creative and enthusiastic theater followed the Broadway repertoire very closely for a whole decade, from 1955 to 1965, immediately putting on stage what it considered to be the best for both its capacities and for the audience. The Belgrade Drama Theater built its artistic style and developed its own signature via American plays. Faced with such competition, all the other theaters in Belgrade, including the National Theater, were losing the race and thereby the right to first choice of American drama scripts that attracted their attention.

Image 1. *The National Theatre Building, c. 1920*

MUSEUM OF REVOLUTION AND SYNTHESIS IN SAŠA TKAČENKO'S *ETERNAL FLAME*

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SUMMARY: This paper analyses how contemporary artist Saša Tkačenko integrates the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution into his hybrid work *Eternal Flame* (2018). As the Museum has never been built, Tkačenko appropriates architectural model of the Museum, designed by Vjenceslav Richter, applying the process of synthesis which Richter promoted by the end of 1950s. In terms of meaning, Tkačenko turns to the significance of this Museum which was supposed to be a centrepiece and monument to the idea of revolution in former Yugoslavia. In order to analyse semantic layers of the *Eternal Flame*, the paper also contains a chapter which focuses on Richter's oeuvre and a chapter which gives historic overview of disappearance and metamorphoses of museums of revolution after the fall of Yugoslavia and changed socio-political context.

KEY WORDS: Museum of Revolution, contemporary art, architecture, Saša Tkačenko

Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution was conceived in 1959 as one of the main cultural and ideological institutions in the country. Its "activity will be directed towards fulfilment of one general Yugoslav synthesis and its application in the museological conception" [Kovačević 1962: 129]. Both the content and the architecture of the Museum had to reflect this concept of Yugoslav *synthesis*, an aspect of Yugoslav identity which at the time was still finding its definition, due to Yugoslavia's definite departure from the Soviet Information Bureau in 1948. The architectural competition for the building was finished in 1962, depicting a proposal by architects Vjenceslav Richter and Božo Antunović as the winning project. Their proposing building was not only the project for the Museum, but it went far beyond, becoming the definition of Yugoslav modernism in architecture.

The first construction works, however, begun much later, in 1978. The Museum was supposed to be opened in 1981, but by the deadline only underground levels were finished. By 1982, the project was completely stopped and the bank accounts over which it was financed were shut down. Meanwhile,

there was a process of finding a new location for the museum in 1964. Selected locations were not compatible with existing Richter's project which appeared too monumental and disproportional in relation to other objects already there. Apart from that, his project would require extensive preparations of the ground, since the river was very close. For that reason, the project rested till 1977, and it was affected by new state constitution from 1974. Changes in legislative regulations related to the technology of constructing architectural object required changes in the original project – "new elements had to be added (underground shelter and repository, generator with electric installations, workshops), changes in estimated constructions had to be made (new regulations required considerably less tension of concrete), as well as in elements in materialisation (new, contemporary materials and construction technologies had to be employed)" [Milinković 2012: 152]. After revalorising ten locations, the Museum was placed between the two most important Yugoslav governmental and political institutions: the Federal Executive Council and the Building of Social and Political Organisations which included the offices of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. According to Ljiljana Blagojević, "when contextualised within the symbolic order of power in architectonic unit of governmental/administrative functions, the Museum lost its main attributes of contemporaneity: a-temporality and a-contextuality" [2007: 229].

Since the conception in 1959, till 1982, only the underground levels and some minor auxiliary objects of the Museum were partly finished and they still remain in public discourse and memory of the city. Their socio-political context changed from Socialist Federative Republic Yugoslavia, over transitory states (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and State Union of Serbia and Montenegro) to independent Serbian state of the XXI Century (Republic of Serbia). According to Marija Milinković, over twenty years of abandoning the project for the Museum "is historically congruent with the process of social revalorisation and gradual giving up the political and ideological content which was identified by it and spatially shaped by it" [2012: 146]. Having all this in mind, Saša Tkačenko[1] turns to the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution in 2018, in his work *Eternal Flame*.[2] He creates a concrete scale model of the Museum's building and connects it with butane gas bottle on top of which it stands.

In order to analyse semantic layers of Tkačenko's approach to the Museum, the first part of the paper gives short historic overview of conception, proliferation and later transformation of Yugoslav Museums of Revolution after dismembering of Yugoslavia. This part provides an insight into the importance

[1] Saša Tkačenko (1979) is working at the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning in Novi Sad since 2016. He received his laurea and MA degree from the Sculpture department at the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade. He has exhibited at 17 solo exhibitions in New York, Hague, Vienna, Budapest, Berlin, Belgrade, Pančevo, Subotica and Smederevo, and at over 60 group exhibitions and festivals in Serbia, Germany, Russia, the USA, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, Latvia, Croatia, France, China, Australia, Mexico, Romania, Belgium, Austria, Albania, Sweden, the Netherlands, Italy and Turkey. He received the "Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos" Award / Young Visual Artist Award in 2013.

[2] The Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution was also in focus of another Tkačenko's work – *Pavilion* (2015). See Sonja Jankov, Full-Scale Architectural Models in Post-Yugoslav Art Practices, *Interkulturalnost* (16, 2018), 57-66.

of such institutions in Yugoslavia and their position afterwards in collective memory which is important for the reception of Tkačenko's work. The second part of the paper is description of Richter's architectural design for the Museum and relation to his architectural theory and Yugoslav modernism. Although never realised, Richter's project for the Museum remains one of the greatest illustrations of Yugoslav modernism in architecture. The final part focuses directly on the work *Eternal Flame*, relating it to Richter's concept of *synthesis* and artistic method of appropriation.

PROLIFERATION AND DISSOLVEMENT OF YUGOSLAV MUSEUMS OF REVOLUTION

Since 1945, museums were rapidly established in Yugoslavia, by purpose of raising the overall cultural education of wide masses, strengthening the communist ideology and preserving the memory and tradition of people's liberation struggle in World War II. Museums were seen as "powerful educators of wide masses" and they had significant role in "construction of new society" [Krivošejev 2011, 298]. By the end of 1959, departments for labour movement and people's liberation struggle were formed within most of the existing museums. As a result, those departments usually lacked exhibition spaces. At this time, there were "311 museological institutions registered in Yugoslavia, most of which in Croatia – 115. There were 86 museums in Serbia, 57 in Slovenia, 21 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 18 in Macedonia, 14 in Montenegro" [*Muzeji u Jugoslaviji* 1962: 23, quoted in Krivošejev 2011: 299]. These institutions included both museums and memorial institutions of smaller capacities, such as collections, archives, libraries and galleries. Since each of them was focusing on local level, they proliferated all around Yugoslavia.

Most of them were placed in repurposed existing buildings. Some of those were historical buildings, protected as cultural heritage, or buildings originally designed for housing and inadequate by museological standards. Some were endangered by humidity or planned for demolition. There are examples where a museum had to share the building with hotel and restaurant, such as in Prokuplje (Serbia). In fact, between 1945 and 1990, there is "a rather small number of completed museum buildings" [Körbler 2006: 12], the buildings that were designed and constructed by sole purpose of being museums. In Serbia, those were the Museum of Labour Movement and People's Revolution of Vojvodina in Novi Sad, Museum of People's Liberation Struggle in Aranđelovac, Museum of the Labour Movement and Revolution in Vranje, Museum of 25th May in Belgrade, as well as the Museum of 21st October in Kragujevac. The latter is located within memorial park and it has the most consistent programme and mission since the opening. Its permanent exhibition stands out by application of multimedia materials and contemporary technical support. The building, designed by architects Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović in 1967, is composed of 37 towers without windows that symbolically represent the people's struggle.

The Museum of Socialist Revolution in Vojvodina was opened in 1972 in Novi Sad. It had a considerable fund which allowed it the best museological

equipment in Serbia and a new building designed by architect Ivan Vitić in 1959. The building is seemingly a monolithic, cohesive concrete cube which is approached from a large plateau. Depots are underneath, while the exhibition space is located within the cube. Between them is a level with offices and cinema hall that was initially created for workers' meetings. All offices are placed on the outer edges of the square base, forming a circular plan around the core of the building which is empty, in form of the open atrium and inner garden. All offices have a glass wall to the exterior, while the hallways have a glass wall towards the atrium. This inner glass wall rises up, connecting the atrium and the exhibition level on three sides, and enlightening the staircase on console construction. On the forth side of the atrium, parallel to the staircase, there is a solid concrete wall which allows more exhibition space in the interior. In this way, a compact monolithic cube is based on the airy space composed of columns and glass, similar to Mies van der Rohe's pavilions and characteristic for airy and transparent constructions of Vitić. It has typological parallels to the building of the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo (architects Boris Magaš, Edo Šmidihen, Radovan Horvat, 1958–1963), that in its main body "conceals an atrium and an inner garden, while its luxurious glass surfaces open it up in a way that Mies and Philip Johnson had taken over from Japanese architecture" [Körbler 2006: 18]. Both buildings are protected as cultural monuments.

The collection of the Museum in Novi Sad was enlarged collection about the revolution that was initially in the Vojvodina Museum. The Museum firstly changed its name into the Museum of Labour Movement and People's Revolution, and afterwards in 1990 it changed the focus and name into the History Museum of Vojvodina.[3] Its fusion with the Vojvodina Museum in 1992 formed a new institution – the Museum of Vojvodina which nowadays shares the building with Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina. By 1997, the content about the labour movement and the revolution was removed, as well as the history of Vojvodina after 1945. Within the new permanent exhibition, "the emphasis is put on history of Serbian national struggle in Austria-Hungary and unification of Vojvodina to Kingdom of Serbia in 1918" [Matković 2018: 59]. In 2018, the Museum announced an intention to establish a new museum about the unification.

Changes both preceded and followed the museums of revolution. In Zagreb (Croatia), the Museum of People's Liberation was placed within an exhibition pavilion designed by sculptor Ivan Meštrović and built by architects Harold Bilinić and Lavoslav Horvat in 1938. The pavilion served as a mosque during the Independent State of Croatia in 1944. In 1949, it was adapted into a museum by architect Vjenceslav Richter, who added two galleries and domes. The Museum opened permanent exhibitions in 1955 and 1962, while the building is nowadays used by the Croatian Association of Artists.[4] In Rijeka (Croatia)

[3] See more in Kumović, Mladenko, *Muzeji u Vojvodini (1847–1997)*, Novi Sad: Muzej Vojvodine, 2001.

[4] The practice of re-appropriating museums of Revolution into art museums is not common for Yugoslav area only, but for post-socialist cultures in general. For example, the National Art Gallery in Vilnius was formerly Museum of the Revolution, constructed in 1980 (architects Gediminas Baravykas and Vytautas Vielius) and renovated in period 2005–2009.

the Museum of People's Revolution was renamed into the City of Rijeka Museum in 1994. In Ljubljana (Slovenia), the Museum of People's Liberation was established in 1948, renamed into the Museum of the Slovenian National Revolution in 1958, revitalised into Museum of the Revolution of Slovenia in 1962, to become the Museum of Recent History of Slovenia in 1994. The Museum of Revolution in Celje (Slovenia) gained the status of independent institution in 1963, while prior to that, in 1951, a department for History of Labour Movement and Liberation Struggle was formed within the City Museum. It is the Museum of Recent History since 1991. The Museum of People's Revolution in Sarajevo changed name and purpose in 1993 into the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 2002, there is a plan to build the Museum of Contemporary Art beside it, designed by Renzo Piano and realised within the Ars Aevi project.

Unfinished museums of revolution and memorial homes had been in the focus of recent research and art projects. At the 2014 Venice Biennale, Montenegro presented the project *Treasures in Disguise*. It focused on four neglected late-modernist buildings that were firstly constructed as testaments to a radiant new society: Hotel *Fjord* in Kotor (architect Zlatko Ugljen, 1986), Kayak Club *Galeb* in Podgorica (arch. Vukota Tupa Vukotić, 1960), Memorial Home in Kolašin (arch. Marko Mušić, 1976) and House of Revolution in Nikšić (arch. Marko Mušić) which remained unfinished, although its construction took place from 1979 to 1989. According to curators of the exhibition, "when the four buildings on display first opened, they radiated their builders' enthusiasm and confidence about the new society they were building. Today, only a few decades later, these buildings embody the complete opposite: poorly used (if at all) and maintained (if ever completed), they are a testament to the failure of modernism and the breakdown of Yugoslavia" [Vuga et al., 2014]. From today's perspective, these four buildings represent a cultural heritage which needs to be preserved from destruction and demolition. They still contain latent spatial and social potential hidden under the layer of present ideological disenchantment with modernism.

The Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution was featured within Serbian pavilion at the same Biennale. One segment, representing a dark room, focused on this institution and its unfinished building, while the other segment, a light room, presented hundred architectural projects from the past hundred years. By setting the unconstructed Museum "as the main motif of the exhibition, concept 14–14 questions the paradigm of the modern idea of progress, which characterised the XX Century" [Miletić Abramović 2014: 6]. As hundreds of museums and memorial homes across Yugoslavia were focusing on the people's struggle on the small local level, the museum in New Belgrade was conceived as institution which would give a complete and unified insight into the labour movement and people's revolution within entire Yugoslavia. The more the number of memorial institutions grew, the more "the necessity for [one unifying] institution became evident and clear" [Kovačević 1962: 127]. Only the basement level of the Museum was realised, remaining nowadays "a black box recording political vicissitudes, causes and effects distilled to this day" [Sladojev and Salapura 2014]. As the Museum was never realised, the artefacts which would

compose its collection were joined with the memorial centre "Josip Broz Tito" in 1996, forming the Museum of Yugoslav History which was renamed into Museum of Yugoslavia in 2018.

Tkačenko turns to this Museum in his work, having in mind the history of its (in)existence in physical space and collective memory, its symbolism, its authoritative and unifying position in relation to all Yugoslav museums of revolution, its artistic value and shift of social and political contexts which conceived and abandoned the idea which it represents. Furthermore, by creating this work in 2018, Tkačenko gives a statement about contemporary art and its didactic and engaged role in understanding the recent past and present.

MUSEUM OF REVOLUTION IN RELATION TO VJENCELAV RICHTER'S OEUVRE

Vjenceslav Richter (1917–2002) was architect, artist and theorist whose practice had major influence on Yugoslav modernism both in the realm of architecture and visual/plastic art. His architectural work was most engaged with international presentation of Yugoslavia. He designed national Yugoslav pavilions for exhibitions and trade fairs in Trieste (1947), Stockholm (1949), Vienna (1949), Hanover (1950), Paris (1950), Bruxelles (1958), Torino (1961), Milan (1964) and Montreal (1967), but only two of them were realised. Apart from the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution, Richter proposed designs for the Museum of the City of Belgrade (with Zdravko Bregovac, 1954), Archaeological Museum in Aleppo (w. Bregovac, 1956) [Šimpraga 2015], Museum for Spatial Exhibits (1963) and Museum of Evolution in Krapina (1966). His most noted art 'constructions' are Systematic plastic (1963), Relief-meter (1964), Spatial structures (1965), Divided spheres (1967), Systematic painting [print making] (1981), spatial and gravitational paintings.

Richter pursued synthesis and abstraction in his practice and theory, applying these two principles to Yugoslav architecture in order to help it become universal language of (visual) communication. His practice was based on experimenting and basic Bauhaus principles of abstract visual forms. Both in architecture and visual art, he used angles of 20, 40, 50, 70 and 80 degrees, as opposed to angles of 30, 45, 60 and 90 degrees which are most commonly used. Promoting these neglected and marginal angles, Richter wanted to create a sensibility towards them in people's consciousness and to show that "angles can also become a theme in art" [Richter 2002]. We see them in his projects for exhibition pavilions, as mush as in his visual art denoted by rhythm, relief, difference and repetition. At the time he applied these principles to new architectural expression, Yugoslavia was in the process of finding its own version of modernism.

As Yugoslavia was slowly departing from Soviet politics since 1948, "there are almost no examples of soc-realism in architecture" in Yugoslavia [Mrduljaš 2014]. By 1955, when the departure was definite, a need for an alternative political system arouse, as well as a need for new identity. For Richter, architects had an active social role in this process. The search for new monu-

mental and representative architecture of Yugoslav modernism was based on "a double negation; rejecting at one side International style of the Western model of modernism, and, on other, eclecticism of the Soviet model" [Blagojević 2007: 85]. In this environment, Richter argued for synthesis and equality of form and function, which he found to be the basic principles of socialist ideology. He used term *synthurbanism* "to describe a combination of architecture, urbanism, and the visual arts, which then led to systemic painting, graphic arts or sculpture" [Holzer-Kernbichler 2018: 4]. It was Richter's particular version of "the 'total work of art', in which each element was devised to flow into the other as if cast from a single mould, yet with enough free space retained to allow individuals as the central point of reference" [Holzer-Kernbichler 2018: 4]. For him, architecture was a sculptural kind of creation and this is how he approached the project for the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution. His proposal is a coherent form which synthesises architecture, sculpture and idea.

According to Richter, the purpose and idea of the Museum "is to safeguard the truth about us. […] The architecture of the Museum of the Revolution has to express this pervasive and great idea. Our idea and the idea of us. It is as much ours as it is new and authentic" [Richter 1978, quoted in Milinković 2012: 149]. The architectural form which would embody this idea was based on synthesis of contrasting monolithic, static corpus of the building and its dynamic, moving roof. The massive, concrete cube-shaped corpus would have "fronts that reminded of a traditional Japanese house of large dimensions" [Körbler 2006: 27]. It would have 70 x 70 metres in the base, rising up to 14 metres and being elevated from the ground by nine columns. As such, it would be similar to Museums in Novi Sad and Sarajevo, but its distinctive element would be a dynamic roof construction made of warped surfaces which would rise 46 metres from the ground. It would enable central lighting of the Museum, as reference to centralised governing system in the country. According to Tomislav Odak, "the parabolic form of the roof is motivated by symbolic meaning, and the symbol here becomes the purpose" [2006: 50].

When it comes to the interior of the Museum, Richter also insisted on dynamism, open plan and synthesis. The entrance hall, galleries for temporary exhibitions, cinema hall, restaurant, depots and offices would have been on the ground level and the permanent exhibition would have been on the first floor. "In order to avoid turning the Museum into a fixed, frozen image of the past, Richter gave special attention to the technique of exhibiting" [Milinković 2012: 150], constructing floors and ceiling in such way that exhibits could be placed anywhere, while and flexible partition panels enabled "permanent changeability and adaptability of the exhibition space" [Milinković 2012: 150]. When it comes to the surrounding of the Museum, during its movement through different locations in New Belgrade, a new square was added in front of it, in the middle of which would be an eternal fire, as a monument to fallen soldiers.

The central position of the eternal fire on the square and the central lightning of the Museum became synthesized in Tkačenko's work. He also synthesized the grand idea which was to be presented by the Museum and the 1990s which followed the fall of Yugoslavia.

TKAČENKO'S MUSEUM OF REVOLUTION

The Museum was conceived as a meta-narrative of Yugoslav people's Revolution, aiming to provide its coherent presentation. Its building was a new definition of Yugoslav modernism in architecture, embodying the principle of synthesis and unity between fine and applied arts, between form and function. It became a movable critical object which "tested the urban space" [Milinković 2012: 157], as its possible locations changed. In time, it became a transitory object which reflected transition of the state and ideology. Since the building had never been constructed, it did not transform into another museum after the fall of Yugoslavia, as other museums of Revolution. Its design remained representative of the idea it was created for; its inexistence remained a symptom of gradual abandonment of the idea of revolution. Yet, it is still present in collective memory.

According to Joan Gibbons, "memory is neither the opposite of history nor is it identical to it" [Gibbons 2007: 54]. Although it is seen as a less legitimate means of establishing the past, it is supplementary to history. In this context, museum appears as authoritative institution which produces and owns representation of history, and, as such, it is representative of power in Foucaultian sense. However, as the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution was never realised, it cannot be criticized for the way it systematizes knowledge and presents history. Its idea remains in memory of people, while the history records only the architectural procedure of the project. Although inexistent, Richter's building is always present in history of architecture as one of the greatest examples of Yugoslav modernism.

For the work *Eternal Flame*, Tkačenko creates a scale model of the Museum, moulding it in concrete, as a sculpture. This object presents both Richter's ideas about architecture and the fact that the Museum had its most objectified appearance as the architectural model. Tkačenko places it on a butane gas bottle, so that a flame nozzles at the top of it, in the centre, as an eternal flame, a symbol of ideas which we believe in. Apart form synthesizing the surrounding of the Museum with its architectural form, Tkačenko also synthesizes the grand Yugoslav idea with the period of sanctions and embargo over Serbia (1991-1995) which followed its fall. That period is remembered among citizens for long electricity cuts and use of butane gas for cooking and heating. Another important aspect of fall of Yugoslavia was privatisation of what used to be a societal property.

By appropriating Richter's project into his work, Tkačenko in a sense privatises the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution, as a critical response to what happened to Yugoslavia after it ceased to exist. He deliberately uses a process of appropriation, within which elements are transferred from one to another system of meanings, or from one into another discourse. Appropriation includes a practice of turning non-artistic objects into artworks (by proclaiming them as such, by placing them in a gallery, by indexing them in a collection of a museum, etc.). It is a strategy of giving a new meaning to something existing, which can be also another artwork, so an artist in a sense makes somebody

else's work his own. In that way Richter's Museum which was supposed to be public and societal property, becomes privatised into somebody else's artwork. According to Tkačenko, the resulting hybrid object is ironical, since the eternal flame lasts as long as the gas in the bottle. It is also ironical due to the fact that privatisation took such a great extent in republics of former Yugoslavia, that it also includes objects which were never realised.

Within Tkačenko's *Eternal Flame*, Richter's concept of synthesis gained its greatest domain. It goes beyond synthesising fine and applied arts, as well as beyond the Yugoslav synthesis in architecture. Tkačenko synthesizes different discourses and different socio-political periods of history. The *Eternal Flame* shows how contemporary art can embody history, as well as of architecture, and present their critical aspects.

Image 1. Saša Tkačenko, *Eternal Flame*, 2018, concrete, steel, gas ames, 70 x 70 x 150 cm. Photo by Nemanja Knežević

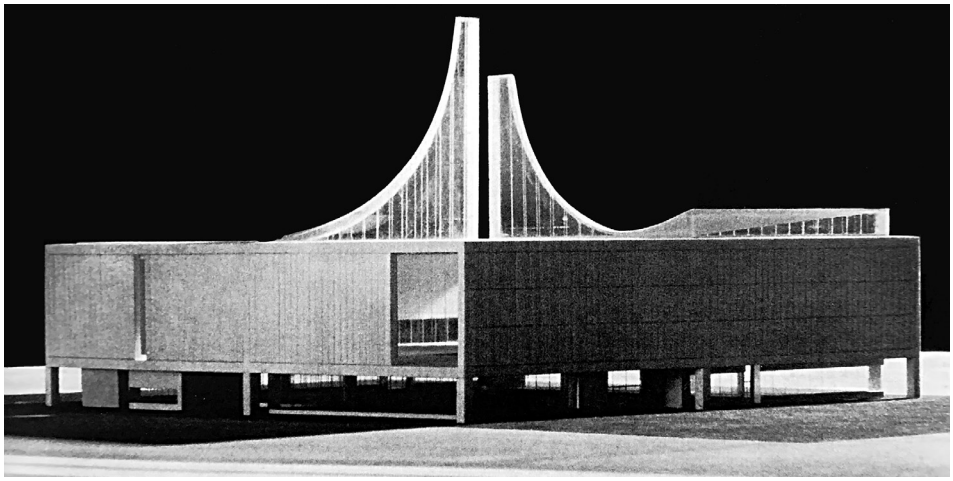

Image 2. Vjenceslav Richter, project for the Museum of Yugoslav People's Revolution, 1961, scale model

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EIGHT CENTURIES OF ART UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH 1219–2019

AN EXHIBITION AT THE MUSEUM OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Belgrade, October 9 – December 9, 2019

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SUMMARY: In its current form, the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade was officially founded by decision of the Bishops' Council of the Serbian Orthodox Church on July 9, 1927. Until 1946, the Museum was located in the Palace of Princess Ljubica, later moving to the northern wing of the Serbian Patriarchate building, where it remains to this day. The Museum's holdings, comprising nearly 12,000 items, are grouped into various subcollections: manuscripts – from the Museum's original collection, the estate of Radoslav Grujić and the Patriarchate of Peć; old printed books; icons; portraits; church textiles and embroidery; metal artifacts; archival documents; board-mounted items; stereotypes; wood carvings; periodicals and press clippings; and a subcollection labeled 'miscellaneous'. On occasion of the 800th anniversary of the Serbian Orthodox Church's autocephalous status, the Museum housed an exhibition entitled "Eight Centuries of Art under the Auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church, 1219–2019", from October 9 to December 9, 2019.

KEY WORDS: Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, history, collections, subcollections, exhibition, anniversary

The Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church is dedicated to maintaining the tradition and riches of monastic treasuries, a part of which has been preserved and stands exhibited today. It was Sava Nemanjić who – in Chapter 21 of the Studenica Typikon from faraway 1208 – defined how monastic treasuries and the treasures they protect should be treated [The Studenica Typikon 2018: 178–179]. During his travels to Thessaloniki, Constantinople and the Holy Land,

Sava bought various relics and church artifacts and brought them to Serbia [Душанић 2008: 6–7]. The first attempt to create a Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church is tied to the Metropolitanate of Karlovac – then situated in the Austrian Empire – and its patriarch, Josif Rajačić, who, while attending a bishops' conference in Vienna in 1851, asked that a Serbian National Museum should be founded [Милеуснић 2001: 8]. During the Principality of Serbia, in 1858, the Metropolitanate of Belgrade organized an exhibition of ecclesiastical art objects known as "The Artistic Repository" on the initiative of Metropolitan Petar Jovanović. In 1886, an appeal was made to form a Museum of the Metropolitanate of Karlovac, with Metropolitans Mihailo and Inokentije spearheading the collection of valuable old objects for the museum. Following the First World War, in 1922, Prof. Lazar Mirković pointed out that the Serbian Orthodox Church needed a central museum. In 1923, the Synod confirmed the decision of the Bishops' Council and the project to inventory all significant church buildings and valuables was begun. On July 9, 1927, the Bishops' Council officially decided to found the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church and Patriarchate Library [Милеуснић 2001: 8–9]. In 1936, Prof. Radoslav Grujić, PhD, was appointed the Museum's director, remaining at the post until 1948. Grujić's first task was to lay all the groundwork for the Museum's creation. That same year, the Palace of Princess Ljubica was leased for 50 years and the future museum's holdings were organized according to museological standards. The grand opening was planned for October 1940, but was postponed due to the impending war. In 1946, Prof. Grujić petitioned the Synod to inventory the 40-train-cars-worth of ecclesiastical art objects that had been seized from Serb monasteries and churches throughout the WWII Independent State of Croatia, and which ended up in Zagreb. The government of the newly-formed Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia ruled that the Serbian Orthodox Church in Zagreb could only demand the return of those artifacts that were taken from the territory of the People's Republic of Serbia: a total of 11 train-car loads. Wherever it was possible – wherever the plundered Church estates were not completely destructed – the iconostases and other artifacts were returned. Everything else was transferred to the Patriarchate building in Belgrade, where the Museum had been moved since the government terminated the lease on the Palace of Princess Ljubica. A large number of the Museum's current exhibits come from the destroyed monasteries in Mt. Fruška Gora [Мирковић 1931: 317–324; Милеуснић 1997: 222–231]. As of 1946, the Museum has been located in the northern wing of the Serbian Patriarchate building, designed by Russian architect Viktor Lukomski (1884–1947) and erected between 1932 and 1935. The permanent exhibition was opened to the public in 1954, under Patriarch Vikentije [Душанић 2008: 7].

Today, the Museum is Serbia's biggest treasury of ecclesiastical art objects [Душанић 1971: 395–409]. Its purpose is to illuminate the rich and diverse artistic and spiritual legacy of the Serbian Orthodox Church, representing each diocese equally. The Museum houses a large collection of valuable artifacts dating from the Antiquity to the 20th century, illustrating the development of religious art in Serbian lands over the centuries. Most of its holdings are items

taken from Fruška Gora and eastern Srem monasteries during the Ustashe occupation in WWII – a portion of which Prof. Radoslav Grujić succeeded in recovering from Zagreb in 1946 – along with artifacts Prof. Dušanić and Prof. Grujić collected for the Museum up to 1941 [Душанић 2008: 7]. The space the Museum occupies was not planned for such a purpose and, as such, influenced the manner in which the exhibits are presented. This is also why visitors and faithful can view only a portion of the holdings. The permanent exhibition presents the most important objects in five showrooms, while the remaining Museum space is used for temporary exhibitions. The holdings are organized in subcollections: manuscripts from the Museum's basic holdings (labeled МСПЦ) [Станковић 2003], from the estate of Radoslav Grujić (labeled ОРГ) [Васиљев 2018; Васиљев и др. 2019], and from the Patriarchate of Peć (labeled ПЕЋ) [Мошин 1968–1971, 5–136] – 963 in total; old printed books – 1054 items; icons – 598; portraits – 163; textiles – 1157; metal artifacts – 1441; archival material – 1413; board-mounted items – 4039; woodcut and engraved stereotypes – 55; woodcarvings – 90; miscellaneous objects – 78; and periodicals and press clippings – 338 items. In total, the Museum's collection comprises 11,362 processed and catalogued items. When added to the material still awaiting processing, the Museum's overall holdings amount to around 20,000 items. The Museum's storage houses the legates of architect Petar Popović, philosopher Ksenija Atanasijević, philologist Olga Karpov, painter Paja Jovanović, professor and historian Dušan Kašić and teacher and humanitarian Marija Omčikus, as well as the archives of the Pakrac Eparchy (Slavonia). The Museum also has a library of over 6,000 publications – and continuously receives artistically significant artifacts through individual donations. The valuable collections inherited from former directors Prof. Radoslav Grujić and Svetozar St. Dušanić each occupy a separate chamber within the Museum. While Prof. Grujić's collection is a miniature museum in itself, Prof. Dušanić's estate is particularly valuable for its numismatic collection.

The most important works in the Museum's permanent exhibition comprise: the *Shroud of King Milutin* – a masterpiece of the Byzantine church art embroidery from the late 13th or early 14th century; *Prince Lazar's Garment* – made prior to 1389 and embroidered with two opposed lions; Nun Jefimija's *Encomium of Prince Lazar* – a shroud of red silk, embroidered with gold thread in 1402, for the head of Prince Lazar, which was severed by the Turks; 15th century *epimanikia* depicting the Communion of the Apostles; the *katetapasma* (a curtain for the royal doors) made by the nun Agnija during the 16th century; *the mitre* of Belgrade metropolitans, a gift by Katarina Kantakouzenos Branković from mid-15th century; the *mitre* of Belgrade Metropolitan Joakim from 1607 [Милеуснић 2001: 67–86; Живанов 2013: 121–136; Цинцар-Костић 2013: 147–174; Matić 2018: 199 fig. 13]; an *incense pot* made in Smederevo for the Ravanica Monastery near Ćuprija (1521); a temple-shaped *artophorion* made by goldsmith Dimitrije from Lipova (1550–1551) and the large *reliquary of the Ravanica Monastery*, made of gilded silver and enamel by Nikola Nedeljković from Ćiprovac (1705); *book fittings for the Gospel* by goldsmiths Petar of Smederevo, Kondo Vuk and Neško Prolimleković; the chalice of priest

Teofil from the Žiča Monastery, and the *hegumen's cup*, with an inscription about the relics of St. Sava, donated to the Mileševa Monastery by Russian Tzar Ivan the Terrible (1558). The fourth showroom of the permanent exhibition houses the original charters issued by Emperor Dušan (1347) and Vuk Branković (1390) to the Hilandar Monastery as well as the first reliquary coffin that held the relics of Saint King Stefan of Dečani (around 1343). Among the collection of ancient manuscripts, particularly important and beautifully illuminated are the *Aprakos Gospel book from Crkolez* (late 13th century), the *Braničevo Ladder of Divine Ascent* (1434), the *Tetraevangelion* of Bishop Maxim (1514), the *Varaždin Apostle* (1454), the *Homilies* of St. John the Chrysostom recorded by scribe Stefan Domestik (1458), the *Krušedol Tetraevangelion* (first half of the 16th century), the *Tetraevangelion* of priest Jovan from Kratovo (16th century), among others [Милеуснић 2001: 123–143]. Also part of the permanent exhibition are privileges issued to Serbs, including the first privilege issued to Serbs in the year of the Great Migration, on July 21, 1690, as well as valuable wood carvings and engravings [Петковић, Петронијевић 2006]. The most important icons among the Museum's holdings are that of *Christ Pantocrator* made in southern Serbia in the 15th century; the icons of the *Saint Branković family* and *St. John the Forerunner* from Krušedol by painter Andreja Raičević (1645); the *Nativity of the Mother of God* from Šišatovac (16th century); a Russian icon of the *Most Holy Mother of God Amolintos* (the Passion) in a gilded frame (16th–17th century); the iconostasis cross from Velika Remeta (late 16th century); the icon of the *Three-Faced Holy Trinity* by Kozma Damjanović (1704) [Grujić 1955: 99–109; Kučeković 2019: 237–252]; and a series of Teodor Kračun's festive icons (18th century), among others.

The Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church is located at number 6 Sime Markovića Street. It is open Monday through Friday, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. (except on major church holidays). The Museum can be contacted at +381 11 26 38 875 or muzejspc@gmail.com.

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In 2019, the Serbian Orthodox Church celebrated eight centuries of autocephaly. With the blessing of his Holiness Serbian Patriarch Irinej and the Holy Synod, the Museum marked the occasion by organizing an exhibition entitled "Eight Centuries of Art under the Auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church, 1219–2019." The event was opened by Patriarch Irinej and Museum Director Diacon Vladimir Radovanović, in the presence of a large number of hierarchs, representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Information, officials from the Administration for Cooperation with Churches and Religious Communities, their Royal Highnesses Prince Aleksandar and Princess Catherine Karadjordjević, as well as delegates of various cultural and educational institutions, the Army of the Republic of Serbia, and other guests and members of the general public. The exhibition was actualized by Museum Director Diacon Vladimir Radovanović, Miljana Matić, PhD, Marija Jović, Biljana Cincar-Kostić, MA, Diacon Aleksandar Sekulić, Peter Krajnc, Aleksandar Radosavljević and Stefan Kojadinović. A 157-page catalogue with over one hundred color illustrations

was published on the occasion, reviewed by Prof. Miodrag Marković, PhD, a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Tihon Rakićević, PhD, archimandrite of the Studenica Monastery [Матић 2019].

The exhibition presented the public with over six hundred ecclesiastical art objects of unprecedented value made between the 13th and the 20th century and originating from the treasuries of the Serbian monasteries and churches in the broad area that was under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church throughout this period. On occasion of the jubilee, the exhibition also included extremely precious artefacts from the treasuries of the Patriarchate of Peć and monasteries of Dečani, Studenica and Krka, as well as from churches located throughout territories historically inhabited by Serbs [Василић 1957; Borčić 1971; Borčić 1974; Borčić 1978; Шакота 1984; Шакота 1988].

The first portion of the exhibition, staged in Museum's two new showrooms, comprised 118 manuscripts and 20 printed books, artistic metal fittings and applied art objects decorated with intarsia and filigree – all chosen to illustrate the history of old Serbian literature – "The Embodied Word of God" [Матић 2019: 13–42]. Of the manuscripts exhibited – written on parchment, Carta Bombycina and paper – the oldest and most valuable were the works from the Patriarchate of Peć (the *Gospel of Luke and John* and the *Patericon*, last quarter of the 13th century); from the Dečani Monastery (*Theodore the Studite*, end of the 13th century, the *Aprakos Gospel* from Crkolez, the *Dečani Nomocanon*, the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by St. John Climacus, Matthew Blastares' *Syntagma*, the *Tetraevengelion* of Taho Mark, and the *Leitourgikon*, all from the 14th century); and from Mokro Polje near Knin (the *Gospel Book*, 13th century). Most important among the later manuscripts exhibited were the *Dečani Collection of Akathists* (15th–16th century), which includes a segment written by fresco painter Longin, as well as the Commemorative book (Pomenik) of the Dečani Monastery (1595–1938), the *Theotokarion with Octoechos* from Đurakovac (third quarter of the 16th century), the *Panegyrikon* for September–December by the scribe Averkije (1615) and the *Leiturgikons* and one *Menaion* by Hristofor and Jerotej Račanin, from the late 17th century [Ракић 2012: Свет српске рукописне књиге 2016]. This part of the exhibition also displayed the oldest Serbian printed books: the *Cetinje Octoechos* by hieromonk Makarije, printed in Đurđe Crnojević's printing house in Cetinje (1494), along with the *Cetinje Psalter* (1495), Božidar Vuković's *Psalter* from Venice (1519 and 1537), the *Psalter* (1521) and *Euchologion* (1523) from Goražde, the *Gračanica Octoechos* of Metropolitan Nikanor (1539), the *Belgrade Tetraevangelion* (1552), the *Psalter* from Mileševa (1557), the *Triodion* from Mrkša's Church (1566), and the *Pentekostarion* from Scutari (1563). A special place belonged to literary works decorated with highly valuable engravings – *Stemmatographia* by Hristofor Žefarović (1741) and *Calligraphy* by Zaharije Orfelin (1759).

The second portion of the exhibition, entitled "By Hand and from the Soul: the Art of Icon Painting", presented a unique series of Serbian icons made from the 14th to the 20th century. The icons were brought to the Museum from the treasuries of Dečani, the Patriarchate of Peć, Prizren and village churches in Metohija. Among them, particularly important are those made during the

reign of Emperor Dušan's: a depiction of *Archangel Gabriel* (around 1343) and two processional icons of *the Mother of God Pelagonitissa* – one from Dečani (mid-14th century) and the other from Prizren (last quarter of the 14th century), painted on both front and back [*Serbian Artistic Heritage in Kosovo and Metohija* 2017: 388–391]. The exhibition also offered the visitors the unique opportunity to acquaint themselves with the works of Longin, the best Serbian painter from the second half of the 16th century. The Longin works displayed included the particularly remarkable large hagiographic icon of Stefan Dečanski, exhibited in showroom four. In addition to icons from the time of the renewed Patriarchate of Peć – authored by Kir Georgije and Kozma the painter, Andreja Raičević and Radul – the exhibition also presented icons from the monasteries and churches in Kosovo and Metohija that were destroyed in 1999 (Mušutište, Đurakovac, Popovljane) [Матић 2015: 165–174; Матић 2016: 529–539; Матић 2017: 436, 449–450]. Concluding this portion of the exhibition were the works of Serbian icon painters Ostoja Mrkojević, Kozma Damjanović and priest Stanoje Popović, as well as 18th- and the 19th- century masterpieces by Teodor Kračun, Stefan Tenecki, Nikola Nešković and Aleksije Lazović.

A third part of the exhibition – entitled "The Robes of Salvation" – featured liturgical and church textiles and embroidery [Матић 2019: 85–116]. The segment's focal exhibits were: the *antimension* with cryptograms from the village church in Dobrodoljane, Kosovo (1564, from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade); the antimension used in the Holy Liturgy on Corfu from 1916 to 1918, during the Great War; an epitrachelion from the Patriarchate of Peć (15th century); and the epitrachelion "of St. Sava" from the treasury of the Krka Monastery (15th century), which features an inscription stating it was purchased from the Studenica Monastery as a "covenant of St. Sava." The crown jewels of the exhibition were the three shrouds central to Serbian ecclesiastical heritage: the shroud of the Holy King Milutin, which is part of the permanent exhibition; the Studenica shroud of Antonius of Heraclea, which was presented to the public for the first time after undergoing conservation at the National Museum in Belgrade; and the late 16th-century signed Longin shroud, from the Studenica of Hvosno Monastery [Грујић 1930: 12–19; Шакота 1988: 193; Byzantium: Faith and Power: 315–316; Shilb 2009: 327–330].

The chamber dedicated to metal artifacts – bearing the title "The Sacred Vessels of the Divine Grace" [Матић 2019: 45–82] – presented a number of very valuable works, including early Christian pendant crosses and reliquary crosses dating from the 8th to the 12th century; the Dečani cross of "Emperor Dušan," at the center of which is a cross made of the Lord's Holy Cross; and three large crosses for the altar's holy table, brought for the occasion from the Patriarchate of Peć [Василић 1957: 16–17]. Also exhibited were the Chalice of Radivoje and the Asterisk of Radivoje, the holy bread tray of hieromonk Hristofor, and two rhipidions by Kondo Vuk, all from the 16th century [*Serbian Artistic Heritage in Kosovo and Metohija* 2017: 426–431].

A number of exhibits comprised artifacts that combine materials (wood, bone, silver, gold, semi-precious stones, enamel, and similar) as well as different sculpting and decoration techniques. The catalogue labels this portion of the

show "All Things Holy and Extraordinary", quoting the *Hagiography of St. Sava*, namely the words with which Teodosije the Hilandarian referred to all objects used to decorate the Žiča Monastery to the glory of the Lord. [Матић 2019: 143–156]. Among the rich array of panagias, encolpions and panagiarions, of special note was the never-before-displayed *encolpion of St. Theodor Tyron's relics* – originating from the monastery of Novo Hopovo. The medallion is inlayed with a 12th-century sardonyx cameo depicting the complete standing figure of Christ. Two other remarkable pieces were the *arthos panagia* from Dečani (14th century) and the *panagiarion* from Krušedol (17th century). Scattered throughout the showrooms were also the original portraits of patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which the Court of the Serbian Patriarchate lent the exhibition on the occasion of the jubilee: Arsenije III Čarnojević and Arsenije IV Čarnojević Šakabenta, Josif Rajačić, the Metropolitans of Belgrade and Karlovci Mojsije Petrović and Vićentije Jovanović Vidak, the Metropolitan of Karlovci Stefan Stratimirović, Belgrade Metropolitan Hadži Melentije Pavlović, the Metropolitan of Serbia Mihailo Jovanović, and Karlovci Archbishop and Serbian Patriarch Georgije Branković [Анђелковић 2013: 58–81].

In preparation for the exhibition, the Museum created copies of two notable stone sculptures and displayed them in its foyer: *the Sokolica Mother of God*, which once decorated the western portal of the Banjska Monastery (1312–1316) and *the lunette from the portal of the Dečani Monastery*, representing the Baptism of Christ (1343). Exhibited alongside these reproductions were the original bell of Rodop, ktetor of the Church of St. Nicholas in the village of Drenica in Kosovo and Metohija, made in 1432, as well as copies of the frescoes *Christmas Sticheron* (Žiča, 1309), *The Assembly of St. Sava of Serbia, The Assembly of the Venerable Simeon and King Milutin* (the Church of St. Demetrius in the Patriarchate of Peć, 1319), from the holdings of the National Museum in Belgrade. Also shown in the entry hall was an original, restored cross from the Monastery of the Annunciation in Kablar (1632), it, too, from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade.

The leading object on display was the crown of St. Stefan Štiljanović (1498–1543), made of gilded silver filigree and once housed in the reliquary coffin of the holy and venerable despot St. Stefan Štiljanović, who ruled the Serbs of Srem and Slavonia during the trying times of Turkish expansion, striving to defend both his lands from occupation and the Orthodox Christian faith from attempts at Catholicization and Islamization. Upon his death, his relics proved miraculous and were transferred to the Monastery of Šišatovac, where they remained until the beginning of the Second World War. After the monastery was pillaged by the Croatian Ustashe, Professor Radoslav Grujić – with help from major Johann Albrecht Freiherr von Reiswitz (Lugano, 1899 – Munich 1962) and Miodrag Grbić, PhD, curator of the Museum of Prince Paul – managed to salvage the relics of Stefan Štiljanović along with the relics of Emperor Uroš (from the Jazak Monastery) and Prince Lazar (from the Bešenovo Monastery). On April 13, 1942, these holy relics were transferred to the St. Michael's Cathedral in Belgrade, where St. Stefan Štiljanović's have

remained to this day, by the left of the iconostasis [Милеуснић 2005: 47–55; Стојановић 2012: 69–86; Анђелковић 2013: 30–32]. The crown of St. Stefan Štiljanović was gifted by Vikentije Popović, archimandrite of the Šišatovac Monastery, in 1760. Serbian Patriarch Pajsije wrote Stefan Štiljanović's hagiography in 1631, while the monk Petronije from the Hopovo Monastery wrote a service for Štiljanović in 1675. The chalices of Stefan Štiljanović and his wife Jelena, later the nun Jelisaveta, are part of the permanent exhibition of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

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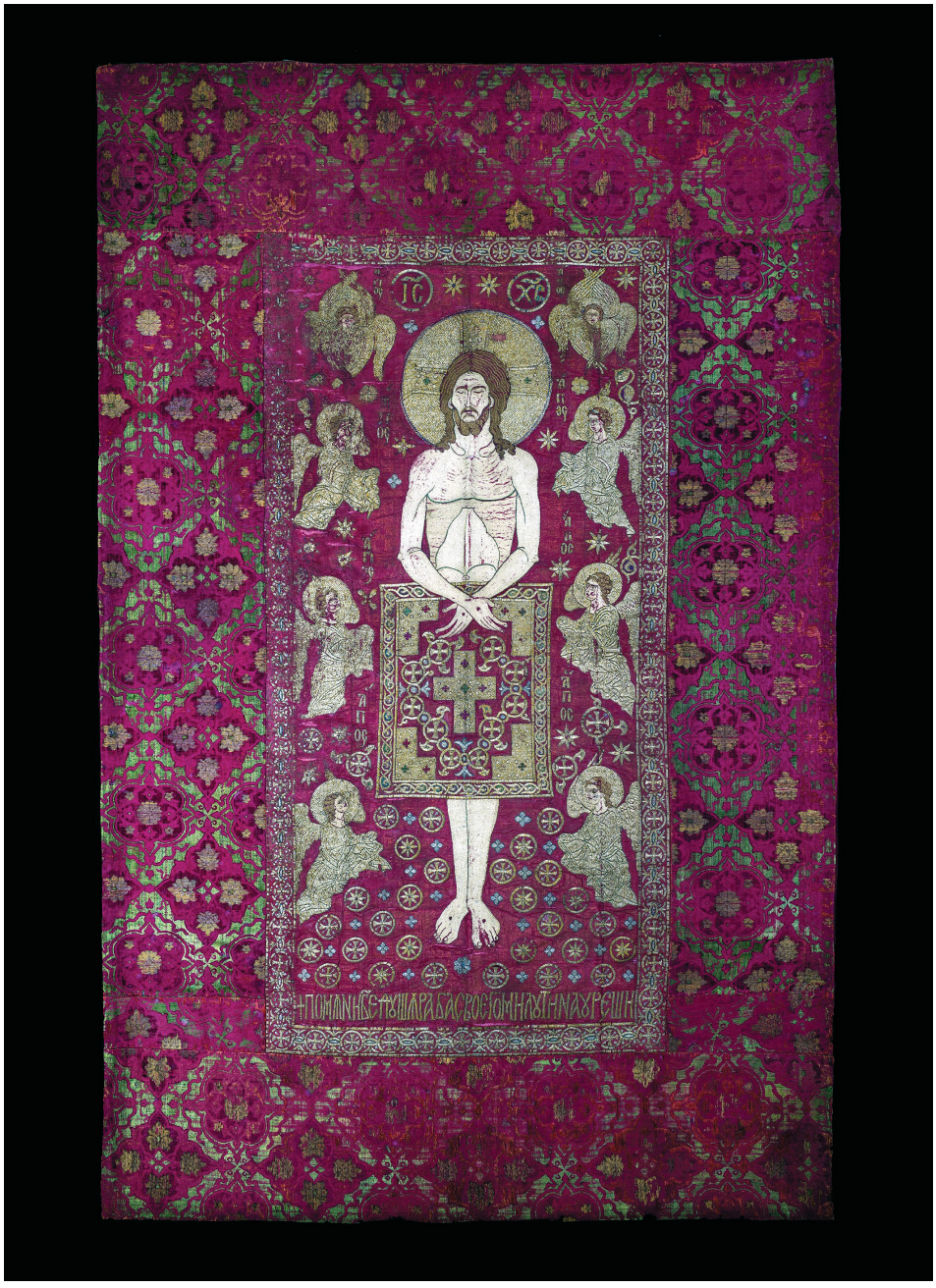

Image 1. Shroud of King Milutin, Constantinople workshop, end of the 13th – beginning of 14th century, atlas silk, silver, golden and silk threads, 143 x 72 cm (with a hem from the 16th century, dimensions 210 x 132 cm), МСПЦ 4660 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

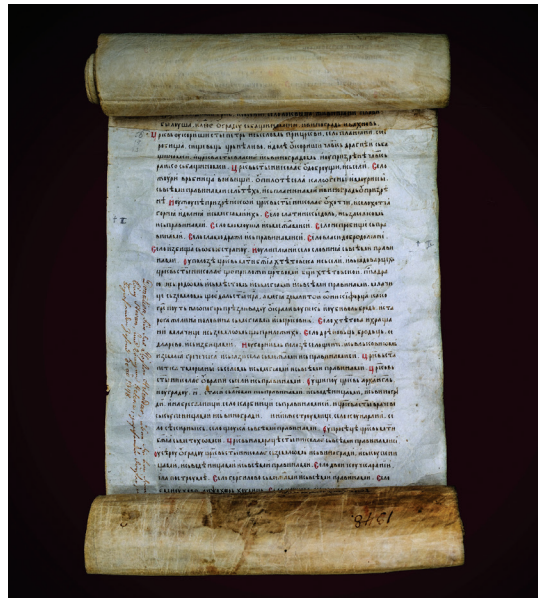

Image 2. Emperor Dušan's Charter to Hilandar Monastery, Metropolitanate in Sremski Karlovci, 1347/1348, parchment, 198 x 36.5 cm, ОРГ-Д-19 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 3. Prince Lazar's burial garment, Vrdnik Monastery (originally from Ravanica), end of the 14 th century, brocade with golden threads, decorative gold-thread band, metal and enamel button, length 142 cm (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 4. Homilies of St. Isaac of Syria, around 1390, originally from Krušedol Monastery, paper, leaf III + 388, 23.5 x 14 cm, МСПЦ 249 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 5. Tetraevangelion, around 1565, originally from Beočin Monastery, paper, leaf 374, 31,8 x 21.2 cm, ОРГ 204 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

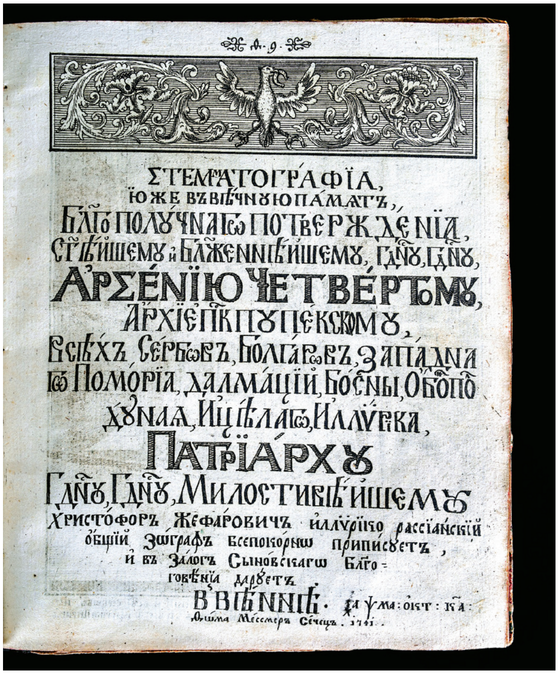

Image 6 a, b. Stematography, Hristofor Žefarović, Vienna 1741, paper,
leaf 54 + 4.20 + 16.5 cm, МСПЦ 1118 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 7. Katapetasma (a curtain for the Royal Doors), work of nun Agnija, Beočin Monastery, 16th century, atlas silk, golden, silver and silk threads, 176 x 124 cm, МСПЦ 4663 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

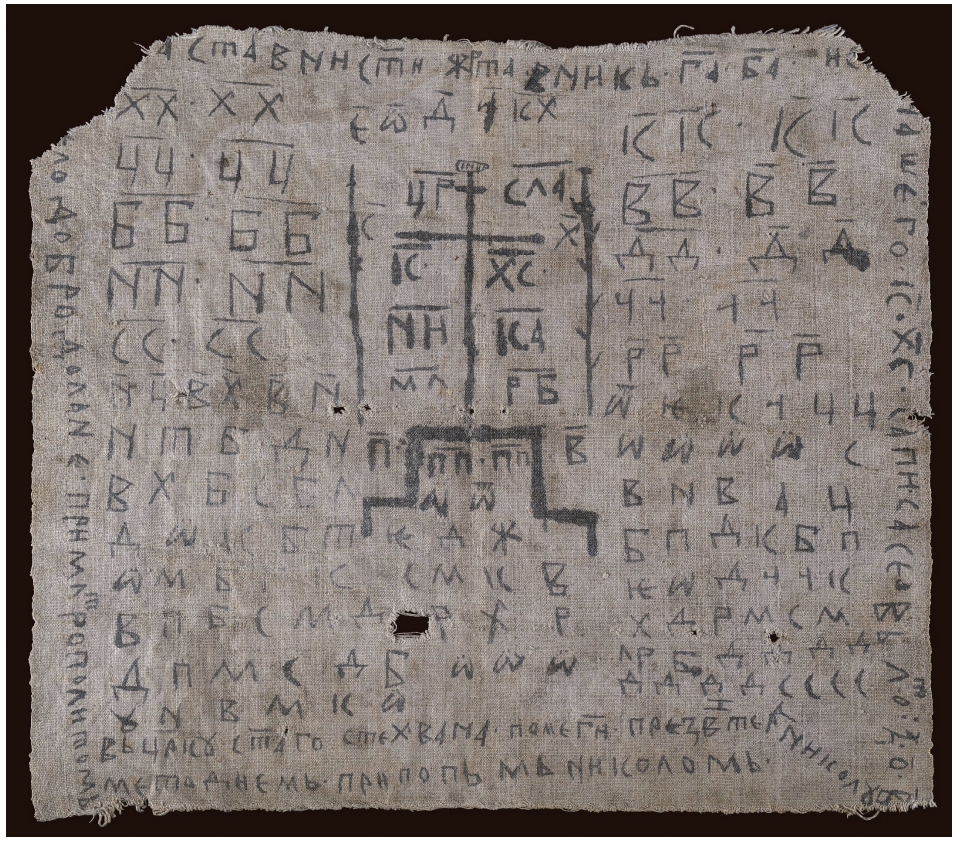

Image 8. Antimension with cryptograms of Presbyter Nicholas, originally from the church in the village of Dobrodoljane, near Prizren, 1563/1564, linen, ink; 42.5 x 46 cm, National Museum in Belgrade, HM 25_2441
(Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 9. Aer, work of painter Longin, 1596/1597, the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery (originally from Studenica of Hvosno), linen, ink, 129.5 x 88 cm
(Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 10. Mother of God Pelagonitissa, Dečani Monastery, third quarter of the 14th century, tempera on primed canvas, board, 120 x 91 x 4 cm
(Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 11. Holy King Stefan of Dečani with hagiography, work of painter Longin, Dečani Monastery, 1577, tempera on board, 150 x 93 x 5.5. cm
(Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 12. Iconostasis cross, Velika Remeta Monastery, last quarter of the 16th century, tempera on board; panel with the image of St. John the Apostle, 80 x 43 x 6 cm; panel with the image of the Most Holy Mother of God, 89 x 53.5 x 6 cm, МСПЦ 4127, 4128, 4129 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 13. Mother of God Amolintos, Russian workshop, 17th century, frame from the 18th century, tempera on board, gilded silver, semi-precious stones and pearls, 152 x 113 x 7 cm, МСПЦ 4115 (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 14. Pectoral pendant crosses and crosses reliquaries, from various localities, 8th –12th century, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church
(Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 15. Panagias 15th to 18th century, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church
(Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

Image 16. Mitre of Belgrade and Srem Metropolitan Joakim, 1607, gilded silver, atlas silk, semi-precious and precious stones, МСПЦ 1145, 20 x 18.5 cm
(Photo: Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)

Image 17. Crown from St. Stefan Štiljanović's reliquary coffin, 1760, gilded silver, silk, МСПЦ 1091, 26 x 18 cm (Photo: Aleksandar Radosavljević)

A JOURNEY TO MOSCOW

KOSARA GAVRILOVIĆ

Chapter One

IN WHICH I REFUSE TO PANIC

Few people can say with any precision when their childhood ended and they became adults. I can. My childhood finally ended, far from traumatically, in 1940, on a December night in a bedroom in Sofia where I fell asleep to the strains of the Brahms Lullaby.

What was I doing in somebody else's bedroom, in a flat belonging to people whose names I did not know although I must have been told their names earlier in the evening when they were introduced to me at the railway station together with other members of the Yugoslav Legation. But I had been tired and hungry for so long that their offer of a meal and a bed had seemed nothing less than providential. Besides, I vaguely felt that it would be rude to refuse, although it never occurred to me—so tired I was—that they were not inviting me to their home but one of my father's daughters.

My life was full of fabulous things that would never have happened but for my father. They were not always happy things. They were sometimes sad, sometimes frightening and even dangers, but they were always so extraordinary, and exciting, and quite unlike anything that happened to other people in my acquaintance that I never thought about them subsequently as sad or frightening or anything but fabulous.

Take for instance my first night at the opera at which I wore a hand-me-down dress and I felt like the very image of elegance because my father was at my side. The word hand-me-down has such a nasty sound about it that I really should not have used it to describe the dress I wore that night at the opera even if father didn't take me, but he did, of course, as it was my first night at the opera. There are so many things that I have done for the first time with father, that he has taught me how to do, or told me how to learn to do, that I can truthfully say that, whereas mother brought me into life, father introduced life to me. He taught me to dance, he taught me to sled, he taught me to swim. It is true that the first lesson in that discipline was taught me, not by father, but by extreme necessity, as I was thrown into the sea by mistake when I was only

four or five. In those days, in that place, little girls and little boys on a sea beach wore only the bottom parts of bathing suits which revealed nothing of gender denomination of those who wore them. That was how it came to pass that I was mistaken for my brother who, unfortunately for me, was afraid of diving at that time. Mother, rather typically of her, thought that to be tossed into the sea from a diving board would be the best way of teaching him to get over his fear, and it probably would have been, except for one thing—a small matter of mistaken identity. And so it was not Aleksa who was thrown into the sea but I who was not afraid of diving as I did not know what diving was. After sitting for a while on a flat rock at the bottom of the sea, which I remember with painful clarity, I surfaced and dog-paddled towards the concrete steps edged with unpolished white marble.

Time has a way of telescoping at this distance, so I do not remember how soon after the first experience my second swimming lesson took place. Sometimes I think that the two happened the same year, one during the height of summer on the island of Hvar and the second in early autumn on our return from Hvar to Belgrade. But sometimes I feel that the memories of the second experience seem not just clearer but somehow more adult. At those times I feel sure that I must have been at least one year older than I had been when I received my first swimming lesson. Be it as it may, on one of our returns to Belgrade from our summer vacation on the island of Hvar when I retold father for the umpteenth time the story of how I had nearly drowned but learned to dogpaddle instead, Father decided that I should learn to swim properly and do so immediately. The prompt implementation of this decision was made possible by the early autumn days, which were sunny and balmy and kept the Sava bathing places open and full of bathers and sun lovers. This time, father was to supervise my swimming lessons. He had engaged the services of a big, blond, muscular female physical education instructor who, I believe, was a Czech. (It is, of course quite possible that she simply seems to me now to have been a Czech because at that time most Belgrade physical education teachers were either Czech or Slovene.) My second swimming lesson would have been hardly less traumatic than the first had been, but for father's presence and my infinite trust in him. It happened at a bathing place called *Kod Šest Topola* (By the Six Poplar Trees) on the river Sava, a twenty minute walk in north-westerly direction down the hill from the Vineyard. *The Six Poplar Trees* consisted actually of a series of rafts joined together end to end, each of which had its own restaurant just across the asphalt road running along the river bank. The raft-cum-restaurant which we frequented was known as *Kod Trninića* after the family which owned and ran it. Each raft had a wading pool for children and a swimming pool for adults who were not disposed to brave the open waters of the river itself. But it was in the river itself that I was to be given my second swimming lesson. The teaching technique of the phys. ed. teacher was a marvel of simplicity. I was to be put into a harness at one end of a longish rope, the other end of which was firmly held by the instructor who was supposed to have complete control of the whole contraption with me in it. It was explained to me that the instructor would toss me into the water, that I would go under

for the briefest of seconds and, before I even knew that I was underwater, I would be yanked up to the surface and the rest required no further explanation. I looked at the river, which looked to me quite motionless and friendly. But there were some things which the very efficient Czech instructress had not taken into account. She had forgotten all about the current, which was not necessarily visible on the surface, nor did it always flow parallel to the raft. Moreover, its strength varied from occasion to occasion. But father was there observing it all.

Was I ready? I was ready. I was tossed into the water, I went under, and then up, and then … I don't know how it happened but I was in father's arms. I knew I was in father's arms although I couldn't see him. I couldn't see anything but murky greenness around us. But who else could it be but father? And I knew something else. I knew that I was breathing, which was something I could not do sitting on that flat rock at the bottom of the sea off the island of Hvar. I could hear his voice. I don't remember what he was saying; I don't believe that I knew what he was saying at the time of his saying it. But what did it matter? I was in father's arms and he was talking to me. What else was there to know? Then he said: "Take a deep breath and don't breathe for a while" and he put his hand over my nose and mouth. Then, with me still in his arms, Father ducked under a sort of wooden ledge, swam a short distance in the green twilight, turned on his back and gently brought my face up to the surface where he removed his hand from my face and showed me how foolish it would have been to panic as there was a cushion of air trapped under the deck of the raft which was laid on a frame several inches high. Then he made me see that the twilight was not uniformly green all over. There were areas with hints of gold, areas which held promise and offered hope. We could see the sunlight through long, narrow cracks where one raft was loosely tied to the next, and it was these cracks which would lead us back to the safety of the open river. There was never any need to panic. There was always a way out.

But this story is not about swimming, nor is it in fact about my first night at the opera, or the supper afterwards at the newly opened *Majestic* which seemed to me then more than worthy of its name, but appeared somewhat seedy when I first saw it again after World War II. It is not even about that wonderful blue dress with a little puff-sleeved bolero of the same material which I had inherited from Vukosava and which made me feel like a fairytale princess. I just happened to remember that dress and that evening because I remember them always when I see, hear or think about *La Traviata*. *La Traviata* was the first opera father had taken me to and it was the opera I was returning from on that extraordinarily mild early December night on which this story begins.

As I got off the bus at *Velika Zvezda* I was surprised to see Mother waiting for me at the bus-stop. It should have been Stefan, our manservant, as in the past it had been Živan, the vineyard man. When I was younger, I was walked both to and back from the bus-stop. The bus ride itself and the crossing of the street from the bus to the theater were thought to be quite safe. I am sure that the walk from the house to the bus-stop and back was also quite safe then. It was probably considered not quite proper for me to walk alone after dark. I cannot remember at precisely what age I was allowed to walk to the bus alone,

but I remember that the time came when Živan walked me to the bus only on rainy days so that I could change my boots for dainty shoes before boarding the bus as I hated overshoes and could not be bothered with taking them off and putting them on again in the theater cloakroom. It was much easier having Živan go down on one knee and do this little chore for me.

"Hello, mother, what's the matter with Stefan?"

"Nothing. I've something to tell you."

"It must be very important, or very urgent, if it couldn't wait five minutes longer for me to get home."

"Well, it's sort of good news and bad news. It is bad news because it is good. You know what I mean."

Of course I did not know what she meant. Mother had a very confusing way of talking at times. She had a tremendously quick mind and was always three or four arguments ahead of anyone else in a discussion and assumed—an assumption born of modesty really rather than arrogance, of which she was often and unjustly accused—that everyone else was as quick-thinking as she was. Then also she was simply very vague. That happened very frequently.

"Kosta called."

I stopped breathing. My heart stopped beating. I threw my arms about Mother and twirled her around in a frenzied sort of dance.

"I'm going to Moscow!" I cried. "I'm going to Moscow!"

"Stop! Stop! You don't understand."

"What's to understand?" The dance continued. "I'm going, I'm going to Moscow!"

"Stop it, you fool! How can you go?"

I stopped. "How can I *not* go," I asked her, amazed. "What are you saying? That Kosta won't take me?"

"No, of course not."

"He won't?"

"No, you idiot. I'm not saying he won't take you. That is the good news, he wants to take you. The bad news is that you cannot go."

"But why, Mother? You promised that, if Kosta would take me, I could go to Moscow with him."

"Yes but that was weeks ago. When he came back from Russia he said that he would take you back with him and I said that you could go."

"Well then?"

"But that was weeks ago. We never heard from him since then. We have made no preparations. You are not ready."

"I shall get ready for heaven's sake!"

"How? When? It is Saturday, almost midnight. He is leaving on Monday morning. You do not have a Soviet visa. Nor a Bulgarian transit visa. Then there is the washing."

The washing. How can you, my readers, brought up as you have been with washers and dryers in your homes, or, at the very least, with Laundromats around the corner, understand that the washing could be such a major consideration that all by itself it could prevent one from going to Moscow?

The washing. In the Vineyard the servants' quarters were located in a building quite separate from the main house. The building was a one-storied structure containing a large kitchen and a series of rooms, each opening out on to the kitchen yard in a sort of motel arrangement. At one end was a large and quite well appointed Cook's room with the large kitchen next to it. At the other end was the laundry room with a huge wood-heated cauldron, where the family linens and cottons were boiled, and two large sinks, where they were rinsed and rinsed again. For one whole week every month the laundry room would come to life when the washer woman came to do the washing. A flurry of activity would precede her arrival. One of the maids would sweep out the laundry room and free it from yards of cobwebs hanging from all corners and in between. Živan would bring in the wood and fire the cauldron for it took a long time for water to heat before the washer woman arrived. Special meals, high in calories and carbohydrates, neither of which were not known by these names at that time, were planned with a view to building up and maintaining the washer woman's strength during her stay in the Vineyard. The children would be reminded yet again of the dire consequences which would follow if they so much as put one foot inside the laundry room. Lines would be strung from one end of the New Orchard to the other to await the sheets and shirts and tablecloths and other clothes which would freeze solid on the lines in winter months and crackle stiffly in the breeze. It was a beautiful sight. But the laundry room itself was a mysterious, forbidding and somewhat frightening world, glimpsed only from outside through the condensation on the windowpanes and clouds of swirling steam beyond. It was an underworld kingdom ruled by a tall, gaunt consumptive woman who floated between the cauldron and the sinks and did secret and probably magic things with a long wooden paddle.

The washing. The washing and the visas. Between Saturday midnight and Monday morning. It was like being pulled under the raft again. The raft with its cushion of air beneath it and cracks like long fingers between planks pointing the way out.

"You deal with the washer woman," I said firmly, "and I shall get the visas."

"You must be crazy. You know that it took Aleksa three weeks to get his."

"I would be crazy to let dirty washing stand between me and Moscow. You either get the washer woman in tomorrow to do my laundry, or I go to Moscow with dirty clothes. I don't care. I just don't care."

How could you, who have been on closer than nodding terms with hippies, and bag ladies, and the street people, comprehend the daring, the audacity the sheer novelty of what I was proposing?

Mother could. But Mother had never been the conformist, the one to let mere conventions (of the left or the right) stand in her way. She became instantly caught up in my excitement only to be brought down again by the thought of the visas."

"All right. I shall take care of the washer woman. What will you do about the visas?"

"I don't know. Yet. I shall think of something. I am meeting someone at ten, so I must get my Soviet visa before then."

"Before ten! You *are* crazy. Call whomever you are meeting and cancel."

"I can't. I haven't got his telephone number."

"I see."

Both of us could contemplate the possibility of my travelling to Moscow with dirty clothes; neither could entertain the possibility of not showing up for an appointment without prior notice. Was something the matter with our priorities? By this time we had arrived at the main gate. We called to Šilja, the only dog which was always chained in daytime and let loose only at night, made our presence known to him, received his permission to enter and did so.

I should have begun this story by telling you that this was all happening in December 1940. Buba had died and father arrived in Moscow some six months earlier. In October Aleksa went to visit him. In November he returned to Belgrade with the Press Attaché, Kosta Krajšumović, who on this occasion also acted as a courier. Kosta was a member of the Peasant Party and the only member of the Embassy staff picked out by father—that is not counting Risto Trklja Father's driver, but he has a story all to himself so I won't write much about him here. Kosta was an excellent journalist and very active in the Agrarian movement with many connections throughout the Balkans, but particularly so in Bulgaria. It had been decided that if he were not to return to Moscow immediately, if he could postpone his return till sufficiently close to Christmas vacation so as to reduce my absence from school to an acceptable minimum, I could go to Moscow with him and return to Belgrade with Vukosava.

Obviously, a trip to Moscow would be exciting for anyone, at any time. For a sixteen year-old girl in 1940, when the Soviet Union was virtually *terra incognita* to the rest of the world, it was an adventure that few adventures could rival. I was not to be cheated out of it—certainly not by dirty laundry and the absence of a visa.

I had already met Mme Plotnikov, wife of the Soviet Minister in Belgrade. We were in mourning for Buba, so Mother did not entertain formally. This was explained very carefully to the Plotnikovs who had to be satisfied with informal teas, lunches and dinners with a few intimate friends. This was in my favor, because it gave me an opportunity to meet Mme Plotnikov more frequently and to have closer contact with her than I would have done at large receptions and formal dinner parties. Mme Plotnikov was my way to the visa.

At seven o'clock on Sunday morning I was outside the Plotnikov residence where I was stopped by a Yugoslav policeman stationed in front of the main gate. I made fairly short shrift of him. I suppose he let me pass knowing that the major obstacle waited for me inside the gate in the person of the Legation chauffeur who kept pacing up and down the drive between the front door and the gate in a most intimidating manner. But I had already met the chauffeur too. Whenever he brought Mme Plotnikov to tea, I saw to it that the tea was brought to him in the car as he refused to go to our servants' quarters. I had no difficulty in communicating with him because he spoke French unlike Mme Plotnikov who spoke nothing but Russian and a few words of German. That was a deficiency on her part which I intended to use against her.

After the chauffeur, there was still the butler, or the houseman, or whatever he might be. I did not know *him* at all. I had never called on Mme Plotnikov; all my contacts with her had taken place in the Vineyard. By the time the door was opened for me I was riding so high on the wave of my two victories over one policeman and one chauffeur that I was not going to be intimidated by a mere butler. I cannot remember in what language our conversation took place, but it went something like this.

"Mme Plotnikov please," I said with what I believed was the right mixture of hauteur and nonchalance.

He looked flabbergasted and said nothing.

"Mme Plotnikov," I said omitting the please this time.

"Bbbut, she's asleep." It was my turn to look amazed. "Wake her up then," I said and walked away from him pretending to examine a painting on the paneled wall of the hall into which I had simply walked without his permission. It is difficult to argue with someone's back, and I refused to face him. After an eternity of ten seconds or so he went upstairs. Another hurdle vaulted over, another barricade torn down! If she came down, the visa was mine. Of that I was sure.

And down she came in a dressing-gown of navy blue white-spotted foulard silk with scarlet piping, her hair tousled, her eyes wild.

"Mme Plotnikov, what a pleasure it is to see you," said I in rapid French which I knew she didn't understand. "I'm leaving for the Soviet Union tomorrow morning and I need your visa. Please do me the kindness of asking your husband to have my passport stamped for me."

She stared.

I repeated my little speech in English which she understood as little as she did French, as well I knew. But I also knew that one never felt such a fool as one did when forced to reveal ignorance of something others expected one to know as a matter of course, although their expectations may be not justified at all. So I repeated the speech again several times, now in French, now in English with increasing clarity and precision of pronunciation—as if that would or could help.

"Verstehe nicht. Verstehe nicht," said Mme Plotnikov shaking her head and waving her hands before her face in confusion.

I shrugged my shoulders in a sort of 'Oh, what a bore!' gesture and repeated the speech yet again.

"*No ne ponimayu, govoryu vam, ne ponimayu,*" she pleaded close to tears and I understood the plea. 'I don't understand' was what she was saying. So I took my passport out of my handbag, held it before her eyes for a moment and said firmly first in French "*passeport*" then in English "passport" and "visa." Then I called upon my very meager resources in German and said: "*Morgen früh nach Moskau ich muss fahren*."

"*Aber das ist unmöglich, ganz unmöglich*." She seemed genuinely distressed that it was impossible.

"Why? I mean, *Warum*?"

"*Mein Man, mein Man… Verstehen Sie*?"

"Yes, your man, I mean, your husband. *Ich verstehe.*"

"*Ach, Bozhe moy, Bozhe moy, kak skazat po-nemetski*," she muttered to herself, and the words were very similar to Serbian: My God, my God, how to say in German? She started again:

"*Mein Man, verstehen Sie?*"

"*Ja.*"

"Mein Man schützen poschol. Verstehen Sie?"

"*Nein.*"

"*Ach, Bozhe moy, Bozhe moy.*" She smote herself on the breast and said *"Ich bin mein Man. Ja?"*

"Ja." I thought if she wanted to be her own man, who was I to argue, but how did it affect my visa?

She folded her arms across her chest as if she were hugging something very precious. *"Mein Man, ja?"* She looked at me full of hope. I nodded. *"Schützen, ja?"* I raised my eyebrows. I was not sure. She started stalking through the hall with amazing stealth. I began to see a glimmer of light. She raised an invisible shotgun. *"Mein Man schützen. Bang!"* She shouted and dropped on all fours. "Bang," she shouted again and fell over on her back from which supine position she declared *"Tier Animal todt."* Of course, I understood. I understood it all. Her husband had gone shooting, which meant he was not in Belgrade and, therefore, it was *"ganz unmöglich"* for me to get my visa.

'For heaven's sake, woman' I wanted to shout at her, 'Ministers don't stamp passports. There must be someone left on duty in Belgrade who can do this. They can't all have gone shooting *Tier Animal*.' I refused to acknowledge defeat, so when she sat up smiling—the *Tier Animal* miraculously resurrected—and asked *"Verstehen Sie?"* I answered viciously *"Nein, ich verstehe gar nichts."* My pronunciation was better than hers, and I was going to make her feel that I had understood nothing at all because of her lousy German. "*Ich muss nach Moskau fahren. Ich muss meine Visa haben."* Infinitives *must* always at the end come. If we are good German sentence structure to have. *"Und so, ich muss nach Moskau fahren. Morgen früh. Verstehen Sie?"* I went on frantically: *"Ich muss die Visa haben. Nach Moskau ich muss fahren.* Damn it, *ich WILL nach Moskau fahren."* You silly old cow, I am running out of German verbs. I am running out of German nouns. And that backbone of every language, the conjunctions, I have never even had, and I know that my cases are all wrong, so how am I going to make you understand that I must get this bloody passport visaed, you silly, silly old cow.

I believe I said all this aloud, but I must have spoken in English or in French, or Serbian, because instead of being deeply offended she was visibly impressed. She put her hand out and said *"Davay pasport."* I gave it to her and walked out without even thanking her. I was exhausted. We had been at it for two hours and in five languages, four of which we mutilated mercilessly, and I had no more words in any of them for a simple thank you.

At ten, as had been agreed, I met someone to discuss Bakunin on the way to the Exhibition of Italian Portraits in Prince Paul's Gallery, where I saw and fell in love for life with Andrea Del Sarto's self-portrait.

When I returned home Mother informed me that the Soviet Legation had called. Not only had my passport been visaed, it had been sent on to the Bulgarian Legation for a transit visa whence it would be returned to me by a special courier.

"And the laundry?" I wanted to know.

"Need you ask?"

Chapter Two

IN WHICH I BECOME A DIPLOMATIC COURIER AND ALMOST PANIC

We had said our goodbyes on the platform; we had waved out of the carriage window and were now alone in a first class compartment. The train was gathering speed when Kosta made his move. First he told me that we were approaching the tunnel in which only a few weeks ago a British diplomatic courier had been found dead. He had obviously been tossed out of the train. His diplomatic pouches were never recovered. Had he not been killed he would have committed suicide, or so Kosta assured me, since everybody knew that, if one lost the pouches in one's care, the only honorable way out was death. Next, he indicated four large and bulging briefcases and told me that they were the pouches in *our* care. He went on to tell me what was in the pouches. As the Legation changed the code for enciphering dispatches which could not be sent *en claire* every three months, we were carrying the new code tables in addition to the usual mail and the payroll (in dollars) for the entire Legation, from Minister to Cook. Many people would kill for that last item alone, he said. Then he pulled out two repulsive objects and offered me a choice:

"Which would you prefer, the dagger or the handgun?"

"Neither, thank you very much," I replied not knowing whether he was serious or putting me on. I still don't know, but, on the whole, I think he was not. He was not trained for the diplomatic service. He certainly had no training as a courier and he was obviously nervous. Our couriers were not professionally trained because, in contrast to some other countries, such as Great Britain, we did not have a separate diplomatic courier service. The job was done by any member of the diplomatic staff available or sometimes, as in this case, by press attachés, who were not actually on the diplomatic list. And, as I said, Kosta was extremely nervous.

"You must take one or the other. How else are you to protect yourself and the pouches should anything happen to me?"

Oh, crikey, I thought, what next!

"I cannot protect myself with either of these two things. I don't know how to use them."

"I shall show you. Here…"

"No, please, don't!" I almost screamed for the thought of Kosta, lovable and funny but physically totally inept, trying to demonstrate how to use a handgun was enough to strike terror in my heart. I took the dagger because it was obvious that I would have to take something, and the dagger at least could

not accidentally go off and maim me or Kosta instead of Kosta's putative attacker who might be lurking for us in the tunnel ahead. I put the dagger in my large travelling handbag, burying it deep under my scarf, wallet, spectacle case, handkerchief and other trivia endemic in women's handbags however young and unconventional their owners may be.

It would be grossly untrue to say that 'Oh, crikey!' was the extent of my reaction to Kosta's proposal. I was both angry and frightened. I was angry because my festive mood, induced by the very idea of a trip to Moscow and enhanced by my victories over numerous obstacles which had barred my way, was now ruined. I was frightened because, ludicrous as Kosta appeared with his handgun and dagger, much of what he said was true. There had been a small item in the papers about the British courier. Our friends at the British Legation refused to discuss it, and that very refusal added weight to the newspaper report. Yugoslavia at that time was still a neutral country and, like all neutral countries, it was a hotbed of spies. And I was young. I was very young. It was true that I had grown up quickly after Buba's death because mother was so distraught. But that growing up had mostly to do with mundane things, such as dealing with servants. Mother had never been interested in the running of the house. That had always been our grandmother's domain; the garden was Mother's. But what sort of growing up was necessary in order to be able to deal with this kind of situation?

Of course, there was always the possibly of Kosta's putting me on, and I liked the idea. But in that case why would he not let me go to the dining-car for either lunch or dinner? There was such a thing as taking a put-on too far. Sofia was very far from Belgrade and I grew very hungry. I had never been so hungry in my life, not even when I got lost in the fog on a cross-country ski trip to Avala. But then I was too cold, too tired and too afraid of wolves—a much more real danger than Kosta's imagined attacker—to feel hunger. Now, in a warm and very comfortable railway compartment, the thought of spies was not sufficiently real to make me forget how hungry I was. I was seething with resentment against this silly, old man, fat, bald, quite ugly and bent down with sciatica, whom until so very recently I had regarded as rather a dear and an absolute poppet for allowing me to come to Russia with him.

This tedious journey came to an end rather late at night when we arrived in Sofia. We were met by some people from our Legation who relieved Kosta of the diplomatic pouches. Among them was a couple who decided that I was too young and looking too woebegone to go to a hotel and most graciously offered to take me home with them. Their daughter was away at school, and I was given her room. They were charming people, very warm and kind. They fed me, and cosseted me and generally made a fuss over me, and I loved it all. It never for a moment occurred to me that my being my father's daughter had anything to do with their kindness. I hadn't a nasty thought in my head or heart that night. After a luxurious bath I put on one of my most favorite nightgowns of all times. This one was made of pale blue and white checked brushed flannel and had a tucked inset in front outlined in cross-stitch embroidery. It looked very old-fashioned, very delicate and girlish, none of which I thought I was,

but at some level I must have wanted to be. Why else would I have loved that nightgown so?

There was a fluffy teddy bear on the top of a wardrobe. I stood on a stool and fetched it down. I don't think that I have ever in my life owned a fluffy stuffed toy animal. I know I had never gone to bed with one before this. But I took this teddy bear to bed with me, and to my delight I found that, when I moved its head up and down, it played the Brahms Lullaby.

During the next few days I hardly saw Kosta. He had friends in Sofia and so did I. I spent much time with Liuba Encheva who was Kosta Todoroff's[1] niece and a concert pianist. I accompanied her to rehearsals and she accompanied me to the Soviet Legation.

We went to the Soviet Legation because I was determined to get the so-called "pink slip." I had a diplomatic passport, but I had been told by Aleksa, who had gone through the same experience, that the Soviets did not honor ordinary diplomatic passports and that one had to have the "pink slip" if one did not want one's luggage opened. Normally I wouldn't bother, as I didn't care about diplomatic privileges, and I didn't mind having my personal luggage opened and inspected. This time, however, in addition to my personal luggage I travelled with 24 wooden crates of supplies for the Legation, and I simply could not face having them all opened and nailed shut again. The Soviet Legation in Belgrade did not issue pink slips. They had said they did not yet have proper forms and stamps. So Liuba Encheva and I found ourselves sitting opposite the very young and boyish looking Soviet Minister, whose name was Lavrishev. The conversation was, of course, in French.

"And why do you want a pink slip, Mademoiselle Gavrilović?"

"Because I am entitled to it, Your Excellency. But it is not just a matter of privilege. I want it because I am travelling with 24 wooden crates in addition to my personal luggage and I don't intend to stand in a customs house waiting for all of them to be inspected. And if you would like to ask me why I am travelling with 24 wooden cases, I shall be delighted to tell you."

"Well then, why are you travelling with 24 wooden crates?"

"Because I am carrying everything from soap, toothpaste and toilet paper to shoe polish and dishcloths, table linen, bed linen, bathroom towels, stationery, threads and needles, all household and personal needs for the entire Legation. And why am I carrying all this, Your Excellency? Because such things, without which we cannot imagine our lives, either do not exist in the Soviet Union, or are not for sale to the foreigners. May I have my pink slip, please?

I have seldom heard a man laugh so good-naturedly and with such obvious delight. Laughter bubbled and gurgled in his throat, rose and spilled from his lips like delicate and gleaming pearls. His eyes twinkled and the skin around them crinkled.

"My dear Miss Gavrilović, you were, indeed, delighted to tell me why you needed the pink slip and I shall be delighted to give it to you."

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[1] For Kosta Todoroff's 's interesting minibiography see my story "The Visitors"

The world was indeed my oyster. I thought that there was absolutely nothing I couldn't do. Sofia huddled under a blanket of snow and lowering skies which promised to send much more of the same, but I saw nothing but brightness and light and felt nothing but warmth. Then we went to Varna.

We had to go to Varna to catch the boat to Odessa. There was an alternative way of going from Belgrade to Moscow. One could go by train to Berlin and catch another train there for Moscow. For obvious reasons father would not let either his children or his couriers spend any time on German soil. Hence the long journey via Bulgaria and the Black Sea. The Black Sea in December is not an experience to recommend to everyone. I, however, am a very good sailor and was thrilled by the thought of it. But before we get to the Black Sea, we must go through Varna.

I am sure Varna is very beautiful, or at least has great potential for beauty. I seem to remember how it lay on a gently curving coast, but when I try to remember it more closely, it disappears in the whirling snow whipped up from the ground by a cruel gale.

We had travelled through the night and arrived in Varna in the morning. In a horse-drawn carriage we drove straight from the station to the offices of the Serbian Honorary Consul in Varna. We had taken only the four pouches with us, the rest of our luggage was sent directly to the harbor. We were catching a Soviet ship, the *Svanetia*, the same evening. The Consul and Kosta went out on their various errands and never returned. Well, when I say 'never,' I mean it as a figure of speech. I mean they left for the day. It is true that days are rather short in Varna in December. Nevertheless, they are long enough when one is alone, cold, hungry (again!), in charge of four diplomatic pouches containing the new code tables and three months' payroll for an entire legation in dollars yet. And when one is sixteen.

First I thought: Damn it! I will go out and find a restaurant. Then I thought I could not do that if it meant leaving the pouches unattended and I was simply not physically able to carry all four pouches at the same time. Finally I thought I didn't care about diplomatic pouches. I was not a diplomatic courier; nobody had sworn me in; I had not given my word to anyone; I had not promised anything. I wasn't even of age, for heaven's sake! And I was hungry. To hell with it all. To hell with the diplomatic pouches, to hell with Moscow even. At this rate I may not live to see it. I would be starved to death before I had a chance. So I left. No I didn't leave because I couldn't. I tried to leave only to find out that I could not. I was locked in.

I WAS LOCKED IN!

I suffer from claustrophobia.

I prefer not to recall how I spent the next few hours. I choose not to dwell on the indignity—not of my situation—but of my behavior. Suffice it to say that I howled. I howled until I realized that I was not locked in at all. Yes, I *was* locked in. That is to say *the door* was locked, but the door was a glass door and there were large windows in the room on the opposite wall. That was what frightened me to start with. By the way, I had discovered that fear was an excellent antidote to claustrophobia. I was frightened by the thought that everybody

could look inside and see me, see the pouches, see *through* the pouches perhaps? Hysteria had set in replacing claustrophobia and I didn't have an antidote for hysteria. They definitely could see through the pouches, and Varna was probably the kind of place where they would kill one, as they say in Serbia, for a yellow button (which may or may not be made of gold), let alone a legation's three months' payroll in dollars. I welcomed the dark, because they could no longer watch me through the glass door and the windows. But who were *they*? And *where* were they? I could not see anyone while it was still light. Ah, but they were so clever; they wouldn't let me see them and they certainly could see me in the dark or in the light. I moved a table well, away from the fire place (where the fire had died out a longtime ago), because it was a well-known fact that chimneys were notoriously unsafe in such situations. I moved the table to a place I judged equidistant from the fireplace, the door and the windows, all of which I considered sources of great danger. I put the pouches on the table, sat on top of them and prepared to die defending the honor of diplomatic couriers the world over.

And so I stayed in a dark, unheated, glass-fronted room in Varna in December. It would be difficult to imagine a more dismal situation, even without the pouches.

Kosta and the Honorary Consul remembered me when they sat down to eat. The Honorary Consul had invited both Kosta and me to dinner and had left me, he thought, in Kosta's care. Kosta, on the other hand, thought I would be the Honorary Consul's guest for the day. A perfectly natural mistake, as I was the first to admit once it was pointed out to me.

I don't remember much of that dinner except that a side dish was one of my favorite side dishes ever. The dish consists of white rice and green peas. Much of its attraction lay in its lovely sounding name: rizzi-bizzi rhyming with Busy Lizzie. Nor do I remember much of the trip down to the port. But I remember the port and shall do so until I die.

There was a large shed which was the customs house. It was about nine or ten o'clock at night. It was very dark outside and very bright in the customs house under a multitude of naked bulbs. Outside, there was a howling gale. The *Svanetia* rode at anchor in the roads, her lights visible only at brief moments and very dimly. A series of madly lurching launches—or perhaps one launch in a series of trips—took about six or eight passengers at a time from the pier to the ship. Inside the shed, there was pain, silent and tearless but more obtrusive, more loudly audible than any piercing scream could be. Several Jewish families, very rich and very aristocratic looking, were leaving the country, obviously for good. They had countless wooden crates, just like mine, and they had no Bulgarian equivalent of a pink slip. Each crate was pried open, unpacked, its contents minutely inspected, repacked and the crate nailed shut again. Some of the contents were held back by the inspectors. There was a woman in her late twenties or early thirties perhaps, very beautiful, with smooth ivory skin and lustrous black eyes and hair. She was tall and imperious and was wearing a most gorgeous coat of deep blue suede lined with some luscious grey fur. She was like a statue. Her face never altered; she never

moved. She just stood there watching the customs men paw through her belongings, half of which they could not identify, none of which they had seen the equal of before or were likely to do so ever again. And there were the children, silent, wide-eyed, horror-stricken children. Where were they going? Surely they were not emigrating to the Soviet Union? What and whom were they leaving behind? Would they ever return? Would they want to?

I was in the customs house for not more than fifteen minutes. My twenty four crates and other pieces of luggage were wheeled in and out in short order. I followed them, leaving the Bulgarian Jews behind. Little did I know that barely five months later my family and I would be leaving our home as they had left theirs. We thought that we would return. They had looked as if they knew they never would.

I never saw any of them again.

The short run to the ship was dramatic. It took me and two sailors a good ten minutes—may be more—to persuade Kosta to give up his two pouches. The point was that he could not, nor could I, board the launch holding on to the pouches. I relinquished mine quite happily to a sailor; Kosta, finally, let go of his with a howl of pain. He was convinced they would be lost overboard. "It does not matter," I said. "No one could get hold of them then." "Ah, but they are so clever," he said. I too had thought so earlier this afternoon, but my hysteria had already subsided. His was on the upward swing.

We then had to help Kosta get into the launch. He was not a sea person as I was to learn later. Everything about the sea frightened him. But even if he had loved the sea, there was much to be frightened of that night. For one thing, it was terribly dark. We could not see the water; we could only hear and sense its heaving presence somewhere below. The launch was rising and falling, alternately moving in towards the pier then away from it. And all that time it was barely visible. One had to gauge the precise moment when to leave the safety of the pier and jump into the launch. Neither Kosta nor I could do this on our own because we really could not see the launch; we could only just guess its presence. So we had to trust the sailors who were shouting instructions at us. That was another thing that Kosta found frightening. Some people find shouting disconcerting. Kosta was one of them. Indeed, the situation was one of total confusion. Because, although the Bulgarian sailors on the pier and the Soviet sailors in the launch both shouted instructions to us at the top of their voices, the elements were louder than either the Bulgarian or the Soviet sailors and we could not hear them clearly. Also Kosta insisted that he did not understand Russian. "But you do understand Bulgarian." I screamed at him. "Yes, but I cannot make out which is which," he yelled, and although this statement made no sense, I understood exactly what he meant. The wind literally plucked unfinished bits of phrases from the sailors' lips and tossed them around wildly so that they hit our ears from entirely unexpected directions. Finally, I decided that I must jump first just to show him that it could be done. I decided not to listen to shouted instructions but to feel with all my senses for the rise of the launch and I jumped. Had I hit the deck, I would have sprained my weak ankle without a doubt or done something worse to it. Instead two pairs of steely

arms caught me like in a safety net. Still holding on to one of them I stood as tall as I could and, when I judged the launch to have reached the highest point in its upward journey, I shouted with all my might "Now!" Whether Kosta heard me and jumped, or whether he was pushed by the Bulgarians, I shall never know. Be it as it may, he landed on top of me, and we both ended up in a heap in the bottom of the pitching and rolling launch. We still had to go up the steps lowered from the deck of the *Svanetia*, and I wondered how I would persuade Kosta to leave the launch. But by the time we reached the ship, Kosta had been cowed into total submission and went up like a lamb without a murmur.

Poor dear, he knew what was in store for him. He suffered terribly from sea-sickness and was now making a valiant effort to defend his diplomatic pouches to the last up-chucking moment. With the last vestiges of energy and willpower he insisted on sharing a cabin with me. I was first appalled at the idea and then overcome with compassion at the sight of his misery. Then it was the turn of the English-speaking Inturist representative on board the *Svanetia* to be shocked and horrified. Her English was not quite up to expressing tactfully the absolute impossibility of acceding to our request. But one didn't have to understand either her suddenly inadequate English or her more than eloquent Russian. Her face alone showed that she found the idea of an obviously unmarried and so badly matched couple wanting to share a cabin was, to put it mildly, obscene. I turned all sweetness and light on her.

"But I thought you believed in free love in the Soviet Union," I said and smiled. "Don't you think your views are too bourgeois for your enlightened society?"

Being accused of holding "bourgeois views" was more than sufficient for her to change her mind, and without further ado Kosta and I were led to our cabin.

I shall be eternally grateful for the fact that Kosta did not actually vomit that night. I don't think that my compassion would have lasted through his first heave. As it was, I settled him in the lower bunk with two pouches and climbed to the upper bunk with the remaining two and slept like a baby through the night.

In the morning, he was mercifully almost unconscious so he could not argue with me about my leaving the cabin. I tied all four pouches to him with my dressing-gown cord in a symbolic gesture of sorts and deserted him.

I roamed the frozen ship from prow to stern. The *Svanetia* looked like a ghost ship. It was entirely iced over. Every sheet, shroud, or rail dripped icicles. I could barely walk on the deck because of the wind around me, swirling like an invisible malignant force, and the ice under my feet.

There was no one around but a few sailors. Not a single passenger was to be seen. I asked one of the sailors where the dining-room was. I spoke very clearly, hoping that the clarity of my pronunciation would make this Russian understand Serbian. Of course it did not. We resorted to pantomime. I motioned with my hand to my mouth, and my jaws chewed on nonexistent food. He let me understand that no food was served because everyone was vomiting. I made him understand that I was not sick but would be if I were not fed promptly. I ended up eating with the captain in his cabin in the presence of one other sailor and in total silence.

We arrived in Odessa late at night. Or so it seemed to me. It may actually have been quite early in the evening, but the day was so short, it seemed to have been night forever. We were taken to what looked like a splendid edifice, a huge Victorian monster of a hotel called *Londonskaya Gostinitsa*—Hotel London. It was all marble and red velvet. I was impressed. Kosta tried again to share a room with me, but I flatly refused and mollified him by having all the pouches transported to my room under my eagle eye. So exhausted I was that I could not even take a bath. I undressed hurriedly, stashed the pouches under the bed, got in between the sheets and fell asleep saying: "Tomorrow I shall buy beans for Father."

Chapter Three

IN WHICH I BUY BEANS IN ODESSA AND ALMOST FREEZE TO DEATH

The following morning I was woken up by a telephone call. It took a little time for me to get oriented. I had never before been woken up by a telephone call. In 1940, most houses in Belgrade, if they had telephones at all, had only one appliance and that was kept always in inconvenient and out of the way places. Ours was kept on the broad sill of the large semicircular window in what we used to call the big hall.

In those days I really did not like telephones much. In fact, if I was ever alone at home, which happened fairly often after Buba's death, and the telephone rang, I would not answer it. It probably had something to do with the fact that I seldom, if ever sat by the window in the Big Hall, and the prospect of leaving whatever I was doing just to go to the big hall and answer the telephone held no appeal for me. I would tell myself that if the call were important, the caller would call again. If the caller did call again, I would tell myself that if the call were *truly* important, the caller would take a taxi and come in person. I don't believe anyone ever did so.

I toyed with the idea of following the same rule now and rejected it. I was in a foreign country, and it was only right to follow the local rules of behavior. Besides, it required no special effort as the telephone was next to my bed on the bedside table. I picked up the receiver. It was the English speaking Inturist lady wanting to know whether I was ready for my breakfast.

I have never had breakfast in bed, except when I was sick and that was very seldom. The idea of having a breakfast in bed while in perfect health charmed me. Yes, I was ready. What would I like for breakfast? Whatever.

I lay back on my pillows and luxuriated. Then a tiny worrisome thought appeared from nowhere. I did not know *how* to have breakfast in bed. What was the form? Did one get up first, go to the bathroom, wash, brush ones teeth and then return to bed to await breakfast? Wouldn't that defeat the purpose of having breakfast in bed? But what was the purpose of having breakfast in bed? I vaguely recalled scenes from American films in which heroines reclined on mountains of pillows had breakfast served in bed and looked as if they thoroughly enjoyed it. I relaxed. Then in my mind's eye I saw the film heroine dressed

in the palest of satin negligees edged with marabou feathers. My second favorite winter nightgown in pink brushed flannel with white cross-stitch embroidery just did not seem the right sort of apparel for this elegant morning ritual—my checkered grey and white thick flannel dressing-gown seemed even less so.

Oh, whatever. In any case the thought of having breakfast without brushing my teeth first was simply out of the question. I rose and went into the bathroom, and the bathroom stunned me.

The sight of it couldn't have been entirely unexpected for I must have seen it the night before. I must have at least used the W.C. before going to sleep, but I remembered none of it. It was not so much the profusion of marble everywhere that I found overwhelming. (I must have seen marble baths before, in Dalmatia or in Greece perhaps, where marble, polished or unpolished, is plentiful and readily available as construction material.) It was the dimensions, the hugeness of it. I wondered how long it would take to fill the bathtub. I wondered whether it would be possible to fill it before running out of hot water. However, bigger is not necessarily better, as I soon found out. Actually, taking a bath in this monumental tub was disappointing. Obviously it was still a tub; one could not swim in it. But the large quantity of water it contained, coupled with the natural buoyancy of my body, made it necessary for me to hold on to its rim in order to prevent myself from floating about. This fact made it quite impossible to do either of the two things one takes baths for: washing or deliciously soaking.

By the time the breakfast was finally brought in I was fully dressed. I forget what the breakfast consisted of, but I distinctly remember that I thought how right I had been not to wait for it in bed. It was far too hearty, something to be partaken of as a preliminary to such vigorous activities as hiking, mountain climbing or skiing. Altogether it was far better matched with grey Harris tweeds than even with such unglamorous material as pink flannel.

It seemed to me that I had hardly finished breakfast when the Inturist lady called again. She wanted to know at what time I would like my lunch served.

"What? In my room again?"

"We thought it would be more convenient."

"More convenient for whom?"

"I don't understand."

"Well, it is certainly not more convenient for me to stay cooped up in my room the whole day." I was growing a bit miffed.

"Not the whole day," she countered and I wondered why she must be so literal-minded. "Only until it is time to go on a sightseeing tour."

"No, thank you."

"I beg your pardon?"

"Thank you but no both to lunch in my room and to the sightseeing tour."

"Don't you want to see the historic steps from which the first shot of the revolution was fired?" She sounded quite indignant, while I thought 'Frankly, no' but said:

"Yes, of course, I want to see the historic steps from which the first shot of the revolution was fired. But I shall see them when I feel like it and by myself. Just as I shall have my lunch when and where I choose."

"And where do you think that might be?"

"Well, I suppose the hotel has a dining-room."

"We don't think it would be convenient."

Here we go again, I thought.

"I shall be sure to let you know how convenient it has been," I said and put down the receiver.

I don't know whether it was this vaguely unpleasant conversation which was responsible for my beginning to see my luxurious hotel room in a different light.

Not a very observant person by nature, I am sometimes so preoccupied with the joy of simply living, experiencing new things that I occasionally fail to notice the surroundings, the actual habitat of new things and creatures experienced. But after I put the receiver down I felt a slight chill. The care that I found welcoming onboard the *Svanetia* two nights ago and the night before on arrival at the hotel, when all my needs seemed to be catered to before I had time to voice them, no longer appeared so much as a result of the concern for my wellbeing as a means of constraint and control. This slight change in my mood, or perception, made me look around with different eyes.

The drapes, the carpet, the furniture were the same as last night and quite handsome, if one liked the heaviness and solidity of the late Victorian era. But they were so old, so shabby, so faded, so dingy. They were clean, but they looked dirty. Dilapidated and decrepit, that's what everything was. The whole place was dilapidated, decrepit and depressing.

Why had I not noticed it last night or at least earlier this morning? Was I so tired last night or so thrilled by the offer of a breakfast in bed this morning? It did not matter why I had not noticed it before. I noticed now and could not put it out of my mind.

I gathered the pouches and called for someone to carry them down to Kosta's room.

Kosta had no quarrel with the Inturist arrangements. It suited him fine to have all his meals served in his room and was very happy to have me there for company. I absolutely refused to stay in his room and went in search of the dining-room.

It, too, was huge. Not only was it huge, it was also lined with mirrors and completely empty, which made it appear doubly huge. I was shown to a table in the middle of the dining-room and was on the point of sitting down when I changed my mind and moved to another table. It was probably an act of sheer cussedness. I ordered *pozharskie kotlety*, vaguely expecting some kind of chops. They turned out to be rather good meatballs in a mushroom sauce. I took my time over the meal, choosing this and that and changing my mind several times. I thought that perhaps it was too early and that was why there was no one but me in the dining-room. Then suddenly I noticed that I was not quite alone. As I was surveying the rows and rows of empty tables reflected and endlessly multiplied in the mirrored expanse of the wall opposite me, I caught the eyes of an officer who was sitting alone with his back towards me and watched me in the mirror.

There could have been—and probably there was—a completely innocent explanation both of his solitary presence in this empty place and of the manner in which he sat, but a chill ran down my spine. I decided not to wait for the dessert. I tried to pay for the meal and wasn't allowed to. I tried to leave a tip. My money was returned, silently, sullenly and somewhat rudely. Never mind, I thought. It would probably be included in my hotel bill and hurried out.

Kosta was as difficult to persuade as the Inturist lady had been that I really meant to see Odessa by myself. He who had left me alone, and hungry, and unprotected for one whole day in Varna, and in charge of diplomatic pouches for which, as he personally informed me, people would be prepared to kill, was now overcome by worry and concern. He told me horrendously scary stories of Moscow pickpockets, who would slash their victims' eyes rather than risk being identified by the victim if caught. So harsh were the penalties and so strictly was the law enforced.

"Well, this is Odessa, not Moscow," said I not believing one word of it. "I'm going, and that is that."

"But where will you go?"

"I'm going to buy some beans for Father," I said.

"What!"

"I'll explain when I get back."

"If you don't come back by four I shall alert the militia," he shouted after my receding back, but I was already on my way out.

So eager and impatient was I to get away from Kosta, the Inturist lady and their questions that I swept out of the hotel without any idea where or how to buy beans in Odessa. That thought did not strike me until after I had found myself on the sidewalk outside the hotel where I was literally stopped by the wind. I stood there for a while not knowing what to do next. Where was I going? A more important question was "Where was I actually?" For some inexplicable reason I had thought that the hotel was situated on a promenade by the sea, but now I could not see the sea. I could not remember seeing it last night either. Truth to be told, I did not remember seeing much of anything last night, and now all I could see before and around me was a very restricted horizon. Was it the fog? Was it already dark at two o'clock in the afternoon in Odessa, in December? But it wasn't dark really. It was simply grey. Or was it the color of wind? Perhaps it is possible for wind to acquire an extra property—such as color—after it goes beyond a certain point of velocity? I felt lost. I was going to say disoriented, but "disoriented" was a word which did not belong to my pre-war or for that matter pre-American vocabulary. What I do remember was an overwhelming desire to return to the hotel. Dingy, dismal and dilapidated it may have been, but it was warm and windless. It was the wind which was responsible for my momentary feeling of defeat and it was that same wind which gave me the courage to go on. I suddenly remembered one of the very few occasions when Voya and I went to school together.

Voya was always very thin and particularly so as a young child. (Buba, our maternal grandmother, used to call both her and Aleksa *palocia* which was a kind of pig that no amount of feeding could fatten.) She suffered from asthma

which would keep her out of school for weeks on end. On the particular occasion, which I remembered suddenly in Odessa, Voya and I were walking from our house to the streetcar stop which was slightly uphill and to the north-east of our home. This meant that we were walking straight into *košava*, which is a fierce northeasterly wind, so fierce in fact, that schools would sometimes close because of it. On that occasion, Voya was so cold that she walked doubled up, with her chin practically buried in her navel.

"It is only a bit of a wind," this frequently annoying elder sister said. "Straighten up, square your shoulders and face it. Like this," I added demonstrating my manifest superiority to the wind, "and you won't feel so cold."

It is only a bit of a wind, I repeated my advice once given to Voya and turned my back resolutely on the hotel.

Now for the beans. Where would one find beans in Odessa. One must be logical and think clearly, difficult though it may be in this grey and desolate-feeling place. I thought of all the cities by the sea that I have known, like Dubrovnik, Split, Athens—not to mention Venice which was actually in the sea—and decided that shops which would be likely to sell beans would be found away from the sea. And the sea must be in front of me, facing the front of the hotel. Although I couldn't see anything but greyness in front of me, I felt convinced of its presence there, for why else would the thought of the hotel being situated on a promenade by the sea have come to me? I must have either seen it, or someone must have told me so. So I turned right, walked to the first corner and turned right again. I walked and walked as the wind would allow me. Occasionally I had to stop and turn away from the wind; occasionally, I am sure, I forgot to turn back in the right direction or what I thought was the right direction. Although aware of the danger of this exercise, I was committed to it as I saw no alternative. After what seemed a considerable time, I was rewarded by the sight of a large building with a large sign on its facade which read УНИВЕРСАЛЬНЫЙ МАГАЗИН. In Serbian, I thought, "univerzalni magacin" would mean "universal warehouse." On the other hand, in French "magasin universel" would mean a universal shop. And would a warehouse be located in the middle of the town? I thought not. But was this the middle of the town? One thing at a time I cautioned. I shall think about *where* after I've done *what* I came here to do. It would be quite logical for a "universal shop" to sell beans among other things and it would not be illogical for it to be located in the middle of the town. So I decided to try my luck and I was right. *Универсальный магазин* turned out to be a department store.

After deserted streets I was not prepared for the teeming mass of humanity which heaved from counter to counter like the articulated body of a cohesive, huge, unidentified organism which absorbed me so that I heaved along with it. Indeed I had no other choice. The feeling of being uprooted from everything known and flung far from any familiar landmark, which feeling had assailed me on leaving the hotel, swept again over me. I had never been in such close contact with so many human beings at once. In my entire life I had been taken only once to a football game and only once to a circus. Both experiences had been so terrifying that they were never repeated. I began to lose touch with who

I was, where I was and why I was there. I had an overwhelming desire to scream but could not. I wanted to get out but could not even see where the exit was, much less get to it.

I don't know how long I was in the shop before I was propelled by other shoppers or some other, some higher force, but certainly not by any conscious effort on my part, to the food section. The sight of edible things made me remember the beans, and all of a sudden things brightened considerably. The huge, unidentified organism began to break up, lost its cohesiveness and dissolved itself into a myriad separate, curious and not unfriendly faces. The owner of one of them detached himself from the crowd to the extent possible and addressed himself to me. Not speaking Russian I simply assumed that his intention was to be of some help to me. I said in Serbian *"Тражим пасуљ."* (I'm looking for beans.) He looked at me in total incomprehension. He and I now made a center of a little stage surrounded by an audience both interested and eager to participate in the performance. *"Les haricots?* Beans?" I offered on a rising inflexion as if asking "doesn't anyone here speak French or English." Evidently they didn't, and why should I have expected them to anyway? "*Пасуљ*?" I tried again rather dismally tracing the shape of a bean in the air with my forefinger. There was a muttered consultation among the audience after which someone produced a piece of paper and a pencil stub. I drew what I thought looked like a bean. There were immediate cries of recognition and our entire group moved *en masse* in the direction of beans, I hoped. But when we arrived at our destination I realized that they had taken my bean to be a kidney. Not that there were any kidneys to be bought, but the somewhat blood-stained look of the empty counter suggested that whatever merchandise had been sold there earlier in the day its origin was obviously animal.

"Не, не. Нећу месо!" (No. No. I don't want meat.) And I began to search for words which might have the same Slavonic origin and, therefore, the same or similar sound in both languages. *„Не животиња."* (Not animal.) *"Не животиње,"* somebody offered. *„Ње животиње"*, I repeated enthusiastically making sure that my 'n' was as soft as theirs. I have always been so much better at mimicking speech than at drawing. *„Поврће"*, I offered. "Vegetable?" But there were no takers. *„Биљка*"? "Plant" was also rejected by a collective shaking of heads. *„Растиње",* I tried again. „Растительное" someone cried triumphantly to which someone immediately added *„фасоль"*. Of course! As any student of comparative philology, or anyone acquainted with Grimm's Law, could tell us: we should have converted "p" to "f" and guessed that "pasulj" was indeed "fasol'."

It turned out, however, that one could not buy *„фасоль"* in a universal store. Thanks to expressive gestures and such internationally used words as, for instance, *„трамвај"* I understood that I had to take a streetcar to a place called Rinok. *„Где је Ринок?"* I asked. *„Где рынок?"* They repeated my question palatalizing the 'd.' They spoke, they gestured and, realizing that I could not understand them, held a brief consultation with each other. Finally, they collectively escorted me out of the shop and took me to a streetcar stop. They waited with me and with many words, which could have been only words of

encouragement and well-wishing, so warm and friendly did they sound, they saw me safely on board.

The streetcar was, if possible, even more crowded than the universal store**.** But my wonderful mass encounter in the *universal'nyĭ magazin* made me feel that I had established contact with the entire Russian people and for a little while in each of those grim faces, as grim they certainly were, I saw nothing but warmth, interest and a desire to help. I was still basking in the afterglow of what I had just experienced when the conductor came by selling tickets. I felt quite comfortable facing this new encounter. All I had to do was take some money from my handbag and say *"Rynok,"* which I proceeded to do with all the aplomb of a seasoned user of Russian public transport. I opened my capacious travelling handbag, took out my wallet and produced a crisp, brand-new ten-*chervontsy*[2] bill. One *chervonets* was worth ten rubles in 1940 so what I was offering to the conductor was one hundred rubles for a fare which probably did not exceed fifty kopeks. But I was quite oblivious of that fact. The conductor looked at the chervontsy bill in my hand, looked at me, said nothing and did nothing. Nobody said anything. People had been silent when I got on the streetcar and continued to be silent now. But not all silence is alike. Silence is like air. There is clean air and then there is polluted air. Air can be brisk, or enervating, or stifling. And silence can be frightening. I refused to be frightened. This is my money. I hadn't stolen it. I hadn't tried to do anything illegal with it. All I did with it was try to buy a ticket to Rynok. I offered the bill again and repeated enunciating very clearly Ry-nok. In one clean, uninterrupted motion somebody's hand knocked both my wallet and the ten-chervontsy bill into my handbag which was hanging open on my forearm and snapped the bag shut. The same hand produced some coins and a voice said Rynok. The person to whom the voice and the hand belonged stood behind me. I cannot explain why I felt it impossible to turn and look at that person and show some sign of appreciation of what could only have been meant as a kindness. I was still refusing to be frightened but with an increasing lack of success which was not surprising as everybody around me, I felt sure, was frightened too.

When the streetcar stopped I got out and without looking back, continued to walk in the direction in which the streetcar was headed. Someone else had got off too and was now following me. I walked faster. The footsteps behind me accelerated. I could not very well break into a run. It would simply not be dignified and, besides, where would I run to? I stopped. A hand barely touched my shoulder, and I tensed so tightly inside my fur coat that it felt suddenly too big for me. I slowly turned my head to the left and my eyes came level with a pair of the most gloriously luminous grey eyes I had ever seen.

"Kto vy?" The Serbian phrase "Ko ste vi?" was so close to what she was saying that I understood.

"Kto vy?" It was my turn to ask: who are you?

"Ya russkaya." I understood that too: "I Russian." I wondered briefly why the Russians didn't use the verb to be. Who you? I Russian. Also in the shop,

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[2] The denomination may have gone out of use since then.

when someone had repeated my question *"Gde je Rynok?"* it came out as *"where Rynok?"* instead of *"where is Rynok?"*.

"Ya russkaya." I repeated her words again, confident that I could match her pronunciation and intonation vowel for vowel and syllable for syllable.

She threw her head back and laughed a wonderfully happy laugh, then sobering up a little she pointed at my feet and said: *"Nyet, dorogaya, vy nye russkaya."* I looked down at my feet. Then I looked at her feet. Then my eyes travelled up—up the legs of her felt boots (mine were leather, fur-lined) up her stiff, heavy dingy grayish yellow cloth coat—until finally they came to rest on a huge shawl which hid almost her entire face except for those amazing eyes. And then I laughed. I could not more have passed for a Russian than could an extra-terrestrial being pass for a kid next door. I suddenly understood the reason why the Soviet crowd in the department store had appeared so anonymous, so monolithic. They had all been dressed the same. Then I remembered that one of my 24 wooden crates contained lengths of woolen cloth which Vukosava had requested for winter coats for the Russian household staff at the Legation, specifically stating that only three colors were acceptable: navy blue, chocolate brown and something she called maize yellow. I supposed it was the maize yellow that my new friend was wearing.

"Ne, ja nisam Ruskinja," I said in Serbian. "No. I am not Russian. I am from Yugoslavia." She asked a few more questions which I could not understand in spite of all our joint efforts, but when I heard the word Rynok again I said urgently: "*Da, da, Rynok. Fasol'."* Goodness, I had almost forgotten the beans. I must buy the beans for Father. So Irina took me to Rynok.

Rynok turned out to be a market place.

I have always loved market places. I loved even the rather modest Senjak market at the foot of the hill on which our house stood. I sometimes went to Senjak Market with Cook when she was well disposed towards me. But the best of all was the once yearly visit to Jovanova Pijaca (pronounced Yovanova Piazza)—John's Market. Before World War II that was the largest market in Belgrade. Every year, just before the feast of Saint Nicholas, mother would insist on father's accompanying her to the market, so that any questions about the vast sums of money expended for the purchase of things needed to celebrate the family's patron saint in a fitting manner could be answered "Why ask me? You were there."

A market in wintertime is never quite so splendid as in other seasons. It is mainly the brilliant colors of fresh vegetables and fruits that make summer and autumn markets so particularly magnificent. But in all seasons the endless variety of produce, its mind-boggling abundance, the eloquence with which sellers vaunt their own wares and disparage those of others, the real or pretended reluctance of buyers to believe the sellers and their readiness to be convinced by sampling the fragrance, the taste, the texture of morsels of this and drops of that, all these and, above all, the strangeness of familiar objects combine to transform markets into places of enchantment. Who could believe that this small pale yellow mountain, from which large chunks are cut with tautly strung bows, has anything in common with the substance which is served

on dainty silver or porcelain or pottery dishes and is called butter? Then there are eggs, ranging in color from the familiar just off-white to deep and deeper tan. Could these also be eggs? Laid by hens? Cheeses with endless varieties of textures. Comminuted meats, from lowly sausages to exalted pâtés, of how many kinds, shapes, colors, consistencies, smells, tastes? Garlicky, oniony, peppery, mustardy, sage-, rosemary- or thyme-scented, chunky, crunchy, satiny smooth or friable, subtle, coarse, hearty and refined, cooked or smoked and ready to eat here and now, or to be prepared later by cooking, boiling frying, baking or roasting; to be eaten separately, worthy of being savored by themselves, or used as ingredients in fabulously complex and outlandish dishes.

Such were the markets of my early youth, and very different from these was the market in Odessa. First, it was silent but for the howling wind, second, it was silent because it was empty and third, it also was grey. Little knots of dejected women, mostly sellers with very little to sell, stood about and talked in whispers. As far as I could see there was nothing on their stalls except a few sad-looking turnips and half-rotten potatoes. We went from stall to stall asking for beans until we finally elicited a positive response. *"Da. Skol'ko?"* Yes. How much? I did not know how to answer. The problem was not linguistic in nature. I understood the question, "skol'ko being close enough to "koliko," but I had no idea of how much beans to buy. I had never bought beans in my life. I had never cooked beans, or anything else for that matter, in my life. I had no idea how many servings were produced by what quantity of dry beans. I was so ignorant and so arrogant. What had possessed me to think that I could ever do this? But here I was, and do it I must. The figure "hundred" had a nice, grand sound about it so I said *"Sto kilograma."* First, there was consternation. Then, after a brief silence, the seller asked somewhat tremulously: "Sto *kilogramov?" "Da,"* I said firmly, *"sto kilograma".* There was another moment of silence only to be broken by an explosion of laughter which brought virtually the entire market population to our stall. To every newcomer the seller of the beans would repeat again and again, choking with laughter and wiping away tears, *"Sto kilogramov,* ***sto*** *kilogramov fasoli!"* They all laughed. I also laughed. I laughed although I had no idea what was so funny. Today, after many years of buying and cooking beans, I know why we all laughed. But on that bleak afternoon in Odessa I laughed because they did, because it was so pleasant to see that grey place transformed with so much merriment. It did not matter to me that they were laughing at me. Besides I didn't think that they did laugh at me in the sense of wanting to mock me. I think that my ignorance, my stupidity also—for what would I have done with one hundred kilograms of anything in that place?—was to them a moment of liberation, a brief release from their humdrum, joyless, grey existences.

After we had all had a good laugh, I said "Fifty?" They laughed some more. "Twenty?" They shook their heads, too weak to laugh. It was my turn to ask *"Skol'ko?" "Pol kilograma* was the answer. Half a kilogram. All this for half a kilogram of beans? But half a kilogram of beans meant that I would arrive in Moscow with beans rather than without them, so I was well satisfied with my purchase. There was, however, another little matter to be settled before

the purchase was actually mine. The seller said to me with a questioning inflexion: *"Avos'ka?"* I had no idea what that meant. I looked at Irina. There is no way one can explain the meaning of an isolated foreign word to someone who does not speak the language except by demonstrating the object the word denotes if one is lucky and the word denotes an object rather than an idea and if the object happens to be handy. We were lucky on both counts. Irina shoved her hand into one of her roomy pocket and fished out a string bag. The seller made a neat cone out of a page of an old newspaper, poured a few handfuls of beans, sealed it by folding it intricately and deftly inserted it into the string bag obligingly held by Irina.

Avos'ka, I think, merits a paragraph. There are several ways of saying "perhaps" in Russian. There is the neutral, ordinary *mozhet byt'* (somewhat less ordinary when changed by inversion to *byt' mozhet*). Then there are other "perhapses," expressive of the feeling accompanying the statement of possible occurrence, such as "perhaps, but if we are lucky it won't (or it will) happen." *Avos'* is the hopeful perhaps, as opposed *nebos'* which is fraught with foreboding and doubt. So, *avos'ka* is a shopping bag which one takes along just in case one is lucky enough to find something to buy.

I do not remember paying for the beans. Did Irina pay for them too? Was it a gift from the seller? A participant bystander, an interested onlooker an involved outsider—all contradictions in terms or would have been at another time in another place. But not in Odesa's market on that bleak December afternoon in 1940. There it seemed quite right that a nonparticipant observer (Webster's definition of bystander) should participate and that an outsider should be involved and committed to help. The only relief from the greyness and desolateness of Odessa's market that a human being could hope to find lay in another human being. I made them laugh, and they made me a gift of beans.

As we were leaving the market I suddenly realized that I was unbearably cold. I was in fact shaking violently; my teeth were chattering. I wondered how could I, in my fine fur coat and hood and my fur-lined leather boots, be cold, while Irina, in her obviously inferior clothes, was not. Clearly, her clothes were not inferior to mine. Equally clearly, there was a lesson to be learned here but I was too cold to think what it might be. I do not remember much of the journey back. I thought I had caught the word "chaĭ" several times and I thought that yes, a hot cup of tea would be very nice. We finally found ourselves not in front of my hotel, but in front of a large and rather dingy building which Irina was urging me to enter. I wondered briefly whether it was safe for me to do so. I remembered Kosta and his stories of pickpockets. I was aware of the fact that Irina had seen my wallet full of ten-chervontsy bills, but to doubt her seemed utterly unworthy of her, of me, of our new but undeniably real friendship and, anyway, I was too cold. We entered the building.

Inside was utter blackness, both relatively speaking, after the snow-covered streets, and in absolute terms as there was no lighting anywhere in the hall or on the steps. Irina got to my side and held my right forearm tightly. "Walk close to the cliff (*stena*)," she said pushing me towards the wall. 'So,' I thought, 'a cliff means a wall in Russian. Makes sense.' Irina said "Tra-la-la fell down

a longtime ago." I thought she said Tra-la-la, but who or what Tra-la-la was I didn't now, and why should I care if it, or he, or she fell down? I dragged my feet up the steps with increasing difficulty. I was getting sleepier and more distant from it all with each step I mounted. She said again something about someone or something falling down. This time the word sounded more like "perila" but I still didn't understand what it meant, so I didn't discover until we were on our way out again that we had climbed to the third floor in total darkness up a fairly steep flight of steps which had lost its banisters a longtime ago. Not that I would have cared. I was past caring. I was past feeling. I didn't even feel cold anymore.

Irina finally dragged me into her apartment and pushed me into an armchair. I was vaguely aware of her knocking on doors and calling people. A man and a woman came in. The man knelt before me and pulled my boots off. The woman supported me while Irina removed my coat. Kosta's warnings reappeared somewhere at the edge of my consciousness. My last thought was: 'They're undressing me before killing me. Clothes too good to spoil. Good thinking.'

Well, of course, they didn't kill me. I didn't even faint. I was so surprised when they started rubbing me all over—hands, feet, calves, thighs, arms and, particularly, nose and ears—that I recovered very quickly and felt terribly ashamed. While they were rubbing me someone else must have put the kettle on, for the tea arrived and they let me drink it as soon as they judged me sufficiently warm to be able to survive without their ministrations. And there we were, the four of us sitting around a table, drinking tea in total silence. On second thoughts, I may have passed out for a little while, because Irina never explained my presence in my hearing, and it surely was a strange enough happening to merit, even demand, explanation.

After a while, Irina brought a pad of very coarse paper and a pencil and asked me to draw some of my other clothes. She was considerably older than I was. I was a school girl and she was already an engineer, as I found out later. But we felt extremely close, at least I felt close to her. There was a link between us, forged perhaps by our trip to the market place and made obvious by her manifest desire to find something about me and my readiness to satisfy her curiosity. But was she really so interested in clothes that they were the first thing she asked me about? Or were clothes something that was linguistically more accessible to us than other things? She could touch my skirt then her skirt and say *"yubka."* She touched the dress of her companion—mother? Aunt? Room-mate?—and said *"plat'e."* She asked *"U vas est' plat'e?"* Did I have a dress? (I was fairly sure that that was what she meant.) Yes, of course, I had a dress. I had several dresses. She pushed the pad towards me and motioned for me to draw. I cannot draw. (Remember my fiasco with the bean turned kidney?) But she could. I made a crude drawing of my then favorite dress, frowning and shaking my head over it in disgust. She took the pencil from me and rounded the shoulders, coaxing them into a recognizable shape saying: "*Tak?"* So? Yes, so. I indicated a dropped waist and a gathered skirt. She produced them on paper. Soon a little white collar and cuffs followed. And in no time at all, there it was, my favorite dress, in very fine wool, black, red and white checks, absolutely

life-like on that coarse paper. It might have been a photograph. I applauded, filled with admiration. She smiled and poked her chest with the pencil saying: "Khoroshiĭ inzhener." "Mnogo khoroshiĭ, I said half in Serbian and half in Russian but she understood and laughed. We had a little difficulty over "fine wool." The design of the dress was more suggestive of silk. There was no correspondence between Serbian and Russian words for wool, silk or cotton. The only word we had in common was "material." When I pointed to my skirt which was made of wool, she seemed disappointed. The design on the pad did seem a bit incompatible with the thickness and roughness of my tweed skirt. I lifted my hands gently in the air, palms up, and blew on them softly as if I were blowing away a feather or thistledown. I whispered "tanko, tanko." Thin, thin. "Oh," she said "tonko, tonko" also in a whisper, as if speaking loudly might damage the invisible thistledown I had blown off my palms. We looked at each other and smiled.

Suddenly I remembered Kosta. I looked at my watch. It was past five o'clock. Would he really alert the militia? I must have looked as anxious as I felt for Irina took my hand gently and said in that curious verbless way: "What with you?" I could not explain. "Telephone?" She led me to it. To my horror I realized that I didn't know the number. Nor did I know either the name or the address of the hotel. And yet, Irina made the call for me and got Kosta on the line. Was that somewhat strange? Should that have made me wonder? Of course it was strange and it should have made me wonder. But on that day of pure enchantment—enchantment not always being lovely or even pleasant—how could one wonder at anything strange?

At the time I was so grateful to be able to speak to Kosta and calm his near hysteria that it did not strike me as odd that Irina was able to make the telephone call without knowing where I was staying. But later on, while I was being the seven-day wonder of Moscow—the only foreigner since before the great purges to set foot in a private home in the Soviet Union—this fact, the fact that she knew whom to call, more than anything father or anyone else could say, convinced me that my meeting with Irina was not a chance encounter.

In all of Moscow in 1940 and 1941 there was only one family which foreigners could visit. (When I say foreigners I mean diplomats, for the only foreigners in Moscow at that time were diplomats.) The family's name was Vashek. Throughout Father's stay in Moscow, there was never a time when a member of that family was not in prison—a permanent hostage ensuring exemplary behavior of the rest of the family. At least, that was the story that went around the diplomatic community. The daughter of that family, Liuba Vashek, later married a Yugoslav and went to live in Belgrade. Knowing the Vasheks and visiting them could hardly be considered as having personal relations with private Soviet citizens. So, indeed, I seemed to be the only foreigner who had set foot inside a private Russian apartment. At that time Yugoslavia was still neutral, and we had diplomatic relations with all the countries with missions in Moscow and were on visiting terms with all their representatives. They all wanted to see me in order to find out what a private Russian apartment looked like and what an "unofficial" Russian was like.

Father, however, always maintained that the apartment was not a private home and that Irina was very much an "official" Russian. He did not believe for a moment that I could have been allowed to leave the hotel unaccompanied. He maintained that Irina was an agent with instructions to follow me. I, on the other hand was sure that she was in the streetcar before I boarded it. Father maintained that the fact that there was a telephone in the apartment to which she took me was very telling. Apparently a private telephone was a great rarity at that time in the Soviet Union. But she was an engineer, I said. An engineer surely rated a telephone even in the Soviet Union. Father argued that at that time of acute xenophobia a private citizen wouldn't dare approach me, be alone with me and take me to her home. I countered his argument by the fact that we were never alone, except perhaps briefly between one streetcar and the next on the way to the market place. As for taking me to her apartment—where we were never alone—I suggested that it was quite obvious that I would have died of cold had she not taken me in, and that it might have been more dangerous to let a foreigner, whose father at that time was very much a *persona grata* in the Soviet Union, to die on the streets of Odessa than to take her home.

For the most part I could not satisfy people's curiosity. Yes, I could tell them that the apartment house was in such disrepair that there were no banisters on the stairs. I could tell them that there were no curtains or window coverings of any kind in the only room of the apartment that I had seen and that that fact did strike me as odd. "Was it significant?" They wanted to know. How was I to tell what was significant and what was not? The only thing of significance to me was that I had such a good time with Irina and Irina, I am sure, had a very good time with me.

I remembered the end of our encounter. She had taken me back to the hotel and there we stood not knowing how to say goodbye. I invited her to join me for dinner. She refused. Another cup of tea? A short visit? „*Кра̄тка по̄се̄та?*" She shook her head. I thought she didn't understand me so I tried again. „*Мала, мала визӣта*". She laughed, but it was a sad laughter. She shook her head again. „*Ни коро̄ткое по̄сещение, ни маленький визӣт*". I felt an overwhelming need to give her something. I wanted her to have something of mine. I reviewed mentally the contents of my handbag and found nothing worthy. I remembered the earrings I was wearing. They were very modest and unassuming, very suitable for a girl of sixteen. Each was made of three small old-fashioned rose diamonds and shaped like a three-leafed clover, complete with a tiny stalk. I slipped my gloves off and brought my hands up to my left ear. Irina knew what I was about to do. She got hold of my hands and brought them down by my side. Without saying a word she squeezed my hands, shook her head several times from side to side, smiled a barely perceptible smile and vanished. She had appeared from nowhere; now she disappeared into thin air.

This, according to father, was another proof that Irina was a trained agent. But could it not have been confirmation that the day I had spent in Odessa was a day of enchantment?

"But if she was an agent, why wouldn't she accept my invitation?"

"She had another engagement?" Father suggested.

"No. She was afraid. It was fear" I spoke with conviction, "which kept her from entering the hotel."

"She probably thought she would be exceeding her instructions—a thought very likely to inspire fear."

"Then why would she not accept my earrings at least?"

"She didn't have pierced ears?"

There were times when I did not like my father very much.

Something, however, did strike father as a strange coincidence. Irina's last name was Tkach. It is not a frequent Russian surname. In Serbian "ткач" (pronounced tkach) means "weaver." It is a fairly common surname in Slovenia. In the early twenties, Father remembered, there was a Slovenian communist who left Yugoslavia for the land of her dreams and her surname was Tkach.

Chapter Four

IN WHICH I EXPLAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF BUYING BEANS IN ODESSA

It was never important to buy beans in Odessa. It was simply important, in fact it was imperative, to buy beans anywhere I could find them and take them to Moscow. The beans should have been bought in Belgrade and transported to Moscow in one of those twenty-four crates which figured largely in Chapter Two. But somehow mother forgot about them until it was too late and instructed me to buy beans in Bulgaria (Sofia or Varna) in sufficient quantities to last through the Advent and Lent fasts which Father strictly observed. I gave my solemn promise that father would have beans for his fasting. You will notice that I said *his* fasting thus setting him apart from the rest of the household. The truth is that at that time the rest of the household was not very strict in the observance of this rule and limited itself to fasting only during the first and the last weeks of Advent and Lent. However, this laxity in her observance of the rule made it all the more incumbent upon mother to make sure that father had all he needed for being as strict as she was lax in observing it. Or at least that was how mother saw things. So it was as much for mother's sake as father's that I felt in honor bound to arrive in Moscow bearing beans.

As it turned out it was my good fortune that father took his fasting so very seriously and that Mother thought that the moral and spiritual obligations of others were as important as her own. Indeed such obligations became more important than her own when others had to rely on her for the discharge of them. But for the beans, or rather the necessity of buying beans, I would have spent my day in Odessa in a once resplendent and now dingy hotel room, either dodging the overbearing efforts of the Inturist lady to educate me in Soviet history, or baby-sitting the diplomatic pouches and calming Kosta's never completely pacified paranoia. But there was this obligation to buy the beans and take them to Moscow and because of my futile efforts to fulfill this obligations I lived through a day never to be forgotten.

AFTERWORD

APOLOGIA PRO SCRIPTIS MEIS

Thirty years later in Belgrade, Serbia

Among the readers for whom this story was written as part of *Stories about Us*—my daughter Andjelia, her cousins and cousins-in-law, as well as other people who have read this story—there are those who are disappointed with it and angry with me for having cheated their legitimate (or so they claim) expectations. "You've deceived us," they say. "Where is Moscow here?" they ask. "You've given us a story called 'A Journey to Moscow' and there is not a word about Moscow in it. Is it fair," they say, but they mean "it is grossly unfair."

My reply to them is that I've been perfectly fair. I've given you a story called "A Journey to Moscow." A story about **a journey to** Moscow is not a story about **a stay in** Moscow. So how have I deceived you? I have told you all about a journey from Belgrade to Moscow via Odessa, and it was a very interesting journey. Maybe I told a very dull story about a very interesting journey, so accuse me if that, but not of deceit. One day, I may write a story about my stay in Moscow, but I doubt it. Moscow at that time was a very dull, not to say positively grim, place. Moreover, it was a grim place visited in the middle of winter.

Of course, there were museums and theaters which I visited daily then and when I remember to think of them now I do so with the same shuddering emotion I felt when I was first awed by them as a girl of sixteen. I remember being frightened to the point of having to suppress a scream when I first saw the painting by Repin of Ivan the Terrible, cradling in his arms the body of his son whom he had just killed. I was standing with my back turned to the painting and close enough to it that, when I turned away from the opposite wall, which I had been contemplating, this image came upon me as a complete surprise. And as it was so life-like and so immediate, for an insane moment I must have thought that it was part of here and now, or rather there and then. That was in the museum called Tretyakovsky Gallery or, in Russian, Третьяковская галерея.

Then there was the Museum of Western Art where I saw my first impressionist painting in the original and where a life-long love-affair began. It was one of Monet's cathedrals—but which one? I no longer remember. I can hear you say with scorn "Some 'love of one's life' whose name she cannot remember." So, before you accuse me of inconstancy, infidelity, promiscuity and other forms of immorality, I hasten to add that I do remember the Cathedral in the painting. I remember it to the last particle of the rose, and mauve, and gold mist, or dust, or some other, not-of-this world gossamer-like material, which swathed it in a translucent and radiant cloud. And I remember that the Cathedral itself hovered above the ground. Or I think it did.

But that was not life, just as the fabulous Moscow theaters were not life—no, not the Bolshoi, with its spectacular operas and ballets, not even the MHAT, the famous Moscow Art Theater, where I spent almost every evening of my six-weeks' stay in Moscow and where the foundations of my knowledge of the Russian language were laid. And that most certainly was a part not only of my life, but of my livelihood as well—but that was later on.

Look at it as you will, that was not life, nor was it what in December1940 and January 1941 passed for social life in Moscow. I was too young to belong officially to the diplomatic community, so I did not attend all its festivities, but I could, if so I chose, boast that at the age of 16 I dined and danced with three ambassadors and a generous assortment of various *ministres plénipotentiaire et envoyés extraordinaires*. Including among the former was a man who had a singular distinction of being arrested, charged with high treason and hanged for plotting to assassinate Hitler. He was Friedrich-Werner Count von der Schulenburg, a most courtly and gracious figure of man whom no one could forget, least of all a young girl whom he treated with infinite courtesy and attentiveness, without a trace of condescension. But his death came at least three years later and was not part of my Moscow experience.

Maybe, had I been able, or rather allowed to walk or take a bus or the Metro to the Tretyakovski Gallery and meet people along the way, as I did in Odessa, at least the museums of Moscow would have been placed into some sort of human context and become part of my life. But, no, it was not to be. Instead, every day I was driven to the museum *du jour* and returned to the Legation by the driver who, like the rest of the domestic staff, was not a Yugoslav but a Soviet citizen of Baltic extraction and, according to father, an NKVD agent. His name was Artur, with the accent on the second syllable.

The day came when I could not stand it any longer and asked father to allow me to be driven by Artur to whatever museum I wanted to visit on a given day and return home by myself, riding a bus or metro or both if necessary. Father thought it was a reasonable idea and instructed Artur to show me exactly where I should catch the conveyance needed to get me home and to make absolutely sure that I had on me the right amount of rubles and kopeks for the fare and no chervontsy bills of any denominations.

On the appointed day, Artur was very pleased with the way he carried out father's instructions regarding my return home. Before he left me at the museum, he walked with me to the bus-stop where I would catch my bus home. He made me memorize the bus number and the name of the street where I would get off that bus, as well, as the names of the streets I would have to follow before turning into *Малый харитониевский переулок* where our legation was located. Nothing was left out. Every precaution for my safe return was taken.

The visit to the museum I chose to visit that day was much shorter than my usual museum visits. I could hardly wait to get on that bus and meet real people, people like Irina Tkach perhaps. There was another reason for starting for home earlier than necessary: I did not want to be late. I wanted father to be perfectly satisfied that Moscow streets were perfectly safe for his daughter to explore unchaperoned.

The line at the bus-stop was quite long, but that didn't worry me as I had allowed myself plenty of time. I looked around eagerly at the multitude of identical grim faces above identical heavy coats and felt boots. It doesn't mean anything, I thought. In the Universal Shop in Odessa the number and the sameness of faces nearly made me scream but after a little effort on both sides they turned into harbingers of an enchanted day. Why would that not happen again

here in Moscow? I looked around trying to find a way of establishing contact with someone, anyone—it really didn't matter who it was. While I was looking around I caught sight of the head of the line. I hadn't realized that the line was so long. I could swear it was considerably shorter when I first joined it. How was it possible? My search for an answer to this question was not very long. It took hardly any time for me to see the cause of this phenomenon. I saw a bus arriving at the bus-stop. The person at the top of the line was about to board it when a man came up running, flipped the lapel of his coat and said something which I could not hear. The person who was about to board the bus stepped back and let the new arrival get on to the bus without saying a word.. Quite a few people boarded the bus before it continued on its journey. Many among them were asked to let someone else board before them and many more, including me, were left on the pavement to wait for the next bus. When the next bus did come, the same charade was played and I no longer knew where the real head of the line was. But finally I did get to the head of the line only to be stopped by a man who flipped the lapel of his coat revealing some sort of a badge on the reverse side of it and muttering two words (which later turned out to be three words) of which I understood only the last—*привилегия*, privilege.

I got home two hours later than expected and thanked God that my father was not like Kosta Krajšumović. There were no signs of hysteria or paranoia. Father was a perfect picture of profoundly concerned but perfectly self-controlled parent.

"What happened," he asked?

"What does *'Oomenya privilegia'* mean?"

"У меня привилегия?"

"That's it. That's what it sounded like."

"Literally it means 'I have the privilege'. What it actually means is that the man or the woman who has the badge has precedence. He doesn't stand in line; he enters the auditorium after the concert has begun; he doesn't have to go to the General Post Office to make a long-distance telephone call. That sort of thing. By the way, you also have that 'privilege,' as I had to register you as a new, albeit temporary, member of my household here."

"The thought did cross my mind."

"And?"

"And nothing."

"Why didn't you use it?"

"As I said, the thought did cross my mind, but then I remembered."

"What did you remember?"

"Have you forgotten? In one of our early conversations, fairly soon after my arrival in Moscow you did talk to me about 'privileges.' You can't have forgotten what you said."

"What did I say?"

"You said that if you ever hear that I have used or tried to use a 'privilege' you'd send me straight back to Belgrade."

"Was that the only reason why you didn't use it?"

"Actually, no. I didn't like the look of the people who did. I didn't want to be one of them."

There were too many situations, things and human beings in Moscow of that time, both on the Russian side and the side of the Diplomatic Corps, who were just as repulsive as 'people with privileges' for me to want to revisit the place even just in memory. So my *Journey to Moscow* must remain what it always was: a story about a not very nice sixteen year old girl who traveled more or less on her own from Belgrade to Moscow and adventures she encountered on the way.

Bethesda, Maryland, USA, 1982

THE EMPIRE CREATES A NEW NATION

(Teodora Toleva: *Influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the Creation of the Albanian Nation (1896–1908)*, "Filip Višnjić" and Institute for European Studies, Belgrade 2016)

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SUMMARY: Using the research of the late Bulgarian historian and theologian Teodora Toleva, the author analyzes how the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry formed the Albanian nation as a political project *par excellence* the effects of which are still felt in the Balkans. In her PhD dissertation, defended at the University of Barcelona in 2008, based on previously unpublicized sources – mostly political reports written by Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry high officials and representatives in the Ottoman Empire – Toleva provided clear and indisputable evidence that the formation of the Albanian nation, alphabet, schools, literature and national consciousness had been devised by Viennese politicians, with the intention of halting the advance of Russian influence in the Balkans, as well as Serbian expansion in Kosovo, Macedonia and northern Albania. The documents clearly reveal not only that the Albanians are one of the youngest European nations, but also the "soft power" technique which uses culture to create new national entities. The author contrasts Toleva's work with that of Serbian historians, in which, for decades, many facts had been kept away from the public for the sake of "political correctness." The author documents the destructive consequences of Austria-Hungary's policy which, although the empire has been absent from the political scene for over a century, continues to live through the political activities of its successors on the international scene – the EU, Great Britain, Germany and the U.S.

KEY WORDS: Teodora Toleva, Austria-Hungary, Eastern Question, Serbia, Albania, Zwiedinek von Südenhorst, Primo Doçi, Vatican, Jesuits, schools, alphabet, (neo)colonialism

Teodora Toleva (1968–2011), a Bulgarian historian and theologian, defended her doctoral dissertation, titled *The Influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the Creation of the Albanian Nation (1896–1908)*, at the University of Barcelona in 2008. A product of years of comprehensive research conducted at the Austrian State Archives (*Kriegsarchiv*) in Vienna, the thesis is based on newly-discovered and previously unknown sources – mostly political reports written by the Empire's representatives, as well as its Foreign Ministry

high officials – dealing with the Albanian Question and problems concerning the creation of a brand new nation in the Balkans as a counterweight to Slavic, in the first place Serbian, expansion in the Adriatic region.

The biggest merit of this work is the new source material it is based on, as it considerably expands the boundaries of our historical understanding, countering, to a great extent, numerous earlier prejudices and providing scientifically sound arguments in support of certain questions which by some have been categorized as pseudo-history.

The majority of documents Toleva used come from the Austrian State Archives in Vienna, and had generally been unknown to the scientific community – which makes this study even more interesting and valuable. So far, the historiography, especially Serbian, has never given much thought to this matter, nor did it care to explore archives open for public access – despite the fact that the formation of the Albanian nation is of practical, vital and political importance to Serbia. Toleva's dissertation thus did the dormant Serbian historiography a great service by giving it new insight, founded on precise scientific facts and verified historical sources[1].

The monograph is divided into ten chapters, each ending with captioned photographs of the cited documents so that no one can dispute their existence and authenticity.

Toleva proved to be a diligent and scrupulous researcher, focused more on being systematic than on interpreting the evidence, but, in the span of her short life she succeeded in leaving a deep and lasting impact on the study of the past of the Balkan peoples and their interaction with the great powers.

The work openly discusses the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy and the Empire's carefully planned cultural and national emancipation of the Albanians – documented in numerous memorandums and diplomatic reports – with the purpose of creating and strengthening the Albanian national consciousness, as a consequence of which the educated segment of the Albanian population was to develop a need, until then almost non-existent, for the creation of a national state.

In the first chapter the author explains how the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one of the main three ministries (the other two being the ministries of finance and war) was organized. The foreign minister was the chief state official in the empire, answering only to the Crown, which appointed him without the interference of the other two ministers.

The Foreign Ministry of Austro-Hungary, founded after 1848, was a rather large and complex institution comprising four sections (political, administrative,

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[1] Upon completing this paper I learned that Dušan B. Fundić, a fellow with the Institute for Balkanology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, in October 2018 submitted his doctoral thesis entitled *Austria-Hungary and the Shaping of Albania 1896–1914* at the Belgrade University School of Philosophy, which supplements and broadens Teodora Toleva's work. Such research of Serbian historians of a younger generation give rise to hope that the future Serbian historiography, freed from the burden of the past and the devastating totalitarian ideology, will muster the strength to adequately study and assess the most important moments of Serbian history, and thus contribute not only to the Serbian historiography but also to the development of the future Serbian political (and strategological) thought.

the minister's office, and the department of support). The political section, which was the most important, received various diplomatic reports and issued instructions, and was in charge of planning and developing both long- and short-term foreign policy of the Empire. It comprised several councils: 1. The Orient, 2. The Vatican, 3. Germany and Scandinavia, and 4. Western and South-western Europe. These, in-turn, comprised various sub-councils of which the one in charge of the Balkans as an important part of the Orient played the dominant role in the Empire's life. One glance at the order of *the great councils* is enough to tell how important the Vatican and Germany were to Austro-Hungarian foreign policy and why the Dual Monarchy strove to align its political agenda with that of its two most valued allies.

In 1871 the administrative apparatus had suddenly expanded, and from then on there was an abrupt rise in numbers of officials preparing reports, although the true political power and influence was in the hands of a single functionary – the councellor of the Balkan section, who was in confidence of the emperor and the ministerial council, and who also had a say in major foreign policy matters. That is why the most important personality in Toleva's dissertation is the chairman of the Balkan section, Baron Freiherr Julius Roman Zwiedinek von Südenhorst (1833–1918) [Toleva 2016: 37].

Although, formally, not the head of the section, Baron Zwiedineck handled political reports and presided over political councils called "political readings." It was, in fact, during these so-called readings that the key political decisions were made and state strategy and tactics defined, after which the lower officials would receive their instructions for the realization of the adopted political program.

Between November 17 and December 23, 1896, three secret conferencess were held in Vienna, chaired by then foreign minister Count Agenor Romuald Gołuchowski. Others present were: Benjámin Kállay (1839–1903), as the minister of finance, Baron Zwiedineck, section head Von Horowitz, consul general Von Schmucker, and consul baron Von Baum, as the meetings' secretary. The main purpose of these conferences was to discuss the Austro-Hungarian "intervention" in Albania [Toleva 2016: 59].

It was there that the Albanian Question was defined, all the issues regarding the Albanian ethnos named, and the goals of the foreign policy on Albania and Albanians set.

During the first clandestine meeting it was decided that an autonomous Albanian principality should be established so as to prevent the Italians from further expanding to the eastern coast of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean in general, as well as to hinder the expansion of the Balkan countries, and through them, Russia's influence, over the said territories. For, otherwise, according to Benjámin Kállay, the Empire would have found itself surrounded by countries under either Russian or Italian influence. Kállay further spoke about the four main problems that could obstruct the realization of this plan, the first being the great differences among the Albanian people, separated, among other, by three religions, who had never before had a state of their own and were exclusively focused on their own local interests. In other words, the Albanians were

not a nation and it was in the Empire's interest to make them into one [Toleva 2016: 59–64].

At this meeting strategic and practical goals of the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy in the Balkans were defined. The chief strategic goal was to stop the Russian influence from spreading over the Balkans and Russia's rapprochement with Italy, while one of the tactical goals was, to by any means necessary, hinder the development and expansion of the Balkan states, first and foremost Serbia and Montenegro, as potential exponents of Russian politics. Count Gołuchowski himself confirmed this by saying that he won't allow the creation of a Greater Serbia and a Greater Montenegro, and that Constantinople must never fall into Russian hands. The count envisioned the following resolution of the Balkan Question, should it be impossible to keep the *status quo*: Turkey should gradually and "as slowly as possible" be replaced with new autonomous states, by creating "a greatest possible Greece, a great Romania, a great Bulgaria, a weak Serbia and a tiny Montenegro, and, lastly, a free Albania" [Ćorović 1992: 36].

Judging by this, it seems that the maxim "weak Serbia – strong Yugoslavia," which dominated Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia, was formulated already at that time, although its original formula was "weak Serbia – strong Balkans." Either way, a weak Serbia was part of the Empire's strategic plan, which has been adopted and is being followed by many imperial powers of today, such as Germany, the EU and the U.S.

The second secret conference was held on December 8, 1896, and was in its entirety devoted to the same subject matter. On the occasion, Baron Zwiedineck reported in great detail on the conditions existing among the Albanian people and proposed methods for further political action. His memorandum is a quite useful document as it provides a precise list of a whole range of means to be used for the purpose, from simple bribery to using the services of the Jesuits and the Vatican as the Empire's agents [Toleva 2016: 59–64].

The question of the Albanians and their national identity suddenly came more into the Empire's focus during the insurrection in Crete in the autumn of 1895, which threatened with the emergence of a new Eastern Question, a matter that was not in the interest of either Austro-Hungary or Russia. The conflict thus remained limited to a local, isolated Greco–Turkish War of 1897. Although it ended with the defeat of Greece, the war left a deep impression on the emerging Christian states in the Balkans, which despite a non-existent military and political alliance began to seriously consider future cooperation.

As a result, Serbia, until then militarily weak, embarked on reorganizing its army, the results of which will become evident only several decades later, in the Balkan Wars and World War I. Serbia's neutrality during the Greco–Turkish War, however, was well rewarded by the Turkish authorities. Serbia was allowed to open schools in the Bitola and Salonica vilayets in today's Macedonia, and raise the issue of appointing a Serbian bishop in Skopje. Namely, following the conflict with the Greeks, Turkey banished the Greek bishop Amvrosios from Skopje, and made Serbian archimandrite Firmilijan the provisional administra-

tor of the eparchy. For Serbia these were great diplomatic accomplishments, encouraged by Russia [Jovanović 1990a: 338–340].

For the Albanian project to succeed Serbia had to be pacified and that is why Austro-Hungary supported the return of King Milan Obrenović to Serbia, which brought an immediate end to the Radicals' rule and Russian influence in the Serbian court through Queen Natalia, aligning Serbian foreign policy with that of Central European powers instead. The ultimate irony lays in the fact that the king's return and his appointment as the commander-in-chief of the Serbian army, coupled with the formation of a relatively stable pro-Austro-Hungarian government led by Dr. Vladan Đorđević, in the long run had positive effects on Serbia and negative on the Empire. Namely, in the span of three years Serbia, and especially its military, had undergone great changes which the king was directly responsible for. Driven by his desire to make up for the defeats in wars of 1876 and 1885, with Turkey and Bulgaria, respectively, Milan Obrenović decided to deal with the chronic shortcomings of the Serbian military by investing a large portion of state funds into creating an educated and competent cadre, reorganizing and arming of the military, and eventually turning the Serbian Army into a force on par with European and world powers, and one that will triumph in the Balkan Wars and World War I [Jovanović 1990b: 46–49].

In the meantime, in 1897, Serbia began negotiations with Bulgaria concerning the delineation of the border in Macedonia, and although the talks did not yield concrete results, they did end in the signing of an international agreement, called *Ugodba*, on February 19, 1897 (Julian calendar) which bound the two countries, much like Russia and Austro-Hungary did, to not undertake any actions in Macedonia without consent of the other party. *Ugodba* was reinforced with the signing of a trade agreement on March 8, 1987, which represented the first step toward the creation of a military alliance between the Balkan countries that will formally be realized in 1912 [Jovanović 1990a: 344–346].

King Aleksandar Obrenović's visit to Cetinje, the capital of Montenegro, that same year, confirms that the Balkan countries were indeed actively considering a military and political alliance. Prince Nikola I Petrović-Njegoš on the occasion demanded a demarcation of the spheres of interest of the two countries in regards to Kosovo and Metohija. Although King Aleksandar declined to sign a similar document given Prince Nikola's obvious desire to have Prizren, the ancient Serbian capital, under his jurisdiction, whereby the Montenegrin dynasty would obtain precedence over the Serbian, the outline of an all-Balkan alliance was clearly emerging [Jovanović 1990a: 359].

Naturally, all of these occurrences forced the Austrian-Hungarian Empire to speed up the formation of the Albanian nation as an exponent of its Balkan policy, and be fully prepared to raise the Albanian Question before the international community once the solution of the Eastern Question, which now seemed inevitable, finally comes to the agenda.

As a power that successfully ruled over many different peoples that often were at odds with one another, the Austro-Hungarian Empire frequently resorted to using the "soft power" technique, i.e. it built upon existing ethnic and

social characteristics of a certain group of people, pitting them against the other neighboring groups. Such methods have left a deep and lasting mark on the peoples and ethnic groups the Empire had ruled over or tried to culturally influence, the latter being the case with Albania. Thus it ensured for itself a lasting position and continuity in international relations, so that even after it disappeared from the historical stage the results of its activities and the goals of its foreign policy were enthusiastically adopted and carried on by other great powers such as Great Britain, Germany, Italy and the U.S., especially when it came to the Russian influence in the Balkans, and consequently economic, military and political emancipation of Russia's potential allies, such as Serbia [Churchill 1964: 9–10].

Speaking of the Balkan Question, it is surprising just how much the interests and policies of the current western powers coincide with the Austro-Hungarian agenda, and how the Empire's creations, brought to life over a century ago thanks to a variety of diplomatic, political and military methods, continue to live on and serve to achieve specific political goals. It seems as if in the Balkans, state policies are more alive and lasting than the states that develop and pursue them.

It should be borne in mind that at the time the mentioned reports were being compiled and the creation of an Albanian alphabet, the opening of schools, and the development of national literature and other nation-building elements were being discussed in Vienna, the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija were exposed to monstrous atrocities. To that testify diplomatic reports compiled by Stojan Novaković[2] for the 1899 Hague Conference[3], according to which between 1898 and 1899 around 60,000 Serbs had to flee Kosovo and Metohija [Novaković 1998: 145]. Obviously, the pogroms were not a mere coincidence, but an expertly planned and executed ethnic and cultural cleansing of Serb territories, which continues, without interruption, to this day. This continuity is not reflected only in certain modern day powers' adoption of the Empire's foreign policy which includes support and instigation of anti-Serb sentiments and pogroms outside Serbia, but also by fostering an anti-Serb attitude from within, through the work of certain individuals. These never had an ounce of compassion for the sufferings of Serbs, justifying the Albanian crimes by stating, as Dimitrije Tucović[4] at the time put it, "[did] not the Slavic tribes suppress the native peoples of this land by such means no historian can have a positive opinion of?" [Tucović 1974: 4].

It is easy, therefore, to conclude that the rise of the Albanian nationalism was a product of the policy of repression targeting Kosovo Serbs who, after centuries of living in Kosovo and Metohija, have left there numerous material evidence of their cultural and spiritual tradition. As opposed to that, no traces

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[2] Stojan Novaković (1842–1915) was a Serbian politician, historian, diplomat, writer, bibliographer, literary critic, literary historian, and translator (translator's note).

[3] One of the two major international peace conferences organized in The Hague (the other one held in 1907) that resulted in a series of treaties that addressed the conduct of warfare (translator's note).

[4] Dimitrije Tucović (1881–1914) was a Serbian theorist of the socialist movement, prominent leader and a publisher (translator's note).

of the Illyrians, as the original inhabitants of the Balkans, who the Albanians claim to be their ancestors, can be found in the same territory. Thus, the famous "Illyrian myth" of the Albanians as an autochthonous Balkan nation – the central myth of the contemporary Albanian nationalism as well – can easily be linked to the Viennese-Jesuit quasi-history and their social engineering and nation-building. For, the said myth is what gave the Albanians the right to a *Lebensraum* of a kind over Kosovo and Old Serbia, before the term was even coined, and even before the Albanians were given an alphabet and national literature. Projected nationalism is always violent, and violence, as history shows, is a stronger catalyst for social homogenization of a certain ethnic group than culture, the latter being slow and effective only in the long run. Thus, the pogroms of the Serbs at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were corruptive in nature. The incited violence thus came first, and culture was to follow in its wake.

The secret reports of Consul Julius Pisko (from Skopje) from January 25 and June 15, 1897, and Vice-consul Alfred Rappaport (from Prizren) from July 29, 1897 were of great importance for the realization of the plan to create the Albanian nation. They explicitly stated that the rumors about Austro-Hungarian aspirations toward Thessaloniki should be replaced with rumors of the Empire supporting the Albanian state and nation [Toleva 2016: 136–137].

Consul Pisko suggested in his report that the Foreign Ministry should form a special section in charge solely of supporting the Albanian national movement and strengthening the Albanian national identity, whose primary task should be the creation of a unified script [Toleva 2016: 140]. Rappaport's report emphasizes the importance of bringing influential Albanians together, from both the towns and the countryside, so that they could unite around the idea of Albanian nationalism, which until then was almost non-existent. Well aquatinted with the Albanian character and inclinations and their focus on personal and local issues, the Austro-Hungarian consul proposed using large sums of money to attract Albanian headmen for the Empire's political project [Toleva 2016: 141–142]. Furthermore, on January 21, 1899, Pisko also mentioned a conference of Albanian leaders which was to take place a few days later in Peć, on January 23–29, 1899. A few days before, on the other hand, on January 19, Rappaport submitted another report from which it is evident that Austria-Hungary was playing the religious card and was inciting violence of Albanian Muslims in Kosovo and Old Serbia against the Serb population [Toleva 2016: 143].

Austro-Hungary's main ally on the Albanian project, however, was the Vatican. The Empire wanted a written agreement which would allow it to use the Vatican's missions in spreading propaganda furthering Austria-Hungary's goals [Toleva 2016: 171–174].

The formation of the Albanian nation and the development of Albanian nationalism, from 1896 to this day is a true masterpiece of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy, but it was accomplished, to a large degree, with the help of the Vatican and its secret ideological army – the Jesuits.

The Vatican's involvement in the Empire's project is best reflected in the work of Monsignor Prend Doçi (*Primus Docci*, lat.), a rather unique and intriguing

individual, one could say, of a romantic disposition, who greatly helped Baron Zwiedineck define the goals and methods of the Austro-Hungarian policy toward the Albanians.

Monsignor Doçi was born in 1849 in Orosh near Lezhe in a Roman Catholic tribe of Mirdita. He attended the *Pontifical Urban College de Propaganda Fide* in Rome, and in 1875 he became the Mirdita parish priest. During the Great Eastern Crisis[5], he got in touch with Giuseppe Garibaldi and in 1876 travelled to Cetinje where he would spend some time observing the behavior of Montenegrin and Herzegovinian tribes similar to the Albanians, but which for decades had had some degree of statehood and were nationally and culturally well emancipated. In 1877, he was arrested by the Turkish authorities near Gusinje, in today's Montenegro, and sent to a prison in Constantinople, where he was handed over to a papal envoy, on condition that he never returns to Albania again. Soon after his release, Doçi found himself sailing towards Canada as an emissary of a high Roman Catholic Church official, staying in that country for some six years. In 1883 he returned to Europe, and by the way of Corfu and Bar and with the help of Archbishop Marango arrived in Athens and was welcomed by the Greco-Albanian committee from Corfu. In 1884 he was sent to Mumbai where he stayed until 1887, as secretary of the apostolic delegate to East India, Cardinal Antonio Agliardi. A restless spirit with a bright mind and a vast life experience, Doçi was a perfect candidate to carry out the Vatican's policy toward the Albanians which relied on Austro-Hungarian as well as its rival Italy's policies. Upon returning to Rome, Doçi was appointed the abbot of Mirdita despite being permanently banned from setting foot on the Ottoman soil ever again. At the urging of the Austro-Hungarian diplomacy and with the help of the Armenian Ecumenical Patriarch Stefan Azarian, the Ottoman Porte lifted the ban in 1888 and Doçi was allowed to take office, subsequently dedicating his time and efforts to national matters [Toleva 2016: 267–268].

It was around this time that Vienna demanded from its consuls a list of names of notable Albanians who are part of the "Albanian national movement." On the list from January 31, 1901, there was only one name from Mirdita – Prend Doçi, the Abbot of Mirdita [Toleva 2016:143].

On March 14, 1897, during one of the already mentioned "political readings" in Vienna, Baron Zwiedineck presented a memorandum on funds to be invested in the Albanian autonomy, which although written by him, was, according to Toleva's findings, Doçi's brainchild [Toleva 2016: 270].

According to Doçi, the first step toward achieving autonomy was spreading the idea of "independence," which was tricky given the fact that the Albanian tribes were divided on the account of social status and religion. What was remarkable about Doçi is that he was the one to suggest spreading the idea of autonomy among Albanian enemies as well. Fourteen years later Tucović's study *Serbia and Albania – A Contribution to the Critique of the Serbian*

[5] The Great Eastern Crisis of 1875–78 began in the Ottoman Empire's territories on the Balkan peninsula in 1875, with the outbreak of several uprisings and wars that resulted in the meddling of international powers, and was ended with the Treaty of Berlin in July 1878 (translator's note).

Burgeoisie's Policy of Conquest appared, the contents of which one would think Monsignor himself oversaw. The fact is that Albanian enemies, in this case the Serbs, i.e. Serbian intellectuals and politicians, be it from ignorance or pure malice, had been legitimizing Albanian independence which went directly against Serbian national interests, much like it is the case today when it comes to the Kosovo Question. Ignorance in this matter, it must be said, is far more dangerous and detrimental than ill intentions, with its consequences far-reaching, as it stems from a belief or conviction which can be easily manipulated. Ill intentions, on the other hand, are a product of reason and interests. In other words, if you can fool an individual, especially one who is learned, imagine how easy it is to fool an entire nation, and particularly its leaders (politicians), which is exactly what happened to the Serbs in regards not only to the Albanians, but other ethnic groups as well.

The second and third steps in Doçi's plan pertained to making peace between the tribes, which would come only after the idea of independence took roots, i.e. when the Albanians found themselves threatened by a common enemy, as fear of the enemy would unite them. This is why it was necessary to form "a league" such as the one in Prizren from 1878, when representatives of all the tribes met and gave their word (*besa*) to fight for the national cause, which included a temporary suspension of all personal vendettas.

This Doçi's idea of dealing with blood feuds, it is interesting to note, was inspired by how the Montenegrins would put aside family and tribal quarrels to fight together against the Ottomans, which over time led to a social homogenization crucial for statehood. But they also needed to fulfill other requirements: have their own schools, a common alphabet and their own literature, as the main attributes of national identity [Toleva 2016: 271–274].

Of course, Doçi had a solution and proposed maintaining good rapport with the sultan's government, while working on local officials (under the "league's" control) substituting Ottoman clerks in internal administrative matters in the Albanian territory. This way, the future governing force would be covertly cultivated and readied to take over when the moment was right.

When all of the listed conditions had been met, Doçi believed, an all-Albanian commission was to be created, and it would consist mostly of intellectuals who would bring the Albanian Question before the international community [Toleva 2016: 274–275].

The political part of the program was not so hard to implement, but that was not the case with the cultural component, as culture is harder to fabricate than politics. Doçi's program envisioned, quite obviously, Roman Catholic Albanians as the civilizational element.

The founding of the Principality of Albania that would follow would have achieved, according to the plan, a three-fold goal:

1. Montenegrin expansion into Albanian coastal territory would forever be prevented. (It is rather obvious from the cited document that Austro-Hungary had never, not even in 1897, intended to let Montenegro have Skutari, a decision the Vatican wholeheartedly supported. This information provided by Toleva sheds a entirely new light on the 1913 Skutari Crisis.)

2. When it comes to Serbia and its interests, the consequences would be that the Kosovo Vilayet would become a permanent ally of northern Albania and would always stand in the way of Serbia taking over even the tiniest portion of Albanian territory.

3. Kosovo as an independent Albanian state was also defined by this document. Soon after, the persecution of Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija began. It lasted from 1898 until 1899, as mentioned before, and resulted in 60,000 people seeking refuge in the Kingdom of Serbia. In light of the new facts discovered by Toleva, it is hard not to see the pogroms as part of a cunningly conceived political plan, which has been used, in fact, on numerous occasions throughout the 20th century and we can see it being carried out even today when, as if under the auspices of the same Austro-Hungarian and Roman Catholic powers, *Serbia is being pressured into publically renouncing Kosovo, a part of its territory, and becoming the first nation in the world to commit national suicide, with the help of its own political, intellectual and cultural elite.*

The new principality would be considered to be Austrian even internally, as it would acquire the structure of Austria-Hungary, the only power that would guarantee it support and protection [Toleva 2016: 279].

The literary works in Albanian, Albanian schools – the means of awakening national spirit Doçi had dreamed of – Vienna made a reality. Albanian newspapers were founded and published abroad, while Roman Catholic priests began propagating patriotic ideas among the Albanian people.

Doçi also pointed out that the Albanians were not capable of making long-term political plans, as they were used to only dealing with current and personal affairs [Toleva 2016: 271].

In addition to working to achieve general nationalist goals, being a Mirdita, Doçi tried to raise his tribe above the other local groups and make it more important in the eyes of the great powers. A Roman Catholic people, Mirdita were the weakest tribe in terms of population, numbering only some 30,000 members, but they were very belligerent. Although a highly educated polyglot, Doçi in the end acted like a typical Albanian he had been describing. He drew money from the Austro-Hungarians, and used their political power and influence to have the leader of the Mirdita Prenk Bib Doda return from exile and make him the leader of the Albanian national movement. He founded the Society for the Unity of the Albanian Language (*Shoqnia Bashkimi*) that promoted a Latin script-based alphabet and which Doçi tried to force, unsuccessfully, on the other tribes. Although Doçi had been on the Empire's payroll until 1911, his *Bashkimi* had a strong base in Italy which indicates he might have actually been working for both Italy and Austro-Hungary at the same time.

As of 1900 Vienna turned toward having direct contact with the Albanian leaders through its diplomats. In that regard, Vice-consul Rémi von Kwiatkowski (1867–1923) [Deutsch 2017: 415–416] greatly contributed to the realization of the plan despite the resistance of the conservative elements of the Albanian social elite, the all-powerful chieftains (beys). Given the social organization, Von Kwiatkowski reasoned, national consciousness had first to be awakened among the beys who traditionally made the backbone of the Ottoman rule among

the Albanians. The vice-consul wisely suggested that Tirana should be the center of the new nation with the affluent Toptani family at the head and likely destined to provide future Albanian princes. Von Kwiatkowski understood quite well the significance of Tirana as a central meeting point for the tribes, Ghegs from the north and Tosks from the south. Moreover, shifting the seat of power from the coast, where the Italian influence was strong, to the hinterland was a move that allowed the formation of the principality to be executed under the Austro-Hungarian control. Being an inland city, Tirana was not a place that stirred up the always present mutual resentment between the much poorer and more primitive mountain tribes and the wealthier and more cultured coastal clans. Von Kwiatkowski was liked by the beys, and even more so after he became a godfather to one influential family in an *aqiqah* ceremony, during which his wife performed the ritual shaving of a newborn's hair. The vice-consul's hands-on approach benefited the political activity of the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic agents assigned to shape the Albanian national consciousness [Toleva 2016: 190–224].

The fight for the control of the Balkans and the dominant role in the final stage of the Eastern Question's resolution began with the fight for education and the school system. Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria to that added a religious struggle as well, as their respective Orthodox Christian churches fought over territorial influence, which further complicated the formation of a Balkan alliance, along with numerous acts of violence committed by various guerillas – the Serbian Chetniks, Bulgarian Komitas, and Greek Andartes – along with the incessant Albanian violence against the non-Albanian Christians.

Thus, paradoxically, literature, literacy and culture preceded violence and ethnic intolerance in the Balkans. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, after it had occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina and after the 1878 Congress of Berlin when it became a Balkan state, had no choice but to get involved in this covert and unofficial cultural and educational war in the Balkans. As it was not a national state but a Roman Catholic empire, it could not rely for help on any existing Orthodox Christian nation and therefore, in accordance with its interests in the Balkans, could but turn to its only natural ally – the Albanians. Yet, in order to carry out its plans, the Empire needed to civilize and to a great degree Europeanize its new allies, which meant they needed to be educated – have their own school system, literature, academics, national consciousness, and desire for independence and statehood – so that they could participate in the all-around Balkan game and compete with the relatively new, recently liberated Orthodox Christian countries for control over the territories still held by the dying Ottoman Empire.

The conditions in Albanian schools, however, at the beginning of the 20th century were disastrous. According to the Austro-Hungarian consul in north Macedonia, in the region there were 350 Greek schools, 188 Bulgarian, 101 Serbian, 35 Valachian/Aromanian, and nine Albanian – two for boys and one for girls in Skutari; one for each gender in Durres, and one school in Široko, Peć and Prizren each. The Albanians were taught in Italian despite the fact that the schools were financed by the Austro-Hungarians [Toleva 2016: 353].

Just how much Albania was culturally lagging behind its immediate neighbors is reflected in the fact that for a population of close to a million and a half, they had only nine schools. In Montenegro, on the other hand, which had some 200,000 inhabitants, there were 41 primary schools in 1871 (before the Great Eastern Crisis and territorial expansion), and in 1909 that number had risen to 136, with 198 teachers and over 12,000 students. Education in Montenegro was free and mandatory, and in addition to primary there was secondary education as well. The students could attended the Teacher's Seminary School and the Girls' Institute in Cetinje, lower classical gymnasium in Nikšić and Podgorica, and even officer courses [Ракочевић 1994: 236–237].

In terms of civilizational values, the Montenegrins, although a small tribal community, had a developed national consciousness and state, and were thus way ahead of the Albanians, the only people in Europe at that time that did not have their own language, script, literature, or national awareness.

The main problem the Austro-Hungarians were facing in their endeavors to civilize the Albanians was the fact that the locals were schooled in Italian, and as a consequence the educated people favored Italy and its culture. So it happened that with its cultural and educational policy, in the words of the Empire's consul in Skutari Theodor Anton Max Ippen (1861–1935) [Deutsch 2017: 358–361], Austro-Hungary was helping its rival and enemy, Italy [Toleva 2016: 354].

With this in mind, Ippen in 1897 presented a plan to create a network of Albanian schools that would help spread the pro-Austrian sentiments. The plan, not too creative at that, was based on Roman Catholicism. There were 100 Catholic parishes in northern Albania and thus, Ippen concluded, each should get a school. The upkeep was not to exceed 20,000 francs per school annually – which was a modest sum in view of the fact that a four-year Italian school in Skutari alone cost the Italian government around 30,000 francs per year.

As there cannot be a school without teachers, the next step was to select 10 to 12 candidates who had graduated from primary school and who had perhaps even attended a higher school. According to Ippen, they were to be sent to the Roman Catholic Institute in Salzburg for further education. As this was a boarding school they would live under Roman Catholic supervision and in the Roman Catholic spirit – in conditions that would grant them the world-famous Roman Catholic discipline, while in terms of politics, they would be loyal to the Empire.

In 1897, Ippen came forward with 12 potential locations in northern Albania suitable for the opening of Austro-Hungarian schools. The project required a one-time investment of 360,000 francs, and their upkeep was not to cost the Austro-Hungarian government more than 144,000 francs annually.

Ippen's plan made it obvious that the main aim of the Empire's cultural and educational policy toward the Albanians was heavily related to the Roman Catholic proselytism. Namely, it was the Roman Catholics who were to become the backbone of the Albanian intelligentsia in the making, including the leaders of the cultural and national movement.

Thus, it made sense for Austro-Hungary to collaborate with the Jesuits on this project. Toleva cites a letter by Ludwig Martin, the Jesuit superior general,

addressed to the Empire's ambassador to the Holy See, Count Revertera, in which he offers his opinion about the entire plan [Toleva 2016: 356–359]. Using the sophisticated language of diplomacy, the Jesuit general heavily criticized Vienna for not investing enough money in the new free Roman Catholic primary schools, kindergartens and orphanages it had opened. According to him, the Albanians, who in general were not cultured or educated much, if at all, would not spend a dime on their children's education. Therefore, the only way to educate the new generations was to convince the parents that their progeny's schooling would not cost them anything. The Austro-Hungarian institutions set up by the Empire's tightfisted bureaucrats generally fared worse than those established by the much poorer Balkan states. Not only were they lacking in funds, but in good management as well. Ippen, as it turned out, was quite a pinchpenny who wanted to achieve maximum results with minimum investment, which in the end proved detrimental to his own plan.

On July 23, 1897, Julius Pisko, Empire's consul in Prizren, wrote that a teacher fluent in a Slavic language could slowly introduce the Albanian language into the program. He also added that more nuns should be employed for the schooling of girls, and suggested opening a high school in Skopje where future Albanian teachers would be taught [Toleva 2016: 360–363].

In 1898, Roman Catholic Archbishop in Prizren Pasquale Troschi asked the Austro-Hungarian government for a financial contribution for the Roman Catholic schools in Prizren, Đakovica, and Peć, and the school for nuns in Peć. The majority of nuns and teachers in these schools were originally from Croatia [Toleva 2016: 383].

At the same time the Austro-Hungarian Empire was working on establishing a religious protectorate over the Roman Catholics in Albania. Ippen's report had already proved there was a connection between the government and the Jesuit order. In his own report, on the other hand, Zwiedinek argued that in the ambassador's account there was nothing, not a word, on the Jesuits' conduct in Albania which would confirm their loyalty to the Empire and its interests.

Being faced with difficulties in organizing lessons in Albanian, the Austro-Hungarian government wanted the Jesuits to take over the entire venture, and that is why they agreed with their general superior, on the following:

1. The general was to temporarily suspend his efforts to have Albania join the Holy See as a Jesuit province, despite this being the desirable outcome. The reason behind this decision was not to arouse suspicion that could jeopardize the Empire's political agenda.
2. An Austro-Hungarian Jesuit was to be appointed as the rector of the papal school.
3. The order was to receive financial assistance for all matters concerning their schools.
4. The Jesuits were to regularly report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna. The Ministry on the other hand, promised to keep the order's Father General informed about all that pertained to the activities of the Empire's diplomatic agents.

5. The higher spheres of the Jesuit order in Albania were to receive instructions on how to contact the Austrian consular officers when necessary, so as to establish a dual control system over the Jesuits' activities in regard to the Empire, which would give the Austro-Hungarians right to remove from Albania any member of the order they might have a problem with.
6. The Empire, on the other hand, promised to instruct its consuls to, whenever possible, encourage and support the Jesuits' activities, always under the condition that the Jesuit priests, if need arose, turn exclusively to the Austro-Hungarian agents for help.

In exchange, the order offered to the Austro-Hungarians the following services:

1. The opening of a pedagogical center – *Collegio commerziale* – with the Trade School in Skutari where the teachers, upon arrival in Albania, would be educated.
2. Information on all the complaints against teachers and schools made by the Jesuit priests during their mission trips (a form of school inspection and educational supervision).
3. Keeping the Jesuit priests under discreet and effective supervision [Toleva 2016: 375–376].

Now, where Ippen was in favor of the Jesuits' support, Baron Zwiedinek had his doubts about the Society of Jesus. At the time, Vladan Đorđević [6] quite clearly saw the involvement of the Roman-Catholic Church in the formation of the Albanian nation, now confirmed by Toleva. "How is it that the all-mighty Roman Catholic Church, which usually achieves wonders in those European countries where Roman Catholicism is the prime religion, could not do a thing in Albania? The reason is that a Roman Catholic priest in Albania does more than just live and see to his missionary work. Priests in that country are *political agents* of the two major powers that are fighting for supremacy in Albania, and which are financially supporting those priests only because they are spreading their respective propaganda," Đorđević reasoned [Đorđević 1913: 67].

Doçi's example supports Đorđević's opinion.

The main stepping stone in the implementation of the Albanian project was the creation of the Albanian literary language. That would allow a school system and curricula to emerge, which would then serve to form the Albanian intelligentsia and the national idea. There was one major obstacle, however, and that was the alphabet (that is, its non-existence) without which all the effort would have been in vain. Vienna was very concerned, and rightfully so, because it was impossible to establish a national literature and spread literacy among the Albanian people without a unified script and a codified literary language. This further meant that it was impossible to develop the sense of national belonging and the need for a national state. According to Vladan Đorđević, both the Albanian language and lore were rather poor. There was no epic poetry, no mythology to speak of, and not even Đorđević's archenemy,

[6] Vladan Đorđević (1844–1930), physician, prolific writer, organizer of the State Sanitary Service, and politician who was mayor of Belgrade, Minister of Education, Prime Minister of Serbia and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Kingdom of Serbia (translator's note).

Dimitrije Tucović could disagree. "There is not even a collection of Albanian national poems as proof [of the existence of an Albanian literary tradition], but we do have the songs of the Kuči tribe, which, what is more, confirm that the Montenegrin character is no different [than the Albanian]," argued Tucović [Tucović 1974: 11]. The reasoning of the leader of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party is rather fascinating, as he, lacking a literary tradition to support his argument, called upon the Kuči's literary legacy to prove his point, disregarding the fact that the Montenegrin tribe, although close to the Albanians, was a Serb tribe, to which testifies, among others, the fact that the leader of the Kuči, Marko Miljanov, a writer and a warrior, known as Mar Miljan among the Albanians, wrote in the Serbian language and considered himself a Serb. Citing the Etymological Dictionary of the Albanian Language, published in Salzburg in 1891 and compiled by a Graz Albanologist Gustav Mayer, whose work on the codification of the Albanian language was also used by the Austro-Hungarian government, Đorđević claimed that Albanian was a mix of Indo-European languages, and that its core comprised only 2230 words, of which, 540 were of Slavic, 870 of modern Greek, and 1420 of Romance and Turkish origin, whereas around 400 words could have been classified as Indo-Germanic [Đorđević 1913: 12].

In other words, owing to the resolution of the Eastern Question in favor of the Balkan states and nations, at the turn of the 20th century the Albanians were faced with a potential assimilation and disappearance, which the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Italy and the Vatican managed to prevent from happening by forming the Albanian nation.

Baron Zwiedinek, the emperor's secret counselor, at the end of 1897, when Rappaport was in Vienna, instructed the vice-consul in Prizren to gather information about this sensitive language issue. On January 31, 1898, Rappaport submitted a detailed report that included the results of his research and three different tables with the Albanian alphabet, which Toleva closely examined in her work. In Annex 1 of the report, Rappaport listed 17 different ways of spelling, and 20 transcription methods. The problem with the alphabet was related to the problem of national identity – having both Latin and Arabic scripts was a consequence of Albania being a place where Christian and Muslim worlds converged. Rappaport suggested that the Latin script be used in schools, while ascertaining that when it came to literature, he believed, it should be let to resolve the issue of alphabet gradually and naturally on its own [Toleva 2016: 307–312].

On August 9, 1898, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs engaged several experts to help solve the alphabet problem. Among them was court counselor Dr. Taloshy, Professor Mayer from Graz, and the Skutari consul, Ippen. Soon, Vienna was ready to print the Bible in Albanian using the alphabet Ippen and the Roman Catholic clergy in Skutari brought to life [Toleva 2016: 313–318].

As a model, they used the Latin script from Bosnian schools (which means that Serbian was actually its basis), that way coming close to what Dositej Obradović[7] was doing while working as a teacher in Vlore – he aptly used the

[7] Dimitrije "Dositej" Obradović (1739–1811) was a Serbian writer, philosopher, dramatist, librettist, translator, linguist, traveler, polyglot and the first minister of education of Serbia (translator's note)

Cyrillic script in his correspondence in Albanian, which he knew well [Đorđević 1913: 14].

Abbot Doçi, as mentioned before, was also involved in the creation of the alphabet. On April 23, 1901 he came to Delbenisti to meet with the Archbishop of Albania, Monsignor Bianchi, and on the occasion expressed his disapproval of the Austro-Hungarian invention. However, he did suggest calling a general assembly in which the Albanian headmen would vote on the matter, thinking it was a good opportunity to promote his own *Bashkimi* society and the alphabet they were proposing [Toleva 2016: 314]. No agreement, however, was reached that year.

In 1905, according to the Italian consul in Skutari, Italy was printing schoolbooks in Albanian using *Bashkimi*'s alphabet, directly jeopardizing Vienna's interests, which led to Austro-Hungary having to work faster on resolving the alphabet problem. It is easy to deduce from the document that Doçi had, in fact, been sitting on two chairs all along, and that (although there is no actual proof) he was receiving money from both the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy, trying, by any means possible, to advance his small Roman Catholic tribe in the Albanian hierarchy and impose his own alphabet on the new nation [Toleva 2016: 332].

That same year, having realized that they perhaps had unintentionally been doing their rival a favor, Vienna decide to send to Skutari August Ritter von Kral (1869–1953) [Deutsch 2017: 396–398], a man that would finally solve the script problem.

Being perhaps more perceptive than his colleagues, Von Kral, saw that the most widely used script was the one called *Frasheri alphabet*, which had been created during a general assembly of the Albanian chiftains in 1880. It was considered "more traditional" and it took roots in territories where the Gheg dialect was spoken, which made it acceptable for the Muslims too. It, however, included several complicated characters that needed to be tactfully replaced. Standing in the way was no other than Primo Doçi, who took Von Kral's work on the accelerated creation of a universal Albanian alphabet, for a personal attack. In the end the Viennese diplomat found a way to deal with Doçi and elicit a promise that the abbot's party would agree to whichever alphabet is chosen at the next assembly. At the same time Von Kral managed to limit the influence of Mehmet Bey Frasheri, who in the meantime had become a prominent member of the Young Turks movement. In 1908, the Austro-Hungarian diplomat organized the Congress of Monastir (Bitola) which somewhat solved the alphabet problem. What was happening at the same time was a series of diplomatic events that dealt with the construction of a new Sanjak railway line to rival the Adriatic railway pushed by Italy, Serbia and Russia. In July of the same year the Young Turk Revolution began and the revolutionaries wanted to turn the Ottoman Empire into a national secular state with a Latin-based script, all of which would become a reality during Ataturk's[8] rule.

[8] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a Turkish field marshal, revolutionary statesman, author, and founder of the Republic of Turkey, serving as its first President from 1923 until his death in 1938 (translator's note).

All these events had a great effect on the congress which eventually adopted both *Frasheri* and *Bashkimi* scripts – the Ghegs and Muslims would use the former, while the Tosks and other Roman Catholics the latter [Toleva 2016: 326–344].

The extremely significant work of consul Kral, however, did not end there. He played the leading role in the Albanian cultural life during the Great War, too, i.e. during Austria-Hungary's occupation of the area in 1916–1918. Kral returned to Albania in the capacity of its civilian commissioner, founding an extremely important institution – the Albanian Literary Commission, which acted as a censor of official documents, newspapers and publications in Albanian. It was then that Kral finally managed to impose on the Albanians the alphabet that was most suitable for the Empire's interests, thus shaping for good the Albanian literary language and the future Albanian cultural and national policy, which after the Great War has continued to develop to this day [Toleva 2016: 345/346].

A Serbian reader cannot but notice an analogy between Austria-Hungary's policy toward the Albanians and the one pursued by Josip Broz Tito in the post-WWII, Communist Yugoslavia. At the beginning of her study Toleva rightly names Broz as the father of new, post-Yugoslavia's nations created following the already mentioned Viennese recipe, thus also fully justifying the claim of Alan Taylor about Josip Broz being "the last Habsburg" [Tejlor 2001: 296]. For, Tito's Yugoslavia, in its essence and its state concept, was indeed an "Austria-Hungary in miniature" of sorts, in which as opposed to the latter – wherein the relationship between the Germans and Hungarians was at the core of internal policy – the relationship between the Serbs and Croats was at the center. Also, it would be wrong to believe that any of the two entities – both artificial and extremely undemocratic – were actually "prisons of nations" as was long held and quite often emphasized by historiography. It would be closer to the truth to say that both states were actually the "manufacturers of nations," following a principle that was also at work in the Communist USSR. By documenting the plans for Albania conceived in Vienna and realized by diplomatic representatives of Austria-Hungary, Toleva's dissertation, based on newly-discovered evidence, actually reveals that many national ideas, ostensibly original and naturally born, were in fact the result of well-organized and skillfully devised political projects.

While reading this book a Serbian reader also cannot but be amazed by how little his intellectuals appreciate their own people and their own cultural attainments. While Austria-Hungary, Italy and the Vatican invested enormous efforts in creating an alphabet, schools, culture and state for the Albanians, Jovan Skerlić[9] at the same time had already made a sort of classification of the then latest Serbian literature. But, the Serbian political elite in general has never properly understood the political importance of its culture, unjustly considering it insignificant, provincial and often backward, treating its national and cultural workers as a kind of rivals vying with them for power and looking

[9] Jovan Skerlić (1877–1914) was a Serbian writer and critic. He is regarded as one of the most influential Serbian literary critics of the early 20th century (translator's note).

down on their deeds and spiritual achievements. When compared with our neighbors, in this case the Albanians, it becomes immediately clear that, unlike the Serbs, they had no Vuk Karadžić[10] or Petar II Petrović Njegoš[11], and that literary works such as *The Mountain Wreath* and *The Ray of the Microcosm*, were actually part of a huge national revolution undermining the very foundations of the then conservative and imperial Europe. Only now, thanks to Toleva's work, the reader can realize and understand the main reasons why have the Serbs always been unpopular with the great powers. As a cultured nation, with a developed literary language, national consciousness and national myth, the Serbs, from the imperial standpoint of Austria-Hungary and its contemporary spiritual successors, should have been and should be reduced to the initial Albanian level, whereas the Albanians should be emancipated and elevated to the point where they could prove equal to their more cultured neighbor. In this "culture war" anything goes and culturcide is systematically being resorted to so that the Serbian national consciousness and national feelings would be completely dulled and subdued.

Also, Toleva's book rehabilitates and to a great extent confirms the positions of Vladan Đorđević, physician, diplomat and nearly forgotten and neglected politician, the author of the book entitled *Arnauts and the Great Powers*, written for the Conference of Ambassadors held in London on January 28, 1913. For this, Dimitrije Tucović, the leader of the Serbian Socialists, strongly attacked him in his treatise *Serbia and Albania*, as "ill-reputed," "retrograde" and deeply "compromised," thus in fact largely reaffirming the neighboring Empire's anti-Serb interests and policy. Today, it is not difficult to conclude that the Serbian Socialists of the time, much like their successors, the Communists, constituted a "fifth column" of sorts among the Serbian state and national, but most of all, cultural and political intelligentsia. It may well be said that Tucović was an ideological precursor of today's "Other Serbia," which criticize Serbian "nationalism" and "bourgeoisie" by finding justification for almost all neighboring anti-Serb sentiments and acts, accuse Serbia and the Serbs of colonialism, hegemonism and genocide and support every policy contrary to the interests of the Serbian state and its people. Tucović, on his part, albeit strongly attacking Đorđević, agrees with him on one point: the Albanians are indeed a people on a very low cultural and civilizational level, without a single collection of folk songs and no common lore, a completely uncultured and primitive Balkan tribe. Although Tucović rightly saw that the life of the Albanians is closely linked with the Adriatic Sea, for centuries an important trade route that also served to spread culture, he failed to inform us as to how all these cultural influences of numerous peoples – the ancient Greeks, Byzantines,

[10] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić was a philologist and linguist who was the major reformer of the Serbian language. He deserves, perhaps, for his collections of songs, fairy tales, and riddles, to be called the father of the study of Serbian folklore. (translator's note).

[11] Petar II Petrović-Njegoš, commonly referred to simply as Njegoš, was a Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, poet and philosopher whose works are widely considered some of the most important in Serbian and Montenegrin literature. He is the author of *The Mountain Wreath* and *The Ray of the Microcosm*, among other works (translator's note).

Venetians, and even the Serbs – did nothing to shape a specific Albanian national character. For, despite all this, the Albanians remained an isolated, conservative ethnos, extremely uncivilized and with no statehood aspirations, for whom the others had to create a nation and a state, as Teodora Toleva's work so well testifies to. These unflattering conclusions, of course, had to be well-argumented and justified, which Toleva has done by revealing and scrupulously documenting the very nature of the Austro-Hungarian imperialism that worked hand in glove with the Jesuits.

It is clear today that the Albanian Question was much better defined by Vladan Đorđević than by Dimitrije Tucović, as Đorđević saw the creation of the Albanian state as a new "Eastern Sub-Question," still unresolved today as the Kosovo Question, the causes and the genesis of which were so well explained in Toleva's dissertation [Đorđević 1913: 160].

Reports of Austro-Hungarian diplomats presented in Toleva's work clearly reveal the Viennese diplomacy's political ambition of civilizing and emancipating – within the German cultural *Drang nach Osten* – not only the Albanians, but also other similar ethnic groups living in the Islamic Ottoman Empire. This is a rather new and modern approach to a colonial division of the world, at the time not yet dominant in international relations, but which today, after having evolved, may be well termed as neocolonialism. According to it, the colonizer does not use a crude military force to rule a territory or a people, resorting instead to cultural and economic influences. He is a mother raising her backward children, he protects such people's retarded and corrupted political elites before the international community. In neocolonialism, the might of the empire-colonizer, i.e. his "soft power," lies in its invisibility and elusiveness. The colonizer acts through culture, political parties, foreign companies and foundations, using numerous small and ostensibly independent factors that work skillfully and jointly to exploit and subjugate a territory or a nation, assisted by their social elites convinced they are working in their own interest while only serving a huge system of manipulation. This system tested in the Balkans at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century produced valuable results, but it was not too convenient during the period of the colonial empires' dominance. Only once this epoch after the WWI and WWII had ended could the current international order be established – an era of the "soft- influence"-empires which follow the principles of neocolonialism, pioneered by Austria-Hungary.

Today's world, divided into a multitude of seemingly independent states, in which people live badly and where the ruling groups vie for domination, offers an opportunity to the invisible factor to act in the cheapest and most effective way. The invisible empire is a coordinator, organizer and realizer of a host of programs carried out by allegedly independent groups, associations and individuals, their activities being skilfully thought out to implement a well-devised plan. The power of spiritual and political manipulation has turned out to be stronger and more efficient than the crude physical force.

It is also important to point out that after the 1878 Congress of Berlin the world has entered an era of big colonial expansion and confrontation between the great imperial powers, but that the epoch also saw the rise of nationalism

which in the case of the Balkans – to a great extent and more unwittingly than wittingly – worked in the interest of these powers.

Baron Zwiedinek's memoir about the need to create an Albanian nation to hinder Serbia's and Montenegro's expansion in the Balkans and prevent Russia from gaining access to warm seas, read at the clandestine meeting in Vienna in 1896, presents that quite clearly.

The memoir was written when the Cretan revolt was at its height and threatening to reopen the Eastern Question, which was not in the interest of either Austria-Hungary or Russia. The Greek rebellion against the Ottomans, however, forced Austria-Hungary to launch comprehensive preparations for the forming of the Albanian nation, which passed almost unnoticed. Thus, the Empire's decision to establish an autonomous Albanian principality revealed at the 1913 Conference of Ambassadors in London and supported by Germany, Italy and Great Britain took by surprise not only representatives of certain great powers, such as France and Russia, but the Balkan states as well. Austria-Hungary had a very short period to act – only some 15 years – to deny Serbia access to the Adriatic Sea, which this doctoral dissertation well documents.

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THE ENTIRE BALKANS ARE GERMANY'S BACKYARD

(Klaus Thörner, *Der ganze Südosten ist unser Hinterland: Deutsche Südosteuropa pläne von 1840 bis 1945*. Ira Verlag – Institut für Sozialkritik, Freiburg 2008, 580 Seiten)

When using the term South East, the author means the southeast of Europe. Under this notion Thörner implies Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania while he believes that Albania, Greece and Turkey do not belong to this geographical area.

At the very beginning of the book the publisher notes that "to this day there has been no comprehensive overview of Germany's Balkan policy from the time it was an empire, through the Weimer Republic, to the era of National Socialism. A book like that would have served as a link to establishing the historical connections or continuity of Germany's policy on Southeastern Europe to this day … Klaus Thörner analyzes the most important plans of Germany's 'eastern penetration' from 1840 to 1945."

In the introduction to his book, Thörner states that at the outset of the Yugoslav crisis "were the German government's actions, which in December 1991 exerted strong pressure on international politics and managed to succeed in its attempt to get the European Union to finally recognize Slovenia and Croatia as sovereign states. This led to the collapse of Yugoslavia. Germany's policy of separately recognizing these two Yugoslav republics was the first independent foreign political move of the German government since 1945 without the consent of its allies in the West – especially the U.S. The foreign press almost unanimously saw this as a factor that had expedited the war, which had started in Croatia and soon, at the beginning of 1992, spread to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Certain international observers wrote about the history of German policies on the Balkans. Many recalled the fact that Germany had twice attacked Serbia i.e. Yugoslavia in both world wars in the 20th century. Germany created Croatia in 1941–45 which was a German satellite."

The past was not only cited by international observers, but the "German press, too. It tried to historically justify the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Hence, it stated that Yugoslavia was suddenly incapable of existing as it was an 'artificial product' of the Paris Peace Conference' in 1919. Then, the German media added that Croatia and Slovenia belonged to 'Middle Europe,' which is traditionally in the sphere of German influence, and does definitely not belong to the 'Balkans'."

Image 1. *Southeast Europe ahead of the Berlin Congress*

Sorce: Thoerner, p. 79 (Weithmann, Balkan-Chronik)

Today, unfortunately, hardly anyone speaks of the discussion that "was led in Germany in the 1960s regarding German historian Fritz Fischer's analysis. He spoke in detail of Greater German political interests before 1914 and especially underlined Germany's responsibility for WWI."

From 1871 to 1945, therefore, "from the creation of a unified, national German state under Bismarck, 74 years have passed. These 74 years make up a singular whole and continuity, especially in the area of foreign policy. One cannot but openly see the continuity from the time of the German Empire to the Weimar Republic to National Socialism," according to Fischer.

Fischer demonstrated in a convincing way that after the unification of Germany in 1871 the country began leading a "policy of expansion. This was the course taken by Germany in 1871. Germany was determined to become a global power. It intended to reach this goal with the help of economic imperialism, by arming itself, heightening influence in the Balkans, and pursuing a colonial policy. Berlin was ready to attain its goal even at the cost of provoking a world war."

In addition to Fritz Fischer, Andrej Mitrović made a notable contribution to the subject (see: Andrej Mitrović, Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der

Image 2. *Southeast Europe after the Berlin Congress 1878.*

Source: Thoerner, p. 119 (Weithmann, Balkan-Chronik)

deutschen Südosteuropa Politik 1914–1941, in: *Balcanica. Annuaire de l`Institut des Etudes Balcaniques*, Belgrade, Vol. 8 /1977/, p. 562f.)

In this work, which is Thörner's doctoral thesis, the subject is Southeast Europe that encompasses Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. Some authors, however, include Hungary in the area, while others refer to the latter as being a part of Middle or Eastern Europe. The author did not analyze Albania and Greece despite the fact that they, too, belong to the Balkans geographically. The reason for this is that Germany is employing an entirely different, benevolent political and economic approach toward these countries.

"The main route of Germany's economic expansion in 1840 until 1945 went down the Danube River and the railroad built in the second half of the 19th century connecting Berlin and Istanbul via Vienna, Budapest and Sofia, which was later extended all the way to Bagdad."

The first chapter of Thörner's study is titled: The Genesis of German Plans for the Balkans (Die Genese deutscher Südosteuropapläne, 1840–1850). Friedrich List (1781–1846), the father of the German historical school of economics, was among the first geopoliticians to direct attention to the importance of the Bal-

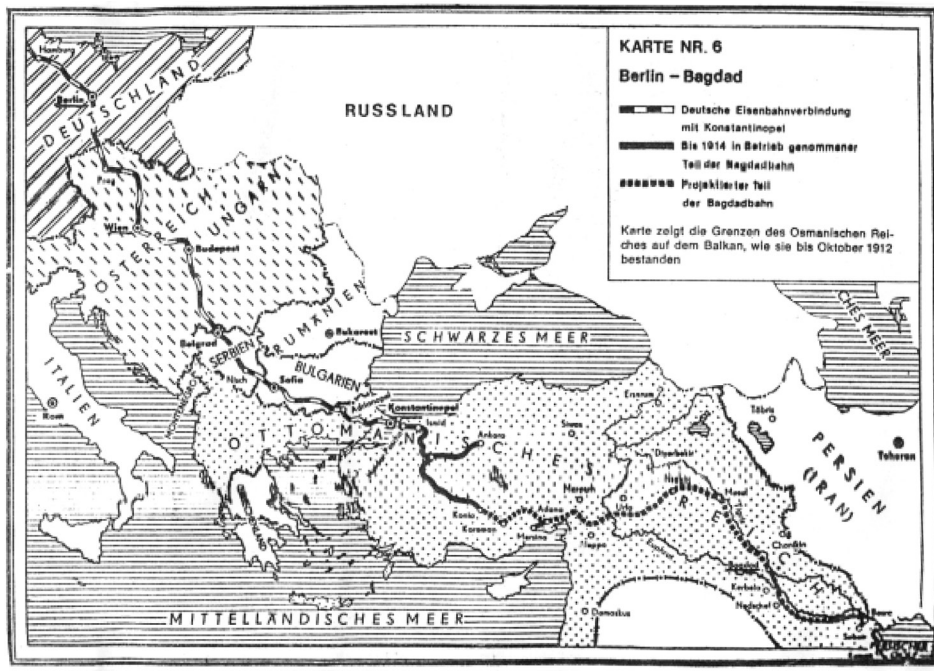

Image 3. *Berlin-Baghdad*

Source: Thoerner, p. 136 (Fischer, Krieg der Illusionen)

kans. In addition to being important from the standpoint of trade, the southeast of Europe was also of significance for Berlin for another reason. "List favored redirecting the wave of German emigration to the Balkans instead of North America. There, the emigrants will be much more useful to the German economy. In doing so, we should abide by an old German tradition, i.e., we should remember that many Germans from the Rhine and Moselle area settled in Siebenbürgen (or "Transylvania" as it is called in Romania) and Banat. The objective of these German emigrants was to populate these areas and ensure that they became German spheres of influence. German settlers in the Balkans should receive special economic and cultural privileges."

Germans did not emigrate *en masse* just to the U.S., Canada and the Balkans. "Other important destinations for German settlement in the past were in eastern Europe, such as Poland, the Baltic and Black Sea regions, as well as the areas next to the Volga and the Caucasus."

The son of the writer Johann Herder, Sigismund (Siegmund) August Wolfgang (seit 1816 Freiherr) von Herder (*August 18, 1776 in Bückeburg; † January 29, 1838 in Dresden) as geologist visited Serbia in the first half of the 19th century. Deeply impressed by Serbia's ore and metal mining potential, when he returned to Germany he published what he saw in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (Außerordentliche Beilage. № 543–544, of December 30, 1835).

Image 4. *Mitteleuropa*

Sorce: Thoerner, p. 219.

The total number of Germans who emigrated "from 1820 to 1914 is estimated at about six million. Of that number, five million found their new home in North and South America."

With this article List declared the Balkan "an area that is in the future destined to become a place of settlement, i.e. a German colony. This is a goal which many other German geopoliticians called for in the decades to come."

List is the first to come up with the slogan: "Germany has a mission to civilize the Balkans." Decades after List, this slogan served as a motive for the creation of the ideology of "Middle Europe." This ideology had the goal of covering up Germany's true expansionist and economic aspirations toward the peninsula. List slightly adjusted and embellished the goals of his ideology by

THE BALKANS, 1912–13

After R. R. Sellman, *A Student's Atlas of Modern History* (London, 1952).

Image 5. *The Balkans, 1912–1913*

Source: Thoerner, p. 299.

THE GERMAN CLAIMS IN THE SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST.

Image 6. *The German claims in the South and South-East*

Source: Thoerner, p. 329.

presenting it as Germany's "cultural mission" in the Balkans, just like it had been in the case of Middle Europe. He did so with the intention of covering up the truth: that the actual goal of Germany was the conquest and subjugation of Southeast Europe.

What is at stake here is an *awareness of a mission* which feeds itself from *three sources*: from the secularized *Christian idea,* from the memory of the era of *colonization* of Eastern and Southeast Europe by medieval German knights, and from the liberals' belief in *progress*. German settlement in and penetration to the East from the 10th to 14th centuries was seen by many, even by enlightened, liberal German historians from the 19th century, as positive.

List strongly opposed Russian expansion to Southeast Europe and to the Balkans. He saw Russia primarily as a conglomerate of a large number of barbarian hordes led by the instinct of wild animals. Hence it was unnatural that a "barbarian country" conquered by means of arms and ruled over another "barbarian country."

To stop this, to prevent Russia from taking the lead over all barbarians in Europe and Asia, everything had to be done for it to lose its influence in the Balkans and the Middle East. For the purpose of achieving that goal, a strong barrier, a veritable fortress against Russia must be erected. And the efficient means for this is the peaceful conquest of the countries through which the Danube flows.

The author offers a series of examples of how this idea was not only promoted by List, but was shared but many German politicians and economists up until the beginning of the Second World War.

While he – much like many of his contemporaries – wanted to force Russian influence out of Europe, List, on the other side, strived to strike up an alliance with Great Britain, as a global power, in 1846. Germany was too weak to compete with England at the time. This is why he proposed that an alliance with this global power takes form of a tacit agreement, obliging Germany and Great Britain to split up their spheres of interest. List added to his proposition to London a decree recognizing Great Britain's right to rule Asia Minor and Egypt. The said memorandum envisaged the expansion of Germany's rule over all of the Balkans, which at the time was governed by the Sublime Porte – today's Romania, Bulgaria and the south of Yugoslavia.

List's argument in favor of a German–English alliance had a racist basis. He believed that the German and English nations were part of a common "German race." This race, List believed, had the following mission: "There can hardly be any doubt in the validity of the fact that Divine Providence bestowed upon the German race the mission of civilizing savage and barbarian countries."

The envisaged alliance made List the first to propose a new division of the world, in this case between Great Britain and Germany. He justified this by the idea that the German race was superior to the Slavs and Romance-speaking peoples.

In June 1846, List set off for London to present his plan to the British government. England, however, rejected it. List was so disappointed with London's response that shortly afterward, on November 30, 1846, he committed suicide.

THE BALKANS AFTER WORLD WAR I

After L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (New York, 1958).

Image 7. *The Balkans after World War I*

Source: Thoerner, p. 353.

List's ideas, however, survived him and are still around. Paul Pfizer espoused identical views. In his book *Fatherland* he favors the creation of a German empire spanning from the Baltic to the Black Sea (Paul Pfizer, *Das Vaterland*; Stuttgart 1845, p. 293 and p. 296). He also shared List's views that Germans should not emigrate to the U.S. but settle the regions of Bačka, Banat, Transylvania and the Danube delta. As for Austria, he was certain that sooner or later it would become part of an enlarged German state. This will ensure that the country would be strong enough to foil the penetration of Slavic and Romance-speaking peoples."

The continuity of Germany's policy can clearly be seen in Berlin's plans to place under its rule the Danube region, and the railroad that links Berlin with Vienna and Budapest and goes on to Belgrade, Sofia, Istanbul, ending with Bagdad. The other Balkan regions were to be magnanimously ceded to Vienna and Budapest.

The creation of the state of Albania is also owed to the German and Austrian governments, which at the London Conference in 1913 took great care not to

Image 8. *Die Schicksalsgemeinschaft der Staaten im Mitteleuropäischen Spannungsraum*

The fateful community of states in the Central European area of tension

Source: Thoerner, p. 403.

let Serbia acquire access to the Adriatic Sea, as this would enable Russia, Serbia's chief ally, to build a naval base in the Mediterranean.

In this, the interests of the West, especially Berlin and London, coincided. The conflicting interests of Germany, England and France in many economic and geopolitical issues aside, they agreed on one point: if they can't s entirely stop Russia's influence, they should try to contain it as much as possible. This can be best seen on the example of the Balkans throughout the 19th century.

It is owing to the author of this book that the readers are presented with extensive literature dealing with the subject of German expansion to the Balkans, from List to this day. Let me mention just several of the most important names: the American writer Henry Cord Meyer (*Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Action*, The Hague 1955), French historian Jacques Droz, *L`Europe centrale. Évolution historique de l`Idee de "Mitteleuropa"*, Paris 1960), Lothar Rathmann, *Stoßrichtung Nahost*, Berlin, DDR, 1963), Edward Mead Earle, *Turkey*, *the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway*, New York 1966) and Friedrich Naumann (*Mitteleuropa*, Berlin 1915).

Image 9. *Middle Europe - German claims*

Source: Thoerner, p. 403 (from: *Volk und Reich*, 7. Jg., Heft 2-3/1931)

The merit of the author of this book is also that he convincingly points to the sources of disagreement over the use of certain terms that are often employed in everyday life and non-scientific writings. Thus, for example, he mentions the term Mitteleuropa (Middle Europe). This is not just an innocuous geographical term, or, as Peter Handke wittily put it, a "meterological observation point," but above all an ideological notion and, as such, "appears in numerous articles as a synonym for the German right to rule and its hegemony over a wide area of central, eastern and southeastern Europe."

German historian Wolfgang Mommsen (See: Die Mitteleuropaidee und die Mitteleuropaplanungen im Deutschen Reich vor und während des Ersten Weltkrieges, in: *Mitteleuropa–Konzeptionen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, herausgegeben von Richard G. Plaschka/Horst Haselsteiner/Arnold Suppan, et al., Wien 1995, p. 3) confirms that this claim is true.

The first to use the word "Middle Europe" as early as 1815 was German geographer August Zeune. But the first person to use the term "Middle Europe" in the sense of Germany's right to hegemony over this territory was G. B. Mendelssohn (*Das germanische Europa*, Berlin 1836). According to him, this area takes the territory spreading as far south as Belgrade and, following the Danube River, all the way to the Black Sea.

French publicists Andre Chéradame (*The Pangerman Plot Unmasked*, New York 1917) and Czech Thomas G. Masaryk (Pangermanism and the Eastern

Image 10. *Middle Europe as German single market*

Source: Thoerner, p. 404.

Question, in: *The New Europe*, 1916, pp. 2–19) produced very useful works on the subject of German political aspirations toward the Balkans.

As for books on the subject of WWI, Thörner mentions Fritz Fischer and Willibald Gutsche (Mitteleuropaplanungen in der Außenpolitik des deutschen Imperialismus vor 1918. in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 20 (1972); also Fritz Fischer and Willibald Gutsche, Zur Mitteleuropapolitik der deutschen Reichsleitung von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges, in: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte*, Berlin (DDR), Vol. 15, 1977).

As for the era of National Socialism, Imanuel Geiss definitely needs to be mentioned (*Der lange Weg in die Katastrophe*, a.a. O.; also Imanuel Geiss, Das *Deutsche Reich und die Vorgeschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges*, München/ Wien 1978).

This book has nearly six hundred pages and I could quote another 30 works Thörner mentions as being relevant to his work, but what I have quoted so far appears enough to get readers interested in this work.

Lastly, I wish to explain why this book is so important. First of all because, as Thörner himself point out, it speaks of the continuity of German policy on Serbia and the Balkans in general. If carefully studied, it make it quite clear to the reader that since 1940 to this day nothing has changed significantly in Berlin's attitude toward Belgrade. The only difference is that over a hundred and more years ago German politicians spoke more sincerely and openly of their desire to rule the region on behalf of the "superior German race" and their mission of civilizing the "barbarian hordes" of the Balkans. Today, of course, to say so would not be "politically correct." In our time, Germany and the West base their right to rule the Balkans –and the world in general – on "the universal values of Western civilization." The "protection of universal human rights" and "promoting democracy" are also added to the package. Back in the 19th century, London, Berlin and Vienna may have been dispatching missionaries and canons to "disobedient regions of the world," while today, in the 21st century, they have replaced these with "depleted uranium" and "non-government organizations." Their task, however, is the same: the "natives" should be persuaded that their culture is inferior and that they will become a part of the "global community" only if they accept the values that Washington, London, Paris and Berlin preach.

Nikola H. Živković

BOOK REVIEW

OVERCOMING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

(*The Economic Crisis: Origins and Outcomes*, edited by Časlav Ocić, proceedings from "The Crisis: Origins and Outcomes" conference at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on April 20, 2010; Belgrade, 2018: SASA, 479 pages)

I am not an economist but a sociologist, so I would like to offer a few words from this perspective – about how this book might be perceived by other social scientists, those outside the field of economics, as well as by a wider intellectual audience.

What one first notices when reading *The Economic Crisis* is the variety of views it presents regarding both the cause of 2008 crisis and the solutions to this and similar troublesome events. This diversity is, in itself, important. It demonstrates the conference organizers' commitment to gathering Serbia's foremost experts on economics, regardless of what school of thought they may belong to.

We social scientists are aware how voicing a plurality of opinions frequently enables the direct public confrontation of rival hypotheses – which, as the Hegelians would put it, in turn, allows their dialectical *resolution through synthesis*, i.e. through *overcoming the issue at hand* and filtering an orderless reality into a concept.

As one of its authors (V. Vratuša) aptly noted, this collection of papers comprises three approaches to explaining and resolving the 2008 crisis: one is (neo)Smithian, another is (neo)Keynesian and the third is (neo)Marxist.

I was particularly struck by the (neo)Smithian – or the neoliberal – crisis explanation and solution. They reminded me of the famous explanation for the 1980 crisis in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, according to which the crisis had occurred because *socialist self-management* was not implemented *consistently*. In other words, the key to overcoming the crisis of socialism in the SFRY was "increased" socialism.

Thus, from this perspective, it would seem that the solution to the crisis of neoliberalism is – increased neoliberalism. Or, as Božo Stojanović interestingly explains in his paper: one answer is the introduction of *private money*.

Indeed, it has been known since Heidegger that the solution should be sought wherein the danger lies; therefore, given that the crisis originated in the financial sector, instead of blaming the crisis on banking deregulation – i.e. the state's withdrawal and surrender of the economy and society to the "financial creativity" of banks – we should in fact continue in the same direction.

The solution, according to this view, is to deprive the state of its money-issuing monopoly and enable monetary-economic subjects to themselves create money and offer it to citizens. Then the citizens – as actors in the market – will, in the conditions of market competition, keep good and reject bad money. In this way, the collapse of 2008 will never be repeated.

I have to admit that, as a sociologist trained to place the interest of a society above any partial or individual interest, I could relate more to the neo-Keynesian and neo-Marxist views on the crisis. Quite interestingly, I found that the majority of authors in *The Economic Crisis* share this opinion. From the standpoint of the functionality of a society's economy, it is not the same if a billion dollars of income are in the hands of one ultra-rich individual or if they are distributed among a million members of the society's middle and lower classes: the former will use these funds to purchase a limited amount of expensive luxury goods, while the latter will use them to pay for food, clothing, utilities and rent. Unfortunately,

the world today, including its economy, is run primarily according to the interests of several dozen billionaires from the global superclass and not with consideration to the wellbeing of the people and humanity as a whole.

What social scientists will also find particularly compelling in *The Economic Crisis* is the debate it presents regarding whether the 2008 crisis was merely one instance of what is a recurring feature of world capitalism, or if it was a unique phenomenon caused by financial capital's complete separation from production – and its transformation into virtual and speculative capital, as assert, for example, Rajko Bukvić and Časlav Ocić.

Be it as it may, it soon become clear to the readers of *The Economic Crisis* that our societies are being held hostage by a system that, over the last forty or so years, has enabled an ever-increasing concentration of wealth and power in an ever-decreasing number of hands – and that in that system the greed and irresponsibility of the so-called super-elite appear to have no visible limits. This perspective yields understandable concern over the future: fear that the overblown bubble of banking "creativity" will burst again, like it did in 2008; or that a solution will be sought in yet another major war, namely in the opportunities to equip armies, exploit newly-conquered resources and profit from the reconstruction efforts inevitable in the wake of such a conflict.

Another important insight offered by these conference proceedings is that economic crises in Serbia always somehow begin earlier and last longer than their concurrent global counterparts. This point is clearly illustrated by the papers in the historical section of *The Economic Crisis*, which examine the Great Depression of 1929–1933, as well as by the articles addressing the aftermath of the 2008 crisis in Serbia. Our small and weak economy has meanwhile become even more dependent on "foreign investors," and we can but picture in terror how a more serious disturbance in the global economy would affect our society and lives.

In light of this, it should be said that our policymakers could greatly benefit from *The Economic Crisis*: not only does this collection offer a better understanding of the world in which we are to survive as a people but it also compels one to think more strategically. Several of the collection's authors have rightly observed that our administration has nearly completely abandoned the notion of relying on the strategic insights of domestic scholars. At the same time, these authors note a rising tendency among domestic scholars to reduce their scientific work to a mere collecting of individual promotion points, focusing on increasingly narrow and ephemeral topics.

Despite this, *The Economic Crisis* itself proves that such a state of affairs is not unavoidable. The conference gathered serious researchers to discuss an important topic, and provided a thorough analysis of the situation with a special emphasis on our country, along with relevant and useful recommendations. It is a good example of the role social sciences should play in our society, although, as I have already pointed out, it is increasingly rare to encounter similar quality in domestic projects, conferences, institutes and universities.

Contributing to the generally favorable impression left by *The Economic Crisis* are its scientific accessibility and openness to further research. I liked very much that my colleagues who contributed to this collection did not insist on what is often termed *professional esotericism* – which, in the case of economic scholars, often entails presenting and debating rival mathematical models in a manner hardly accessible to non-economic social scientists.

I was also pleased by the authors' efforts to express ideas clearly and to contextualize them with relevant theories and historical data. In my opinion, such an interdisciplinary openness would benefit each of our individual fields of study – all the more so because such a communicative discourse allows Serbia's wider intellectual audiences to follow analyses and discussion, which is yet another essential role of our work.

In short, it was a pleasure to read *The Economic Crisis: Origins and Outcomes* and it is with equal pleasure that I recommend it to others, especially given the upcoming *The World Economic Crisis – Ten Years Later* conference announced in the introduction to this collection. Should the proceedings from that gathering match the quality of these at hand – and there is no reason to doubt that they will – *The Economic Crisis* will have an excellent complement and our scientific community, and society as a whole, will have taken another important step forward in comprehending the world in which we live.

As a nation and society we will survive and advance in this world only if we recognize both its dangers and the opportunities it offers. In other words, in order for one *to be*, one first has *to know*. These proceedings are a valuable and important contribution to that kind of knowledge.

Slobodan ANTONIĆ

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Research areas: history of Europe and Yugoslavia in the 19th and 20th centuries, modern history of Germany, history of the Germans in Southeastern Europe, history of historiography, the historical work of Friedrich Meinecke, methodology of historical research, and theory of history. Has published 39 papers and 50 reviews and critiques in the following journals: *Nationalism & Discourses of Objectivity: The Humanities and Social Sciences in Central Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju, Letopis Matice srpske, Spomenica Istorijskog arhiva Srema, Nastava i istorija, Istraživanja, Tokovi istorije, Istorija 20. veka, Pedagoška stvarnost, Časopis za suvremenu povijest, Istorijska nauka u 20. veku, Etnoantropološki problemi*, etc. Besides participating at international scientific conferences, has worked as a reviewer and has held six invited lectures.

Major works: *Istoriografija i politika. Intelektualna biografija Fridriha Majnekea* (1862–1954)*,* Belgrade 2017; *Nemačka manjina u Vojvodini (1918–1941). Društvo i politika*, Sombor 2017; *Istorija III. Udžbenik za treći razred gimnazije društveno-jezičkog smera i opšteg tipa*, Belgrade 2015, (co-author); *Történelem 6: tankönyv az általános iskolák hatodik osztálya számára*, Belgrade 2015 (co-author).

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Major works: Studies/Treatises: *Dramsko stvaralaštvo Edvarda Olbija* (*Drama by Edward Olbi*) 1971; *Indijske teorije drame 'Natjašastra' i 'Abhinagupta'* (*Indian theories of the drama 'NatyashAStra' and 'Abhinagupta'*), 1971; *Antonen Arto i njegovo shvatanje pozorišta* (*Antonin Artaud and His Understanding of Theater*), 1971, *'Pokondirena tikva'* (*'Ponded Pumpkin'* by J. St. Popović) and *'Moda' Meri Riči – kritika istih društvenih naravi na dva kontinenta* (*'Fashion' by Mary Ritchie – critique of the same social nature on two continents*), 1974, *Artur Miler na scenama beogradskih pozorišta do 1975* (*Arthur Miller on the stages of Belgrade theaters until 1975*), 1979; *Judžin O'Nil – velikan svoje epohe* (*Eugene O'Neill – great of his era*),

1981; *Tradicionalno kinesko pozorište i kineska opera* (*Traditional Chinese theater and Chinese opera*), 1983; *Tenesi Vilijams – dramatičar scenske tragike orfejske dileme* (*Tennessee Williams – playwright of the stage tragedy of the Orpheum dilemma*), 1988; monograph: *Američki avangardni teatar 1960–1980* (*American avant-garde theater 1960–1980*), Belgrade 2001 (online edition: https://www.rastko.rs/drama/icosic-americki_c.html).

BOJAN DRAŠKOVIĆ (Subotica, Serbia, 1980) – Historian, writer, critic.

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Major works: *Његош, дипломата државник, песник* (*Njegoš, Diplomat, Statesman, Poet*), Belgrade 2013, *Франц Фердинанд – смрт империје* (*Franc Ferdinand – Death of the Empire*), Belgrade 2015, *Алојзије Степинац: Пастир посрнулог стада* (*Alojzije Stepinac: The Shepherd of the Broken Herd*), Belgrade 2018.

KOSARA GAVRILOVIĆ (Belgrade, 1924–2019) – Philologist, professor of Russian language and Slavic studies.

Daughter of Serbian journalist, politician and diplomat Milan Gavrilović. Obtained BA in Philology, Russian and French at University of Cambridge, London, England. In 1959 moved to United States of America, worked at George Washington University in Washington and World Bank. Has met Bishop Artemije in 1978, and worked as a translator in Kosovo and Metohija since 2008. After the persecution of Bishop Artemije in 2010 from Kosovo and Metohija, was exiled from the Gračanica Monastery. As an exile, she settled in Belgrade to continue to help the Bishop and the Diocese. With her brother Aleksa, has transported her father's archives from Hoovers Institute to Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. Has tried to publish many documents related to her father's work, in which she partially succeeded: she prepared and wrote a preface to the book Милан Гавриловић, *Лондонски дневник* (Milan Gavrilović, *London Journal*), Belgrade 2013, and participated in the publication of a book of selected writings by Milan Gavrilović entitled *Народни пут* (*The road of the people*), Belgrade 2015. Deep old age, illness and death halted her in the fruitful work of publishing her father's complete legacy. Behind her, as well as behind her father, remained many unpublished papers and documents of interest in both the history of the Kingdom of Serbia, the Kingdom of the former Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the study of the Agrarian Party (originally Alliance of Agrarians), the work of the Yugoslav royal government in exile in London, and the activities of the Serbian and Yugoslav political emigration (to which she herself belonged), then church schisms in the Serbian Orthodox Church (from 1963, as well as from the last years of her life marked by the

excommunication of Bishop Artemije). Her extremely rich and interesting life, as well as that of her family, is an important testimony to political movements, wanderings, and often to the delusions of Serbian politics in the 20th and 21st centuries, about which she has left many interviews, articles and controversies that so far they have not been gathered in one place. According to Bojan Drašković's testimony, of which there is documented written correspondence, Kosara Gavrilović also had certain literary ambitions. *Пут у Москву* (*The Road to Moscow*), an unpublished 1940 travelogue, is one of the original testimonies of the USSR from the time of Stalinism, as viewed by the eyes of a wealthy Serbian girl, the daughter of a Yugoslav diplomat and a politician.

Major works: *Шиптарски геноцид над Србима у 20. веку* (*The genocide of Kosovo in the 20th century*) 2008, 2011.

DRAGANA GNJATOVIĆ (Beograd, 1955) – Senior Research Fellow, Full Professor at the University of Kragujevac, Serbia.

Obtained MA (1979) from Florida State University, USA and PhD (1984) from University of Belgrade, Faculty of Economics. Member of: the Board for Economic Sciences of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU); Scientific Society of Economists of Serbia (NDES); Center for Agrarian History of University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Agriculture (CAI); South East European Monetary History Network (SEEMHN). Participated with scientific papers in international economic history scientific conferences in Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, Austria, Turkey, Greece, France, Great Britain. Former editor-in-chief of two Serbian scientific journals: *Ekonomska misao* and *Megatrend Review.*

Major works: *Улога иностраних средстава у привредном развоју Југославије* (*The Role of External Funds in Economic Development of Yugoslavia*), 1985*; Stari državni dugovi, Prilog ekonomskoj i političkoj istoriji Srbije i Jugoslavije 1862–1941* (*Old Public Debts, A Contribution to Economic and Political History of Serbia and Yugoslavia 1862–1941),* 1991*; Добри и зли динари, Функције новца и новчани систем седњовековне Србије* (*Good and Evil Dinars, Functions of Money and Monetary System of Medieval Serbia*), 1998*; Историја националног новца,* коаутор с В. Дугалић и Б. Стојановић (*History of National Currency,* co-author with: V. Dugalić and B. Stojanović) 2003*; Економија Србије – привредни систем, структура и раст националне економије* (*Economy of Serbia – Economic System, Structure and Growth of the National Economy*) 2007*; Економска политика – теорија, анализа, примена,* коаутор с В. Грбић (*Economic Policy – Theory, Analysis, Application,* co-author with V. Grbić) 2009*; Прилози финансијској историји Југоисточне Европе 20. века,* коаутор са Ж. Лазаревић (*Contributions to Economic History of the 20th Century South East Europe,* co-author with: Ž. Lazarević), 2011*; Privileged Agrarian Bank, A Contribution to the History of Agricultural Credit in Serbia 1836–1947,* 2014*; Задругарство у Србији: 120 година Задружног савеза Србије,* коаутор са Ж. Стојановић (*Cooperatives in Serbia: 120 Years of the Cooperative Association of Serbia,* co-author with: Ž. Stojanović), 2015.

SONJA JANKOV (Novi Sad, 1985) – Independent curator.

A PhD candidate at the University of Arts, Belgrade. In her practice, she uses theoretic writing and art media (in-situ and/or site-specific installations, photographs, sketches) to present researched issues. Since 2016 is a part of the Future Architecture Platform and author of exhibitions and projects *GIF and Cities*, *Post-Archive of Contemporary Art*, *SPENS and Socialist Sport Halls Today*, *GIF and Public Urban Spaces*. Author of numerous texts for exhibition catalogues, papers, reviews and critiques.

Major works: *GIF i gradovi* (*GIF and Cities*), Belgrade 2017; *Hronospektri Danila Vuksanovića: Kaligrafija, lica, predeli* (*Danilo Vuksanovic's Chronospectra: Calligraphy, faces, landscapes*), Novi Sad 2014.

SUZANA LOVIĆ OBRADOVIĆ (Blaće, 1984) – Research Associate at the SASA (Serbian Academy of Arts an Science) "Jovan Cvijić" Geographic Institute, Belgrade.

Graduated (2010) and obtained PhD (2019) from the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade. Since January 2012, has been employed at the "Jovan Cvijic" Geographic Institute as a trainee researcher, and in April of the same year was named as an associate researcher.

Research areas: social geography, demography (spatial demography), and cartography.

Major works: *Serbia and Russia on the demographic map of Europe two decades after the fall of communism*. Trames*,* 2016.

MILJANA MATIĆ (Paraćin, 1981) – Art historian, Research Associate.

Obtained BA (2005), MA (2008), and PhD (2014) from the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. Author of the scientific papers published in national and international journals and proceedings. Author of the exhibition *Serbian icon painting in the territory of the renewed Patriarchate of Peć 1557–1690* at the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (from August 2016 to April 2017), which was part of the official program of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Belgrade in 2016, and co-author of the exhibition *Eight hundred years of art under the auspicies of the Serbian Orthodox Church* (2019). Editor of the Collection of papers *Cultural heritage of the Studenica Monastery,* Studenica Monastery 2019 (with M. Andjelković). Member of the International Center of Medieval Art (ICMA). Working as a curator at the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade.

Research areas: Serbian medieval and Post-Byzantine sacral heritage.

Major works: *Српски иконопис у доба обновљене Пећке патријаршије 1557–1690,* Београд: Музеј Српске православне цркве 2017; *Eight hundred years of art under the auspicies of the Serbian Orthodox Church,* Belgrade: Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church 2019 (cataloque); papers *Serbian icon painting in the age of restored Patriarchate of Peć, in: Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the middle ages* (ed. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović), Collection II: Byzantine heritage and Serbian art, Belgrade 2016; Ktetor portraits of church dignitaries in Serbian Post–Byzantine painting (part one), *Zograf* 42 (2018).

MIRČETA VEMIĆ (1955) – Research associate at the SASA (Serbian Academy of Arts an Science) "Jovan Cvijić" Geographic Institute, Belgrade (retired).

Obtained PhD (1998) (*Semiology and Semiometry of Cartography*) from the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade. Author of four monographs and 80 scientific and professional papers and maps in Serbian, Russian and English in the field of cartography and geography.

Research areas: semiotics of cartography, thematic cartography and historical geography.

Major works: *Теорија значења у картографији* (*Theory of meaning in cartography*), Belgrade 1998; *Картовизија* (*Kartovizija*), Belgrade 2005; *Етничка карта дела Старе Србије: Према путопису Милоша С. Милојевића 1871–1877* (*Ethnic map of Ancient Serbia: According to Milos S.'s travelogue Milojevića 1871–1877*), Belgrade 2005; *Атлас Старе Србије: Европске карте Косова и Метохије*

(*Atlas of Ancient Serbia: European maps of Kosovo and Metohija*), Cetinje – Belgrade 2007; *Карша сељачкоī усшанка у Видинском ūашалуку 1850* (*Map of the peasant uprising in Vidinski pašaluk 1850*), Belgrade 2012.

GABRIELLA SCHUBERT (Budapest, Hungary, 1943) – Professor Emeritus at the Department of South Slavic and Southeast European Studies at the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena.

Obtained MA (1977) PhD (1981) in Balkanology and Slavic Studies at the Free University of Berlin. President of the Jena branch of Collegium Europaeum, a society of German intellectuals dedicated to promoting spiritual closeness among the peoples of Europe. A member of Presidium and the Scientific Council of the South European Society. Editor-in-chief of *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* (Harassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden) and a member of the editorial boards of multiple Balkanology publications. A recipient of the Đura Daničić Award, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (since 2006) and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (since 2009). Authored and edited several books and published over 180 studies.

Reaserch areas: ethnology, folklore, cultural semiotics, identity and alterity in Southeast Europe, language standardization in former Yugoslav countries, and contemporary South Slavic prose. Special area of interest are German–Serbian relations.

Major works: Momir Vojvodić: *Sa izvora mojih gora*. *Pjesme* / *Aus den Quellen meiner Berge. Gedichte*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Gabriella Schubert; deutsche Nachdichtungen von Bernd Juds. (Veröffentlichung der Deutsch-Jugoslawischen Kulturgesellschaft Berlin mit Unterstützung des Senators für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten), Berlin 1981 (Balkanologische Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts an der Freien Universität Berlin, Hg. v. N. Reiter, Band 7); *Kleidung als Zeichen. Kopfbedeckungen im Donau-Balkan-Raum*, Band 20 der Balkanologischen Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts Berlin. Berlin 1993; *Sprache in der Slavia und auf dem Balkan. Slavistische und balkanologische Aufsätze*, Norbert Reiter zum 65. Geburtstag. (gemeinsam mit U. Hinrichs, H. Jachnow, R. Lauer), Opera Slavica 25, Wiesbaden 1993; *Talvj. Therese Albertina Luise von Jakob-Robinson* (1897–1870), Weimar 2001 (gemeinsam mit Friedhilde Krause); *Bilder vom Eigenen und Fremden aus dem Donau-Balkan-Raum. Analysen literarischer und anderer Texte* (gemeinsam mit Wolfgang Dahmen), Südosteuropa-Studie 71. München 2003; *Serben und Deutsche. Traditionen der Gemeinsamkeit gegen Feindbilder / Srbi i Nemci. Tradicije zajedništva protiv predrasuda* (gemeinsam mit Zoran Konstantinović und Ulrich Zwiener). Jena und Erlangen 2003; *Zoran Djindjć – für ein demokratisches Serbien in Europa / Zoran Đinđić – za demokratsku Srbiju u Evropi* (gemeinsam mit Milovan Božinović und Ulrich Zwiener): Jena 2005; *Makedonien. Prägungen und Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden 2005; *Serben und Deutsche. Zweiter Band: Literarische Begegnungen / Srbi i Nemci. Knjiga druga: književni susreti*. (Schriften des Collegium Europaeum Jenense 35), Jena 2006; Herausgeberin des Sammelbandes *Serbien in Europa. Leitbilder der Moderne in der Diskussion*. Wiesbaden 2008; Mitherausgeberin (gemeinsam mit Holm Sundhaussen) des Sammelbandes *Prowestliche und antiwestliche Diskurse in den Balkanländern/ Südosteuropa*. 43. Int. Hochschulwoche der Südosteuropa-Ges. in Tutzing 4.–8. 10. 2004. München 2008; Herausgeberin des Sammelbandes *Europa, das ich meine ... Stellungnahmen zu den Werten Europas*. Jena 2009; Mitherausgeberin des Sammelbandes *Talfj i srpska književnost i kultura* (gemeinsam mit Vesna Matović). Beograd 2008. *О срūској књижевносūи и кулūури* (*On Serbian literature and culture*), Novi Sad 2019.

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